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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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NORTH CAROLINA CANALS BEFORE 1860

By CLIFFORD REGINALD HINSHAW, JUNIOR

During the colonial period and in the years following separation from England, the development of both internal and foreign trade in North Carolina was greatly retarded by the peculiar topography of the state — that of the coastal region in particular.[1] To a large extent, it was in an effort to overcome these difficulties that the state undertook a program of canal building.

Within the sand bar which encloses the waters of eastern North Carolina are numerous shallow sounds. The northernmost is Currituck Sound, which extends a short distance into Virginia and has an average width of five miles and length of thirty miles. Albemarle, the largest fresh water sound in the United States, extends fifty miles inland with an average width of ten to twelve miles. The smaller Roanoke and Croatan sounds connect Albemarle Sound with Pamlico Sound, which is the largest of these inland waters, extending for more than sixty miles from Roanoke Island to the mouth of the Neuse River and having an average width of twenty-five miles. Core Sound, one of the smaller bodies of water, connects Pamlico Sound with the inlet at Beaufort, which lies to the south. Narrow Bogue Sound extends for a short distance to the southwest from Beaufort.[2]

Several small rivers deposit their waters into Albemarle Sound, the chief of which are the Pasquotank, the Chowan, and the Roanoke — the latter the most important river in the northern section of the state. Formed by the junction of the Staunton and the Dan, it waters a large part of northern North Carolina and southern Virginia. The next large stream south of the

[1] J. Allen Morgan, "State Aid to Transportation in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Booklet*, X, no. 1, p. 122.

[2] Edmund Ruffin, *Agricultural, Geological, and Descriptive Sketches of North Carolina, and the Similar Adjacent Lands* (Raleigh, 1861), p. 114.

Roanoke is the Tar, which rises near the Virginia line and flows in a southeasterly direction into Pamlico Sound, taking the name of Pamlico River below the town of Washington. The Neuse River, formed by the junction of the Eno, Little, and Flat rivers, flows from Durham County into the southern part of the Pamlico Sound. The Haw and Deep rivers unite near the central section of the state to form the Cape Fear, which flows into the Atlantic Ocean below Wilmington.[3]

In the early days, before the advent of faster means of travel, water transportation was of great importance. Vessels floated down the various rivers into the shallow sounds; and there, in order to reach the ocean, they had to cross the treacherous sand bar which enclosed the entire sound region of North Carolina. This sand bar, varying in width from one quarter of a mile to four miles, was broken in several places by inlets which allowed the entrance and exit of vessels to and from the ocean.[4]

The most important of the several inlets through the bar was Ocracoke,[5] situated fifty miles northeast of Cape Lookout and thirty miles southwest of Cape Hatteras, opening into Pamlico Sound from the ocean. After a safe passage had been made over the bar, which had a low water depth of thirteen feet, there were narrow channels to be navigated before a port could be reached. Within the bar were Teach's Hole channel with a six foot depth and the Swash with a nine foot depth. These channels were so shallow that many ships had to discharge part of their cargo and have it sent to ports in lighters or sloops.[6]

Old Topsail Inlet was considered one of the best on the North Carolina coast, but it opened into the harbor at Beaufort and was connected with the larger sounds to the north only by the shallow Core Sound. Some five miles south of the Virginia line and opening into the northern part of Currituck Sound was New Currituck Inlet, and, although the depth was only five feet, a large part of the commerce of Currituck Sound passed through by means of small sloops and schooners. Farther to the south and opposite Roanoke Island was Roanoke Inlet, with a depth

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[3] William Henry Hoyt, editor, *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, II, 136-139.

[4] Charles Christopher Crittenden, "The Seacoast in North Carolina History, 1763-1789," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, VII (1930), 434.

[5] There were a variety of spellings of Ocracoke. Two of the most common were *O-c-c-a-c-o-c-k* and *O-c-r-a-c-o-c-k*.

[6] Crittenden, "The Seacoast in North Carolina History, 1763-1789," pp. 436-437.

of six feet, through which the Lost Colony was supposed to have ventured. The inlet proved of little value, however, because of the continual shifting of sands and the lack of uniformity in the depth of the channel.[7] Both of these inlets were closed by the action of wind and water, New Currituck in 1828 by a severe storm and Roanoke about the same time but in a more gradual manner.[8]

Through Ocracoke passed most of the ships from the Roanoke, Tar, and Neuse rivers, although the inlet was not well suited for this purpose. It was inconveniently situated for the commerce of the Roanoke, and a voyage from the head of Albemarle Sound to Ocracoke was thought to be equal to the journey from Ocracoke to New York or to the West Indies. As the inlet continued to widen its depth decreased, and this, coupled with the fact that there was no harbor, rendered navigation dangerous as well as inconvenient.[9]

Edmund Ruffin capably summed up the difficulties presented by the North Carolina coast when he wrote:

> Taking the whole space within the outlines of Pamlico, Albemarle, and Currituck Sounds, and their connecting waters, and of all the deep, still and unobstructed waters of the many rivers discharging therein, there is not one of the Atlantic States, which has such great extent of good and smooth navigable water . . . and safe from storms also, by its typographical [topographical] features, and entirely secured from any invasion, or effective blockade, by a hostile naval force. . . . But these remarkable and otherwise valuable characteristics are rendered almost nugatory by another remarkable feature of this region. There is now no access to the ocean, through the sand reef, so good and deep as the narrow Ocracoke Inlet, which now permits vessels of only six feet draft to pass over the bar across the inlet, after tedious delays and much danger, and which passage opens upon an unsheltered and most dangerous seacoast. The whole ocean shore of North Carolina is a terror to navigators, and is noted for the number of shipwrecks, and especially near Cape Hatteras.[10]

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[7] Crittenden, "The Seacoast in North Carolina History, 1763-1789," p. 437.

[8] Ruffin, *Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 120. Oregon Inlet, opened by a storm in 1846, was named for the first vessel to pass through it. It was navigable, however, only for small vessels. New Inlet has had a capricious career of opening and closing and has been used for commercial purposes but very little. Both Oregon and New Inlets are situated north of Cape Hatteras near Nag's head. Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration, *The Intercoastal Waterway—Norfolk to Key West*, pp. 105-106.

[9] Hoyt, *Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, II, 125.

[10] Ruffin, *Sketches of North Carolina*, pp. 114-115. The depth of Ocracoke Inlet evidently was less when Ruffin wrote.

Prior to 1815 the work of improving navigation in North Carolina was left to private enterprise. Whatever was done for the purpose of keeping the rivers free from obstructions was accomplished by local overseers, appointed by the county courts, under whose direction male citizens of a certain age were required to work. The legislature, however, in an endeavor to make these fields attractive to private enterprise, granted liberal franchises to corporations to construct toll roads and canals and to improve river navigation.[11]

Before 1815 the General Assembly had passed several acts for the construction of canals in various sections of the state. Of these the most important were the Dismal Swamp Canal to connect the Pasquotank River in North Carolina and the Elizabeth River in Virginia[12] and the Clubfoot and Harlow's Creek Canal connecting the Neuse River with Beaufort.[13] Other acts provided for a canal from the Roanoke River to the Meherrin River and one from Bennett's Creek to the Nansemond River in Virginia, thereby forming a water connection with tidewater Virginia without the use of Albemarle Sound.[14] Also, provision was made to incorporate companies to build canals from the Roanoke River to the Pamlico River[15] and to Pungo River.[16]

Only two of the canal companies secured sufficient stock subscriptions for incorporation. The Dismal Swamp Canal Company completed its waterway between Albemarle Sound and the Chesapeake Bay, and work was begun on the Clubfoot and Harlow's Creek Canal. Several companies were also organized and incorporated for the purpose of improving river nagivation.[17]

To facilitate and insure the success of the improvements already begun by private enterprise, the state, in 1815, for the first time recognized the importance of expending public funds for clearing rivers and construction aids to navigation. In the same year North Carolina also first subscribed stock and appropriated money to the companies already formed.[18] The most important

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11 Morgan, "State Aid to Transportation in North Carolina," p. 126.
12 Walter Clark, editor, *The State Records of North Carolina*, XXV, 83.
13 *Laws of North Carolina*, 1795, ch. 23. This canal was also referred to as the Clubfoot and Harlow Creeks Canal, and *Harlow* was often spelled *H-a-r-l-o-w-e*.
14 *Laws of North Carolina*, 1804, ch. 34.
15 *Laws of North Carolina*, 1798, ch. 40.
16 *Laws of North Carolina*, 1796, ch. 20.
17 Morgan, "State Aid to Transportation in North Carolina," p. 126.
18 *Report of the Committee on Internal Improvements in the House of Commons* (Raleigh, Dec. 9, 1824), p. 1.

of these were the Roanoke Navigation Company, the Neuse River Navigation Company, the Tar River Navigation Company, and the Cape Fear Navigation Company.[19]

In 1815 Archibald D. Murphey presented plans to the legislature for a board or commission that would take under its control the development of waterways, roads, and other forms of internal improvement.[20] The plan and improvements suggested by Murphey were not adopted, but an increased interest was evident, and four years later the Board of Internal Improvements, sometimes called the Board of Public Improvements, was created.[21]

In connection with the proposed improvements Murphey presented his "memoir on Internal Improvements," pointing out what North Carolina needed to do and how to obtain it. His plan suggested that the state legislature should turn its attention to the inlets on the coast, to the sounds, to the primary rivers, to the connection of two or more of these rivers by navigable canals, to the public highways, and to the drainage of marshes and swamps in the eastern and southern counties.[22]

The Board of Internal Improvements, desiring an orderly development of the proposed program, hired an engineer to survey and report on the feasibility of the contemplated improvements. Unable to find a person in the state who was fitted for the position, it employed Hamilton Fulton, an Englishman, as principal engineer.[23] In the employment of the Board, Fulton proceeded to make surveys and reports on various propositions presented to him.[24]

One of the most troublesome problems faced by the Board and the merchants of North Carolina was the absence of a suitable inlet through the sand bar for the exportation of the produce and manufactures of the state. As early as 1787 the legislature had passed an act authorizing certain individuals to receive subscriptions for the construction of a canal through the reef in the

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[19] *Report of the Board for Internal Improvements of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1824), pp. 5-6.

[20] Hoyt, *Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, II, 25.

[21] *Report of the Committee on Internal Improvements*, p. 1.

[22] Hoyt, *Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, II, 121.

[23] Hoyt, *Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, II, 119. Fulton had been employed by the British government and had worked at Malta and Bermuda. He had also laid out a canal from the North Sea to the Baltic for the king of Sweden.

[24] *Report of the Board of Public Improvement of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1820). The reports made by Fulton are included in this publication as well as in later reports made by the Board of Public Improvements.

vicinity of Roanoke Island.[25] Renewed interested in the project prompted the Board to direct Hamilton Fulton, in 1820, to survey and estimate the cost of the plan.[26] No actual work was started at that time, and it was not until twenty years later that another survey was made by Major Walter Gwynn.[27] In 1856 construction of the canal, through the bar at Nag's Head, was begun. The Federal government made an appropriation of $50,000 but, due to the filling of the excavated section by sand, the canal was abandoned before all the money had been spent.[28]

One of the plans contemplated by the Board, relative to the improvement of river navigation, was to bring together the commerce of the rivers at one point — thus developing a North Carolina port to compete with Norfolk and Charleston. Since Ocracoke Inlet seemed undesirable, attention was turned elsewhere. Beaufort possessed the best inlet on the coast, and here the possibility of developing a port of considerable importance seemed the brightest. The development of Beaufort could be accomplished best, it was thought, by creating a system of canals connecting the Roanoke, Tar, and Neuse rivers. This plan embraced a chain of canals extending from Williamston on the Roanoke to Washington on the Tar, to New Bern on the Neuse, and then by way of the Neuse River and the Clubfoot and Harlow's Creek Canal to Beaufort. An alternate plan suggested Swansborough as the outlet of the canal system, with an additional waterway connecting New Bern with the White Oak River which empties into the ocean at Swansborough.[29] Surveys were made of the tentative canal line running from the Roanoke to the Tar and to the Neuse; the plan proved too costly, however, and was never carried out.[30]

Prior to the formation of the Board of Internal Improvements, the Cape Fear Navigation Company undertook the construction of canals around the falls of that river. The company planned the excavation of a canal twenty-seven miles in length above Fayetteville, with another around the Buckhorn Falls, which were located still higher up the river near the junction of the

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25 *State Records*, XXIV, 931.
26 *Report of the Board of Public Improvements of North Carolina* (1821), p. 1.
27 *Report of Maj. Gwynn, Civil Engineer, Upon the Practicability and Probable Cost of Opening an Inlet at Nag's Head* (Raleigh, 1840), p. 1.
28 Ruffin, *Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 120.
29 Hoyt, *Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, II, p. 143.
30 *Report of the Board of Public Improvements of North Carolina*, 1821, p. 64.

Haw and Deep rivers. Contracts were let and work was begun, the Buckhorn Canal was almost completed, and about five miles of the Fayetteville Canal were built, but in 1818 financial difficulties beset the company and work was suspended. Shortly after the suspension of activities, the Board of Internal Improvements took over the project abandoned by the Cape Fear Navigation Company. Instead of completing the canal, however, it adopted a system of sluicing and slack water, thereby making the Cape Fear navigable through this method rather than through canals.[31]

In contrast to the failure of the Cape Fear Navigation Company, the Roanoke Navigation Company completed a canal around the falls of the Roanoke River which enabled the traffic of the upper Roanoke to descend to the lower river.[32]

The Yadkin and Catawba rivers drained a large section of central North Carolina, and therefore an effort was made to improve the navigation of these two streams. Surveys were made by Fulton and plans were presented for canals, dams, and sluices that would make the rivers navigable around the falls; canal building was widely discussed, but other means of improvement were finally employed.[33] As both of these rivers had their outlets in South Carolina, North Carolinians felt that something should be done to draw their trade to some native port. As early as 1815 the suggestion had been made that the Yadkin River commerce could be brought to Wilmington by means of a canal running from the Cape Fear River to the Yadkin.[34] The General Assembly passed an act, in 1847, providing for the construction of a waterway to connect these two rivers through Montgomery, Moore, and Cumberland counties.[35] This ambitious plan was not undertaken, however, for the distances and the difficulties to be encountered were much too great.

Other acts passed by the legislature included plans for canals from the Cape Fear River through New Hanover County directly to the ocean,[36] from Lake Mattamuskeet to Alligator River,[37]

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[31] *Report of the Cape Fear Navigation Company to the Board of Internal Improvements* (Fayetteville, 1838), pp. 7-8.
[32] *Report of the Board of Internal Improvements of North Carolina*, 1835, p. 7.
[33] *Report of the Board of Public Improvements of North Carolina*, 1820, p. 36.
[34] Hoyt, *Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, II, 24.
[35] *Laws of North Carolina*, 1847, ch. 17.
[36] *Laws of North Carolina*, 1815, ch. 15.
[37] *Laws of North Carolina*, 1849, ch. 131.

from the Cape Fear River to the Waccamaw River,[38] and from New River to Bear Creek in Onslow County.[39] These schemes were local in character, however, and none of them was undertaken before 1860.

Of the many canals suggested or planned in North Carolina prior to 1860, only a few were undertaken and still fewer were completed. The Clubfoot and Harlow's Creek Canal, the Dismal Swamp Canal, the Roanoke Canal, and the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal (chartered in 1855)[40] were completed and became a part of the inland waterway transportation of the state. The Roanoke Canal was used to aid river traffic only, on one particular river, but the other canals joined points that heretofore had no direct water connection.

One of the earliest and most important projects in North Carolina was a canal linking the Neuse River with Old Topsail Inlet at Beaufort. Old Topsail was considered the best inlet on the coast for several reasons: its location, under the lee shore of Cape Lookout, protected it from the more severe storms; it was subject to fewer changes; it had a depth of fourteen feet of water over the reef; and within the bar was a safe harbor. Such a canal, it was believed, would provide the commerce of Pamlico Sound and its tributary rivers with a safer exit to the ocean than that of dangerous Ocracoke Inlet.[41]

As early as 1766 "An Act For Joining the Navigation of Old Topsail Inlet to Neuse River by Cutting a Navigable Canal from the Head of Harlow's Creek to Clubfoot's Creek" was passed. Clubfoot Creek was a tributary of the Neuse River, while Harlow's Creek flowed into the harbor at Beaufort. By this act certain citizens were appointed commissioners with authority to lay off and design a canal to connect these two creeks. They were empowered to receive subscriptions, to construct the waterway, and to act as overseers of the project.[42]

Nothing was accomplished, however, and in 1783 the General Assembly passed another act, appointing John Benners, John Jones, Christopher Neale, John Easton, Enock Ward, Dedrick Gibbler, and William Bourden as commissioners. By this act the

[38] *Laws of North Carolina*, 1855, ch. 92.
[39] *Laws of North Carolina*, 1847, ch. 19.
[40] *Laws of North Carolina*, 1855, ch. 93.
[41] Hoyt, *Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, II, 130.
[42] *State Records*, XXIII, 684-685.

canal could pass through the land of any person or persons provided payment was made to the owner for consequent damages. The canal was also declared to be for public use and free from tolls.[43]

The following year Enock Ward, Spyers Singleton, and Chrisopher Neale were empowered to construct the canal and, contrary to the provisions of the previous act, were allowed to collect tolls if the project was completed within a seven-year period. Tolls were to be fixed each year between the first and tenth of January and they were to be advertised at each end of the canal.[44]

In 1795, with the canal still incomplete, an additional act was passed. The new law provided for a company with a capital stock of $10,000, divided into 100 shares of $100 each. It further stipulated that the company must have two-thirds of the necessary subscriptions before becoming incorporated, officers must be elected, the canal built, and locks and other safeguards to navigation constructed. Land through which the waterway would run was condemned and the canal was declared a public highway, free from taxation. The toll rates were limited to a yearly income of not more than twenty-five per cent of the cost of construction and maintenance of the canal.[45] Two years later an amendment was passed allowing an increase of $1,000 in the capital stock and extending the charter from sixty to ninety-nine years.[46]

Although sufficient subscriptions for incorporation had been secured, the canal progressed slowly. Practically all of the work had been done by, or under the direction of, William McClure. After his death his interest in the company was transferred to his daughter Hannah, the wife of William Gaston. She, in turn, left her shares to her husband and infant children.

Construction was suspended following McClure's death; in 1813, however, a reorganizing act was passed providing for a capital stock of 132 shares valued at $100 each. William Gaston and his children, because of McClure's contributions, were granted a fourth of the stock. Each subscriber was allowed one vote for each share of stock up to five, and one vote for every three shares above five. According to this act the canal was to be

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[43] *State Records*, XXIV, 538.
[44] *State Records*, XXIV, 634.
[45] *Laws of North Carolina*, 1795, ch. 23.
[46] *Laws of North Carolina*, 1797, ch. 5.

built from Clubfoot Creek to Harlow's Creek and was to have a width of fourteen feet and a depth of four feet at ordinary tide water. Four sidings, sixty feet long and twelve feet wide, were provided to increase the width, thus allowing vessels to pass each other. Drainage ditches were also to be dug parallel to the canal to prevent surface water from washing the banks. The entire project had to be completed within five years.[47]

Two years later the company had completed about one-fourth of the work.[48] In 1818, after canal and navigation companies had begun to secure state aid, the state of North Carolina subscribed to twenty-five shares of stock and lengthened the time for completion of the waterway.[49]

During this period, when an increased interest in internal improvements was evident, the Clubfoot and Harlow's Creek Canal attracted considerable attention in connection with a proposed line of canals running from Norfolk to Beaufort. This canal was to furnish the final link in the chain connecting the Neuse River with the ocean port of Beaufort. Yet some doubts remained: Was the water in the canal at Beaufort of sufficient depth, and would the open waters of the lower Neuse River and Pamlico Sound prove too dangerous for safe navigation? [50]

The Board of Internal Improvements, following its formation in 1819 and the hiring of Hamilton Fulton, desired to take over the Clubfoot and Harlow's Creek Canal as one of its projects. Fulton surveyed the canal in 1820 and reported to the Board that there was no necessity for any alteration of the line as previously laid out by William McClure. As the waters of Clubfoot Creek were higher than those of Harlow's Creek, he thought it expedient to build a lock to prevent the current from overflowing and injuring the banks. Construction of this lock and completion of the canal would necessitate an expenditure of $25,000. The dimensions from which the cost was estimated called for a canal four feet deep, fourteen feet wide at the bottom, with a slope of one and a half feet horizontal to one foot perpendicular, making the surface width twenty-six feet. These dimensions were considered sufficient to allow the passage of vessels from seventy

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47 *Laws of North Carolina*, 1813, ch. 28.
48 Morgan, "State Aid to Transportation in North Carolina," p. 152.
49 *Laws of North Carolina*, 1818, ch. 50.
50 Hoyt, *Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, II, 144.

to eighty feet in length, fourteen feet in width, drawing three feet six inches of water, and carrying a cargo of thirty or forty tons. The proposed size of the sidings was also enlarged in the report made by Fulton.[51]

Work on the canal was started again in the spring of 1821, but incessant rains greatly retarded progress. The company directors, deciding against the employment of contractors, hired a superintendent and a number of hands. Fulton's plan was followed with the exception of the lock construction, which they built without sidewalls, using instead the banks of the canal. This proved impracticable and work on the lock was suspended.[52]

When the company's capital proved inadequate, in 1821, an act was passed opening the books for new subscriptions and increasing the number of shares to 240. William Gaston and his children had their stock increased to one-fourth of the larger number of shares without further payment. The Board of Internal Improvements, by the act of 1821, gained control of the planning and direction of the project, and the state subscribed to an additional fifty shares of stock.[53]

The Board wanted to employ contractors to complete the project, but the bids were prohibitive in cost and the old system of hiring a superintendent and hands was continued. The number of hands employed, however, was too few and the work proceeded so slowly that by 1822 only one-third of the total length of three miles had been completed.[54]

FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE CLUBFOOT AND HARLOW'S CREEK CANAL COMPANY IN 1822

The Capital Stock Subscribed by Individuals	$10,000.00
The Capital Stock Subscribed by the State	7,500.00
	$17,600.00
The Sum Paid by Individuals	$ 5,683.46
The Sum Paid by the State	4,000.00
	$ 9,683.46

[51] *Report of the Board of Public Improvements of North Carolina*, 1820, pp. 1-2.
[52] *Report of the Board of Public Improvements of North Carolina*, 1821, p. 38.
[53] *Laws of North Carolina*, 1821, ch. 37.
[54] *Report of the Board of Public Improvements of North Carolina*, 1822, p. 11.

The Sum Expended on the Canal and Paid	$ 8,337.85
Debts Due from the Company, About	2,000.00
	$10,337.85
Insolvent Subscribers Owe the Company, About	$ 800.00[55]

A year later Fulton estimated that about three-fifths of the total length had been excavated, and that the expenditure of another $10,000 would enable the company to complete the canal. The officers of the company then replied that the necessary funds could not be raised through private subscription and requested an appropriation from the state.[56] The state, through the Board of Internal Improvements, appropriated $5,000 for stock in the company.[57]

As construction of the canal continued slowly from 1824 to 1826, the need for money was expressed upon several occasions. To meet these needs the company, in 1824, was allowed to offer twenty more shares of stock for sale and the state subscribed to seventy-five additional shares.[58]

Two years later the state granted the company a loan of $12,000, one-half of which was to be paid back within ten years and the remainder within fifteen years. Certain provisions were attached to the loan: Interest was to be paid annually, insofar as the funds of the company would permit; as security, the canal and all the property of the company was conveyed in trust to the state; and bond was given by the company's officers as guaranty that the money would be applied to its debts and to the completion of the canal.[59]

An examination by a committee of the Board of Internal Improvements in 1827 revealed that an excavation of 180 yards and the removal of earth caved in from the banks would make the canal navigable. The cave-in was thought to have been a result of the too free admission of the waters of the Neuse River and Clubfoot Creek. The committee, therefore, recommended the erection of a guard lock at the northern outlet of the canal to control the flow of water.[60]

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55 *Report of the Board of Public Improvements of North Carolina*, 1822, p. 10.
56 *Report of the Board for Internal Improvements of North Carolina*, 1823, pp. 6-7.
57 *Laws of North Carolina*, 1823, ch. 18.
58 *Laws of North Carolina*, 1824, ch. 25.
59 *Laws of North Carolina*, 1826, ch. 24.
60 *Report of the Board for Internal Improvements of North Carolina*, 1827, p. 12.

Although small vessels now began to use the waterway and tolls were collected, the canal was not yet a useful commercial artery. To supply the means for making it such, the state in 1828 made a loan of $6,000.[61]

AID ADVANCED TO THE CLUBFOOT AND HARLOW'S CREEK CANAL COMPANY BY THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA (1832)

By Act of 1818, Subscriptions for 25 Shares of Stock at $100 each	$ 2,500
By Act of 1821 for 50 Shares	5,000
By Act of 1823 for 50 Shares	5,000
By Act of 1824 for 75 Shares	7,500
	$20,000
By Act of 1826, Loan by the State	$12,000
By Act of 1828, Loan by the State	6,000
	$18,000
Total Sum Advanced by the State	$38,000[62]

About the time of the opening of the canal North Carolina first became interested in railroad building. Joseph Caldwell, in his *Numbers of Carlton,* presented detailed plans for the construction of a railroad system running through the central section of the state, east to west, with an eastern terminus at New Bern. He considered Beaufort the best seaport on the coast and advocated its development to facilitate the centering of commerce at one point. In this connection, Caldwell suggested an expansion of the Clubfoot and Harlow's Creek Canal which would enable vessels of the largest class navigating the sounds to enter the harbor at Beaufort. According to his plan, the railroads would transport goods to New Bern from the interior of the state, and from there they would be shipped, by way of the Neuse River and canal, to the port at Beaufort.[63]

Little was done at this time to improve the canal and to make it navigable for steamboats, and therefore the number of tolls

[61] *Laws of North Carolina,* 1828, ch. 37.
[62] *Report of the Board for Internal Improvements of North Carolina,* 1832, p. 21.
[63] Joseph Caldwell, *The Numbers of Carlton, Addressed to the People of North Carolina on a Central Rail-road Through the State* (New York, 1828), p. 34.

collected was small.[64] From December 3, 1827, to December 31, 1828, the gross total of tolls was $640.23.[65] From October 1, 1830, to June 30, 1832, a period of nearly two years, the tolls amounted to only $709.03,[66] while from January 2, 1833, to December 31, 1834, the amount was $294.49. Thus over a period of six years, from 1827 to 1833, the total tolls collected amounted to only $2,722.05.[67]

The Clubfoot and Harlow's Creek Canal attracted little attention from the state after 1830, and interest in the project seems to have vanished. In 1832 the Board of Internal Improvements reported, in connection with the expediency of planning a water communication from Beaufort to New Bern in place of a railroad, that the Clubfoot and Harlow's Creek Canal was not adequate for the needs of the trade. According to the report, the chief difficulty lay in the shallowness of the connecting creeks and the consequent insufficiency of water in the canal. This difficulty only added to those caused by the poor construction of the canal. Further lack of interest can be noted in the fact that a new route was surveyed for a canal between the Neuse River and Beaufort, a project which would have been located a few miles to the east of the older canal.[68]

The company reported to the Board of Internal Improvements in 1832 that $48,471 had been spent in construction of the canal and that $400 was still due.[69] As obstacles to navigation continued to increase, the tolls decreased, reaching a low of $210.51 in 1834. This poor condition led to the opinion that, even if the canal were improved, it would still not be able to repay the state loans,[70] and therefore foreclosure was ordered in 1844.[71]

Three years later an act of the General Assembly empowered the Board of Internal Improvements, which had taken over the canal, to lease the entire works for a period not exceeding twenty years to such individuals or companies as might wish to operate the canal. Further provision was made that, in the event the

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64 Raleigh *Star and North Carolina Gazette*, December 23, 1830.
65 Charles Clinton Weaver, "Internal Improvements in North Carolina Previous to 1860," *John Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science*, XXI (1903), p. 74.
66 *Report of the President and Directors of the Clubfoot and Harlow's Creek Canal Company to the Legislature of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1832), p. 3.
67 Weaver, "Internal Improvements in North Carolina Previous to 1860," p. 74.
68 *Report of the Board for Internal Improvements of North Carolina*, 1832, p. 6.
69 *Report of the President and Directors of the Clubfoot and Harlow's Creek Canal Company*, p. 3.
70 Weaver, "Internal Improvements in North Carolina Previous to 1860," pp. 74-75.
71 Weaver, "Internal Improvements in North Carolina Previous to 1860," p. 75.

Board did not lease the canal within six months, it could offer the project for sale at public auction after giving not less than sixty days notice in the newspapers of the state. If the canal were sold, the purchasers were to be declared incorporated as the Clubfoot and Harlow's Creek Canal Company.[72]

The canal was neither leased nor purchased, and in 1849 an act was passed to incorporate a company to operate it. The capital stock was set at $6,000, one-half of which had to be subscribed before the corporation could be formed. A further stipulation was made that the directors of the company would execute a mortgage to the state upon promise to make the canal navigable.[73] A new company was not incorporated, however, and the state held its interest in the canal until 1872. At that time the New Bern and Beaufort Canal Company was formed and the state's interest in the Clubfoot and Harlow's Creek Canal was transferred to the new organization.[74]

Another project designed to expedite the flow of commerce in the state, particularly in the northeastern section, was construction of the Dismal Swamp Canal. Since the only means of entrance and exit from the sounds of North Carolina was through the treacherous inlets, it was natural for Tar Heel merchants to seek a new trade route. It was also natural for Virginia business men to want the route so located that it centered the commerce of North Carolina at Norfolk. Joseph and Benjamin Jones of Pasquotank County are credited with having originated the idea of a canal running through the Dismal Swamp.[75]

In 1786 commissioners from Virginia and North Carolina were appointed to confer upon a plan for the proposed canal. These commissioners — Robert Andrews and John Cooper of Virginia, and William M'Kenzie, James Galloway, and John Stokes of North Carolina — met in Fayetteville.[76] The following year the legislature of Virginia passed an act relative to the Dismal Swamp Canal.[77] As the waterway was to extend into both states, it was necessary that North Carolina also pass an

[72] *Laws of North Carolina*, 1847, ch. 16.
[73] *Laws of North Carolina*, 1849, ch. 10.
[74] Jonathan Havens, *The Pamlico Section of North Carolina*, p. 54.
[75] John Moore, *History of North Carolina*, II, p. 401.
[76] *State Records*, XXV, 92.
[77] Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 173.

act incorporating a canal company. The General Assembly, meeting at Fayetteville, passed such an act in November, 1790.[78]

This act called for the construction of a canal through the dreary wasteland that borders North Carolina and Virginia near the Atlantic Ocean. Probably the earliest available description of the swamp is that written by William Byrd while he was surveying the boundary between the two states. Byrd described the region as a large swamp or bog extending thirty miles from north to south and having a width of ten miles.[79] He also described the pestilential effects of the air and the absence of animals, but later investigation proved that these observations were incorrect. It is supposed that this region received the name "Great Dismal Swamp" from Byrd while he was on this trip.[80]

At its northern boundary the swamp extends a little south of the port of Norfolk, Virginia, covering parts of Norfolk and Nansemond counties in that state. In North Carolina it extends through portions of Currituck, Camden, and Gates counties.[81] The name — Dismal Swamp — adequately describes the region lying between the Albemarle and Chesapeake basins, for contained therein are the headwaters of the Pasquotank, Perquimans, and North rivers which flow into Albemarle Sound. The Nansemond and Elizabeth rivers also have their headwaters in the swamp but flow north into Chesapeake Bay.[82]

Frederick Law Olmstead, who made a tour of the southern states about 1856, wrote an interesting account of this section of North Carolina and Virginia:

> The *Great Dismal Swamp* together with the smaller *Dismals* of the same character, along the North Carolina Coast, have hitherto been of considerable importance as furnishing a large amount of lumber, and especially of shingles for our Northern use as well as for exportation. The district from which this commerce proceeds is all a vast quagmire, the soil being entirely composed of decayed vegetable fibre, saturated and surcharged with water; yielding or quaking on the surface to the tread of man, and a large part of it, during most of the year, half inundated with standing pools. It is divided by creeks and

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78 *State Records*, XXV, 38.
79 William Byrd, *Description of the Dismal Swamp and a Proposal to Drain the Swamp*, edited by Earl Gregg Swem, p. 17.
80 Federal Writers Project, *North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State*, p. 276.
81 Federal Writers Project, *North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State*, p. 276.
82 William Darby and Theodore Wright, Jr., *A New Gazetteer of the United States of America* (Hartford, 1836), p. 424.

water veins, and in the center is a pond six miles long and three broad, the shores of which, strange to say, are at a higher elevation above the sea, than any other part of the swamp, and yet of the same miry consistency.

Except by log roads the swamp is scarcely passable in many parts, owing not only to the softness of the sponge, but to the obstruction caused by innumerable shrubs, vines, creepers, and briars, which often take entire possession of the surface, forming a dense brake or jungle. This, however, is sometimes removed by fires, which of late years have been frequent and very destructive to the standing timber. . . . There is a good deal of game in the swamp . . . bears and wildcats are sometimes shot, raccoons and oppossums are plentiful, and deer are found in the drier parts and on the outskirts. The fishing, in the interior waters, is also said to be excellent.[83]

Another author and traveller, Edmund Ruffin of Virginia, who perhaps had a more intimate knowledge of the region than Olmstead, described the swamp as being higher than the surrounding land and the soil of vegetable origin.

It would be supposed that the swamp is much lower than the surrounding land, but the swamp is higher than nearly all the land that encompasses it, and the interior of the swamp is generally higher than the outer part. The exception is on the west side where for 12 or 15 miles the streams flow into the swamp, but in the north, east, and south the rivers flow away from the swamp into various rivers and bays.

The Dismal Swamp is certainly a peat soil. The soils of the Dismal Swamp are much nearer to the peat of Europe than any other I have ever observed. . . . The vegetable soil of the Dismal Swamp, when dry, is highly combustible . . . being principally of vegetable origin, which leave but little ashes, or earth residue.[84]

This tract of land, covering some 2,200 square miles, was first exploited by George Washington and several of his associates.[85] About the time of the discovery of a lake in the center of the Great Dismal, these men took over all the unappropriated swamp lands in Virginia. Washington, as a surveyor, thought the entire swamp could be drained and made into farm land. With this in mind, he and his associates bought about 40,000 acres of the

[83] Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, with Remarks on Their Economy* (New York, 1856), pp. 149-152.
[84] Ruffin, *Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 208.
[85] Federal Writers Project, *North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State*, p. 275.

wasteland and formed the Dismal Swamp Land Company. The company's chief object, at that time, was purely agricultural; the swamp was drained and the soil tilled, but the profits realized from the project were discouragingly small.[86]

Following the Revolution, agricultural development of the swamp continued to pay small dividends, so the company accordingly turned to the sale of juniper shingles. This unexpected business proved immensely profitable and soon became the company's sole pursuit. Shortly before the Civil War the stock had increased from the original $3,000 a share to $15,000; the dividends paid were large even for such highly priced stock. At the time of its incorporation the land company failed to include the lake in the center of the swamp in its patent. This proved to be a harmful oversight, for the Dismal Swamp Canal Company was granted exclusive use of the water in the lake, thus shackling any general plan of drainage.[87]

In order to transport lumber from the swamp, the land company had constructed a canal from the northern edge of Lake Drummond to a point seven miles from Suffolk on the Suffolk-Edenton road. This canal, averaging ten feet in width and containing from one to two feet of water, was extremely narrow and only five miles long. Approximately a hundred yards from the lake was a device comparable to a dam for controlling the depth of water in the canal. The waterway, at that time, was called "Washington's Ditch" and has retained the name to the present time.[88]

After a short but useful career Washington's Ditch was abandoned as a means of water transportation. A more direct route, the Jericho Canal, had been built from Lake Drummond to the Nansemond River at a point near Suffolk. The new canal, which was twelve feet wide and four feet deep, extended almost in a straight line from the lake to the river. At the lake junction a regulating lock controlled the water in the canal by keeping it at a uniform level when long droughts caused a lower lake depth.[89]

Jericho Canal was used primarily by the land company in transporting shingles from the interior of the swamp to the

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86 Edmund Ruffin, "Observations Made During an Excursion to the Dismal Swamp," *The Farmers' Register* (January 1, 1837), p. 515.
87 Ruffin, "Observations Made During an Excursion to the Dismal Swamp," p. 516.
88 Charles Frederick Stansbury, *The Lake of the Great Dismal*, pp. 29, 34.
89 Ruffin, *Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 205.

landing at a tidewater creek where large ocean-going vessels were loaded. Swamp timber, consisting principally of juniper, cypress, and white pine, brought good prices and heavy profits. A number of slaves, owned by the company, were employed in bringing out lumber in the form of shingles and staves.[90]

Traffic on the canal consisted, for the main part, of lumber products, but occasional pleasure trips were taken into the depths of the swamp. Small barge-like boats were used: they were carried forward by boatmen on the towpaths who propelled them by means of polls rigged to the front and rear of the boat. By leaning against the poles and walking along the paths the boatmen pushed the boat along the canal.[91]

The act passed by the General Assembly of North Carolina in 1790 incorporating the Dismal Swamp Canal Company contained a preamble which stated: Since many persons were willing to subscribe large sums of money for the construction of a navigable canal to connect Albemarle Sound with Chesapeake Bay, they should be entitled to collect tolls from those using the canal.[92] This law provided for the opening of subscription books in Rockingham and Granville counties and in the towns of Halifax, Edenton, Murfreesborough, Windsor, and Nixonton, in North Carolina, and also in Virginia at such places as the legislature of that state might designate. A date was set for the first meeting of the company, which would become incorporated upon receipt of one-half of the prescribed capital of $80,000. If less than one-half of the amount had been subscribed by the time of the first meeting at Halifax, the company was empowered to take additional subscriptions to make up the deficiency. Those subscribing were required to elect a president and four directors for a term not exceeding three years. They were also allowed one vote for each share of stock up to ten and one vote for each five additional shares, a share being valued at $250. A lengthy section of the law described the powers and duties of the officers and the rules concerning meetings.[93] As compensation for expenses incurred in construction and maintenance of the canal, locks, and causeways, the company was granted any profits ac-

[90] D. H. Strother, "The Dismal Swamp," *Harpers* (September, 1856). This article, clipped from the original magazine, is in the University of North Carolina library.
[91] Strother, "The Dismal Swamp."
[92] *State Records*, XXV, 83.
[93] *State Records*, XXV, 84-86

cruing from the project. The law also included a long list of tolls chargeable for commodities shipped on the canal.[94]

To secure the necessary land through which the canal was to be cut, the owners of such property were required to sell to the company at a reasonable price. The proprietors were allowed to construct a branch canal to Lake Drummond to secure additional water for the main waterway. If there were a surplus of water, they could grant the use thereof to any private enterprise desiring it. Persons living along the canal route were permitted to dig drainage ditches into the main stream. These ditches, however, had to be at least a mile apart if they were located on the same side of the canal, and some means for completely shutting them off had to be provided. All bridges across the branches were to be built at the expense of the landowners.[95]

Tolls were chargeable only if several specifications were fulfilled: the canal had to be thirty-two feet wide and eight feet below the earth's surface; it had to be navigable in dry weather by vessels drawing three feet of water; and the causeways had to have a width of twenty feet. In addition, construction of the canal had to be started within a year after incorporation and completed within a ten-year period.[96]

According to the law, each state would have free use of certain waters in the other state. Virginia agreed that the Elizabeth River, Hampton Roads, Chesapeake Bay, and the upper stretches of the Roanoke River would be considered as a common highway, free from toll and open to the navigation of all vessels belonging to the state of North Carolina or its citizens. In reciprocation, North Carolina declared that the Roanoke, Meherrin, Nottaway, and Chowan rivers and Albemarle Sound, as far east as the Pasquotank River, should likewise be opened to Virginia's commerce and free from tolls.[97] Further provisions stated that no restriction, duty, or impost would be levied on any commodity which was the growth, produce, or manufacture of either state when it passed on the canal, from one state to the other. All articles were salable in either state without reinspection.[98]

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[94] *State Records*, XXV, 87.
[95] *State Records*, XXV, 90.
[96] *State Records*, XXV, 91.
[97] *State Records*, XXV, 92.
[98] *State Records*, XXV, 93.

After the passage of the act of 1790, a campaign for subscriptions began. George Washington became one of the first subscribers by his purchase of stock valued at $500.[99] In addition to private subscriptions by North Carolina and Virginia business men, the legislature of Virginia passed acts by which that state subscribed to fifty shares of stock in 1791 and twenty shares in 1799.[100]

Slowness of the subscribers in paying for their shares delayed actual construction of the canal until 1793.[101] Virginia had reopened subscription books the previous year in Norfolk, Portsmouth, Suffolk, Petersburg, Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Alexandria to secure more funds for the project. During this period of delay the legislatures of both states amended the original law by requiring the canal to be of sufficient width to accommodate vessels fifteen feet broad, drawing three feet of water, and by reducing the width of the causeways from twenty to fifteen feet.[102]

Actual excavation was begun in 1793 with gangs of Negroes working at each end of the canal. Two mistakes were made, however; a competent engineer was not employed to direct the project and the channel was too narrow and too shallow. Other complications arose: The company didn't know the number of locks that were necessary or how much dirt to remove; the route was incorrectly surveyed; no accurate estimate of the cost could be made,[103] and part of the work was done under contract at the rate of $4,000 a mile, while another part was done by slave labor under the direction of an overseer. Slaveowners contracted for completion of minor sections, working their hands at times of the year when they were not farming.[104] Tangled roots and matted grasses greatly increased the difficulties of digging. Captain Cornick, president of the company, clearly indicated the slow progress that was made. "Through such land, the canal, to the depth it was sunk, was cut, not by the spade, but principally by the axe, the saw, and the mattock." [105]

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[99] Weaver, "Internal Improvements in North Carolina Previous to 1860," p. 69.
[100] Executive Document No. 19, 45th Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representatives, *Dismal Swamp Canal, Etc.* (n. p., 1878), p. 10.
[101] Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, pp. 9, 173.
[102] Henry Potter, editor, *Laws of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1821), p. 699.
[103] Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 174.
[104] Weaver, "Internal Improvements in North Carolina Previous to 1860," p. 71.
[105] Ruffin, *Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 211.

Inspection of the work in 1796 showed that the canal was completed for five miles at the Virginia end and for six miles at the Pasquotank or North Carolina end. Although digging and cutting had been going on for three years the most difficult part of the work remained to be done. The company had underestimated the cost, the locks proved expensive, and it also became necessary to dig a feeder canal for a supply of water from Lake Drummond. When the company's money ran out and its credit was exhausted, work came to a standstill. The best that could be done was to connect the two sections of completed canal by a road. Thus North Carolina's produce was taken to the south section by water, from there it was carried by wagons to the north section, and then it was transferred to vessels bound for Norfolk.[106]

Prior to the War of 1812 heavy traffic flowed through the canal and over the connecting road. In one year the tolls collected amounted to $6,000, a return of seven per cent on the capital invested. At intervals, as funds came in, excavation was resumed, and by 1808 sufficient progress had been made to allow the prediction that, with the employment of 500 men, the canal could be completed within three months. A suggestion was offered relative to employing sailors thrown out of work by the embargo, but the company declined to follow this plan, following instead its practice of piecemeal work. As one writer of the time expressed it, construction of the canal progressed as slowly as though "the age of Methusalah, and not that of the Psalmist, were the prescribed period of human life." [107]

Such slow progress prevented the completion of the waterway within the ten year period prescribed in the incorporating act. The legislatures of Virginia and North Carolina, however, extended the time limit on several occasions. From time to time regulations governing the toll rates were changed as the states modified the strict rule of procedure cited in the original act.[108]

The British blockade of Chesapeake Bay in 1812 and the resultant demand for an inland waterway to Albemarle Sound seems to have provided the impetus needed for completion of the

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106 Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 174.
107 Norfolk *Gazette and Public Ledger*, April 14, 1808; Norfolk *Beacon*, May 3, 1836, cited by Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 174.
108 Potter, *Laws of North Carolina*, II, 904.

canal. In June, 1814, vessels began to come through the canal; the first vessel to reach Norfolk came from Scotland Neck by way of the Roanoke River. It was loaded with bacon and brandy —a burden of twenty tons—and at one place on the canal the master was obliged to lighten the cargo.[109] From that time on, North Carolina produce passed through the canal in large quantities. One person alone paid tolls from December 8, 1815, to June 1, 1816, on 374,000 staves, 478,000 shingles, 2,233 barrels of corn, 10,000 pounds of bacon, 370 barrels of tar, 6 barrels of pitch, 371 barrels of fish, 27 barrels of oil, 59 casks of flax seed, 2 casks of beeswax, and 16 kegs of lard—in all worth $32,000, or enough merchandise to load four ships of 300 tons each.[110]

As the Dismal Swamp Canal grew in importance, North Carolina business men began to worry about the commerce it furnished Norfolk in competition with their own native ports. In his "Memorial on Internal Improvements," written in 1819, Archibald D. Murphey lamented the fact that a large per cent of the products of North Carolina had been sent to markets in other states.

> Heretofore, the productions of the Northern part of the State, lying on the Roanoke and its branches, and also on the upper parts of the Tar and Neuse, have been sent to the markets of Virginia; and the trade of Broad River, the Catawba and Peedee, has gone to South Carolina. Thus it has happened that we have shipped from our own ports not more than one third of our Agricultural products; and even a considerable portion of our Staves, Lumber, and Naval Stores, have been sent to other ports by the Dismal Swamp Canal, on one side; or by the Waccamaw, Little Peedee, and Lumber, on the other. . . .[111]

This traffic, born of the necessities of war, served only to show the inadequacies of the canal. Vessels of sufficient size to navigate the waters of Albemarle and Pamlico sounds in safety were too large to pass through the new waterway. The directors of the company soon realized the necessity for increasing the depth of the canal and reducing the number of locks. Unless these improvements were made, the trade of the canal would revert to

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[109] Norfolk *Gazette and Public Ledger*, June 11, 1814, cited by Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 174.
[110] Norfolk *Gazette and Public Ledger*, June 1, 1816, cited by Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 175.
[111] Hoyt, *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, II, 142.

the older channels.[112] The company, possessing proof of the volume of traffic that might be expected, appealed to the state legislatures for support. In response to its plea, permission was granted for an increased number of shares and, in addition, the legislature of Virginia granted three loans—two of $50,000 each and one of $37,000.[113]

In connection with the proposed improvements a federal project, which included the Dismal Swamp Canal, was brought forward. This plan had been previously advocated by Albert Gallatin but had never been executed. Alexander Macomb, chief engineer, wrote James Barbour, the Secretary of War, expressing his opinion that the Dismal Swamp Canal might be a useful means of defense, provided it was made navigable for sloops. Macomb suggested an inland waterway from Norfolk to Beaufort, including the Dismal Swamp Canal in a series of canals connecting the Roanoke, Pamlico, and Neuse rivers by way of Plymouth, Washington, and New Bern.[114]

In 1826 the United States government subscribed to 600 shares in the Dismal Swamp Canal Company and three years later purchased 200 additional shares, making a total investment of $200,000.[115] With the money invested by the federal government and the loans secured from the state of Virginia, improvements on the canal progressed rapidly. In the winter of 1828, thirty-six years after the first shovelful of dirt had been removed, the canal was completed on a larger scale and opened to traffic. The new canal was twenty-two and a half miles long, averaged forty feet in width, and was capable of conveying vessels drawing five and a half feet of water. The water level was raised or lowered by five stone locks; two at the northern end, raising the water thirteen feet; one, ten miles south, raising it three and a half feet; the Culpeper Lock, six miles south, falling three and a half feet; and a lock at the south end falling thirteen feet. A basin of a half mile length was situated at Deep Creek on the northern end of

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112 Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 176.

113 Norfolk *Beacon*, March 17; April 10, 1826, cited by Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 175.

114 House Document No. 125, 19th Congress, 1st Session, *Survey of the Waters of Virginia and North Carolina* (Washington, 1826), p. 5. This same plan had been presented by A. D. Murphey and surveys had been made under the direction of the North Carolina Board of Internal Improvements. See above, pp. 5-7.

115 Executive Document No. 19, 45th Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representatives, *Dismal Swamp Canal . . .*, p. 82.

the waterway. With the added improvements the total cost of the canal reached an approximated sum of $800,000.[116]

As the canal was improved the value of produce transported and tolls collected began to increase at a rapid rate. Further expectations of a rich trade were enhanced by improvements that were aiding navigation of the Roanoke River. Heretofore the falls of the Roanoke above Weldon had prevented the passage of boats downstream into Albemarle Sound, but construction of the Roanoke Canal, it was hoped, would remove this difficulty.[117]

The Dismal Swamp Canal had opened a waterway for the trade of the upper Roanoke as well as for that of the Chowan, Blackwater, Meherrin, and Nottaway rivers. Tobacco, cotton, flax, flour, and hemp from Warren, Mecklenburg, Halifax, and Charlotte counties were expected to flow down the Roanoke, through Albemarle Sound, and then through the canal. It was necessary, however, to provide some means of transporting goods from small upper river boats which deposited their cargoes at Weldon after making the voyage through the Roanoke Canal.[118] Vessels navigating the shallow upper river were too small to sail in safety on the lower river and open sound. To meet this difficulty and to facilitate the shipment of produce from Weldon to Norfolk, the Virginia and North Carolina Transportation Company was organized. In June, 1828, the steamer *Petersburg* and eight barges were ready for work.[119]

During the period of rebuilding, the General Assembly of North Carolina passed an act, in 1825, similar to the one passed by the Virginia legislature. It granted the company the privilege of constructing a branch canal from the main waterway to the Northwest River,[120] which flowed into Currituck Sound. The company had to operate the new canal as a part of the entire system, looking after the causeways and locks and charging tolls at the rate of a third of those charged on the main waterway. Authority was also given for the construction of additional inlets, basins, and reservoirs for better operation of the canal,

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[116] Norfolk *Herald* (November 11, 1829), cited by Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 175.
[117] Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 176.
[118] Norfolk *Herald*, (June 13, 16, 1828; July 16, 1830) cited by Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 176.
[119] Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 176.
[120] John Taylor, *A Revisal of the Laws of the State of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1827), p. 186.

and the right to prescribe the number and location of bridges crossing the canal was granted.

Concerning the work on the Northwest Canal, a traveller from Norfolk wrote in 1829:

> We pursued our journey along the canal 11 miles, over a road that McAdam himself could not improve, when we came to the junction of the North West Canal, the cutting of which is in active progress. This canal connects North West River with the main canal, requiring a cut of six miles, and will open an avenue to market for the vast stores of timber in that section, so important for naval purposes, besides the various other products of the country.[121]

The canal was completed shortly after the above account was written and became a part of the general system. It was six miles long, twenty-four feet wide, and four feet deep.[122]

A third canal in the system was the feeder from Lake Drummond which supplied the main canal with water. Lake Drummond had a surface of six square miles and varied from ten to twenty feet in depth, being twenty-one and a half feet above tidewater when full.[123] This feeder canal was five miles long, sixteen feet wide, and four and a half feet in depth. A guard gate near the lake controlled the flow of water that entered the main canal.[124]

Canal traffic began to increase following the opening of the improved main waterway in the winter of 1828. Some of the larger vessels sailed on to Richmond, Baltimore, or Washington, but the majority stopped at Norfolk. In a two-week period in June, 1829, traffic on the canal consisted of the following: 18 lighters, 12 rafts, 1 sloop, and 3 schooners passing through to Norfolk; 2 schooners bound for Weldon; 2 sloops and 1 schooner for Currituck; 3 schooners for Beaufort; 2 sloops and 1 schooner for Elizabeth City; and 5 schooners and 2 sloops for Edenton.[125] During 1829 the north-bound trade consisted of 770 hogshead of tobacco, 1,964 bales of cotton, 2,937 barrels of flour,

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121 Hezekiah Niles, editor, *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXXVII, 245.
122 H. S. Tanner, *A Description of the Canals and Railroads of the United States* (New York, 1840), p. 168.
123 Joseph Martin, *A New Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia and the District of Columbia* (Charlottesville, 1835), p. 243.
124 Tanner, *A Description of the Canals and Railroads in the United States*, p. 168.
125 Norfolk *Herald*, July 16, 1830, cited by Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 176.

2,507 barrels of fish, 30,000 bushels of corn, 1,170,000 staves, 14,296,000 shingles, and 2,307 barrels of turpentine.[126]

As traffic continued to increase each year the tolls grew from $11,658 in 1829 to $18,437 in 1830 and $27,030 in 1831. For the year ending April 30, 1833, the tolls reached a total of $34,059.[127]

VALUE OF THE NORTHBOUND PRODUCE
FOR THE YEAR ENDING April 30, 1833

Lumber products and naval stores	$ 724,918
Cotton	478,842
Tobacco	205,793
Corn	136,021
Flour	57,792
Fish	47,908
Wheat, flax seed, sweet potatoes	34,667
Provisions	20,304
Wine, molasses, sugar	7,500
Total	$1,713,796[128]

For the same period southbound vessels carried merchandise, salt, coffee, molasses, flour, pork, liquors, and other products valued at $780,088, making a total value of $2,493,884 for produce shipped during the year.[129]

Although the company collected tolls primarily from vessels passing through the canal, a certain percentage was derived from the various types of vehicles and other traffic using the road bordering the waterway. The toll for the use of the road was: carts, 25 cents; wagons 50 cents; four wheeled carriages, 25 cents; man and a horse, 12½ cents; every head of cattle, 6 cents; and hogs and sheep, 2 cents each.[130]

For a short time, in 1835, the increasing stream of traffic was interrupted by a break in the south lock, but in the next year it was resumed in even greater volume.[131] In October, 1836, 78

[126] Norfolk *Herald*, March 19, 1832, cited by Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 176.
[127] Norfolk *Herald*, March 19, 1832; May 22, 1833, cited by Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 176.
[128] Norfolk *Herald*, May 22, 1833, cited by Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 177.
[129] Norfolk *Herald*, May 22, 1833, cited by Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 177.
[130] Weaver, "Internal Improvements in North Carolina Previous to 1860," p. 72.
[131] Norfolk *Herald*, September 21, 1835, cited by Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 177.

schooners, 3 sloops, 16 lighters, and 21 rafts passed through the waterway from North Carolina, while 64 schooners, 3 sloops, 17 lighters, and 13 other vessels entered the canal from Norfolk. A year later, in the same month, 87 schooners, 7 sloops, 16 lighters, and 21 rafts entered Norfolk from the south, and 95 schooners, 5 sloops, and 17 lighters travelled toward North Carolina.[132]

A majority of the canal trade came from the sounds and rivers of North Carolina in schooners built especially for such traffic. Although a good many of the vessels were towed through the swamp by steamboats, some of them were pulled by mule teams hitched to the craft by long ropes extending to the towpath along the edge of the canal.[133]

In 1841 the tolls received exceeded by forty per cent the average receipts for the previous five years. Produce passing through the canal that year was valued at $1,237,858, six per cent of which was supposedly from Virginia and the remainder from North Carolina. The value of merchandise that passed through in the same period was $626,115.[134]

According to the shipping news, as reported in the Portsmouth *Chronicle and Old Dominion* from January to July, 1845, nearly all the vessels entering Virginia through the Dismal Swamp Canal came from the Albemarle Sound region of North Carolina. A list of these vessels entering Norfolk indicates that the ports of Elizabeth City, Hertford, Nixonton, Edenton, Columbia, Currituck, Plymouth, Winton, and the various landings on the Chowan and Roanoke rivers were sending ships through the canal with great regularity. Lumber, grain, corn, naval stores, and fish were the products most often transported on the schooners, or in a few instances the sloops, that travelled through the canal.[135] The local character of this trade is illustrated by a list of the articles passing through the canal in the year ending July, 1847: 22,360,050 shingles, 5,256,350 staves, 139,000 cubic feet of scantling, 47,386 barrels of fish, 43,685 cubic feet of timber, 3,722 bales of cotton, 30,505 barrels of naval stores, 688 barrels of spirits of turpentine, 4,366 hundredweight of bacon, 1,299 kegs

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132 Norfolk *Herald*, December 6, 1836; November 24, 1837, cited by Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 177.
133 Stansbury, *The Lake of the Great Dismal*, p. 199.
134 *Niles' Weekly Register*, LXI, 203, 288.
135 Portsmouth *Chronicle and Old Dominion*, January 6, 1845-July 12, 1845.

of lard, 1,261,099 bushels of corn, 26,255 bushels of wheat, and 21,956 bushels of peas.[136]

In the eight years preceding 1851 the average tolls collected were $32,906. In that year the tolls amounted to $39,748, and reached a total of $45,119 in the following year.[137] The Northbound trade included 4,947 bales of cotton, 24,395 barrels of fish, and 837,749 bushels of corn. Although the amount of corn had decreased, an unusually large quantity of cotton raised the amount of tolls collected by the company.[138]

The value of produce transported continued to increase. In 1853 the exports, or northbound trade, amounted to $2,413,000 and the imports reached the sum of $804,000, making a total of $3,217,000. By 1854 the total had risen to $3,574,000. In this period the chief products were still lumber, staves, shingles, corn, fish and cotton.[139]

APPROXIMATE ANNUAL FREIGHTAGE OF THE CANAL 1856

Shingles	24,000,000
Staves	6,000,000
Bushels of maize	2,000,000
Cubic feet of plant, scantling	125,000
Barrels of shad, herring	50,000
Cubic feet of ship timber	40,000
Barrels of naval stores	30,000
Bushels of wheat	30,000
Bushels of peas	25,000
Hundredweights of bacon	5,000
Bales of cotton	4,500
Kegs of lard	1,300
Barrels of spirits of turpentine	700[140]

For quite a while prior to the Civil War the yearly revenue from the tolls averaged approximately $38,000, while the annual expenses were about $12,000.[141] At the outbreak of the war the

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[136] J. D. B. DeBow, editor, *The Industrial Resources . . . of the Southern and Western States* (New Orleans, 1852), II, 182.

[137] William S. Forrest, *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of Norfolk and Vicinity* (Philadelphia, 1853) p. 98.

[138] *Daily Southern Argus*, November 29, 1852, cited by Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 178.

[139] *Ship Canal to Unite the Waters of Albemarle, Currituck, and Pamlico Sounds with Chesapeake Bay* (Raleigh, 1854), p. 21.

[140] Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, pp. 150-151.

[141] Executive Document No. 19, 45th Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representatives, *Dismal Swamp Canal . . .*, pp. 3-4.

capital of the company was $1,600,000; of this sum $386,000 came from direct subscription, while the remainder was derived from application of the revenue gained from the progressive improvements of the waterway. In return for its investment of $200,000, in 1826 and 1829, the federal government had received $136,000, or about two-thirds of its original appropriation. This stock had increased in value from $200,000 to $600,000.[142]

The Dismal Swamp Canal, which had become an important part of the transportation system of eastern North Carolina, was a money-making concern despite its location in a most desolate section of the country and its extension into the actual swamp for a distance of twenty miles. In 1850 a reporter for *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal* made a journey through the tidewater section of North Carolina and Virginia via the Dismal Swamp Canal. He noted particularly the monotony and wildness of the region.

> Our journey for more than half the distance from Norfolk to Elizabeth City lay along the route of the Dismal Swamp. The road and the fine canal running side by side. On the canal were a number of barges, laden and being laden with cypress shingles, the best American substitutes for our roofing slates, of which the swamp is the great producer. . . . The road was montonous, no change of scenery enlightened it; the canal and the tall, dark cypresses flanked our right, and wild waste-looking corn fields or tangled bushes our left. Much of this region is taken up with pine barrens and morasses.[143]

Leaving Deep Creek at the northern terminus, the canal passed first through firm sandy loam, where the water level was higher than the surrounding land. After a few miles the swamp land proper was reached and continued on both sides of the road and canal to the end of the way, where the canal entered down into the Pasquotank River near South Mills. All the central and larger portion of the canal, including its whole middle section and summit level, passed through what was originally juniper swamp. The height of the canal kept the water higher than would have been the case otherwise, by preventing the flow of water toward the

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142 *Memorial of the Dismal Swamp Canal Company to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America* (n. p., 1878), p. 2.

143 "The Dismal Swamp," *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal*, December 14, 1850, p. 373. This article, clipped from the original magazine, is in the University of North Carolina Library.

lower eastern soil of the swamp. The road was excellent, having been built of sand brought in by lighters added to the soil excavated from the canal. This soil not only supplied the foundations for the side road, but also furnished a base for the central part of the canal. Good drainage and cultivation were rare along the Virginia side of the canal. The land along the southern section was better drained, however, as the water there flowed into the lower Pasquotank River.[144] The only dwelling along the entire length of the waterway was the Halfway House, situated on the state line. This tavern, built about 1800, provided a stopping place for the stage line that paralleled the canal from Norfolk to Elizabeth City.[145]

An enthusiastic comment was made by Calvin H. Wiley in the *North Carolina Reader* concerning the canal and the tavern:

> About midway of this road, just on the North Carolina line, is a public tavern; and this is the only house in all the Great Dismal Swamp. The road and canal, however, are like the streets of a populous city; they are crowded with people from end to end, and the traveller is never alone. An enormous amount of produce goes over this canal; and it is perhaps the best stock in the world.[146]

Criticism of the canal continued despite the large volume of traffic it was supporting. Various objections were raised. The chief artery of trade, which came from Albemarle Sound, was considered sluggish; shoals and logs in the canal necessitated lightening of cargoes;[147] and vessels could pass each other only where there were recesses or sidings. Added to these handicaps were the difficulties encountered at the connection of the canal with the Pasquotank River. That part of the route was so crooked and the current was so rapid that at times vessels could not be propelled by tow lines or sails, but were pushed along with poles.[148]

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144 Ruffin, *Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 213.

145 *North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State*, p. 277. A great deal of gambling went on in the taproom and the place was notorious as a dueling ground and hide out, with fugitives from each state hiding across the state line. An unsupported legend relates that while visiting at the Halfway House, Edgar Allen Poe wrote his famous poem, *The Raven*. The inn was also celebrated for the many runaway marriages which took place there.

146 Calvin H. Wiley, *The North Carolina Reader: Containing a History and Description of North Carolina*, pp. 24-25.

147 *Daily Southern Argus*, January 22, 25, 1849, cited by Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 178.

148 *Canal to Connect Albemarle, Currituck, and Pamlico Sounds with Chesapeake Bay* (New York, 1856), p. 8.

D. D. Simmons and Brothers, commission merchants of Norfolk, after twenty-three years of trade on the Dismal Swamp Canal were thoroughly familiar with its drawbacks. They had known their ships to be delayed in the upper part of the Pasquotank River from six to fourteen days and below the south locks for two or three days. It was not uncommon for ten to fifteen vessels to be detained at the south end for lack of towage and by the low water in the canal.[149]

Another complaint was voiced by John Phillips, master of the steamer *Loper,* engaged in canal trade. He stated that his ship traveled 9 miles an hour under easy steam, but the numerous bends and the rapid current in the Pasquotank section of the waterway slowed his vessel until two or three days were required to navigate the 45 miles from Elizabeth City to Norfolk, a distance that could ordinarily be traveled in five or six hours in the same vessel where navigation was good.[150]

As a result of continued criticism, an effort was made by the directors, in 1856, to remove the causes of these complaints. They found that a three-and-a-half-mile extension of the canal would discharge it into a deeper and wider section of the Pasquotank River, thereby missing the worst portion of the stream. This addition would also lessen the distance by eight miles. The company accordingly decided upon this new improvement at an estimated cost of $150,000. Expenses were to be met with the profits which were expected to accrue from the improved facilities. The Civil War interrupted the work at a point known as Turner's Cut, business was suspended and the company was left with a consequent debt of nearly $100,000.[151] Moreover, competition with the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal had already caused a decline in the Dismal Swamp Canal trade. This newer canal, as its name indicated, connected the same bodies of water as did the older waterway.[152]

In contrast to the canals previously constructed in North Carolina, the Roanoke River Canal did not form a connecting link between two or more waterways; it was built as an aid to the

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149 *Canal to Connect Albemarle, Currituck, and Pamlico Sounds with Chesapeake Bay,* p. 15.
150 *Canal to Connect Albemarle, Currituck, and Pamlico Sounds with Chesapeake Bay,* p. 16.
151 Executive Document No. 19, 45th Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representatives, *Dismal Swamp Canal . . . ,* p. 10.
152 G. D. Luetscher, "Atlantic Coastwise Canals: Their History and Present Status," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Philadelphia, January-June, 1908), p. 97.

navigation of one particular river. In Virginia, the Dan and the Staunton converge to form the Roanoke, which flows through northeastern North Carolina into Albemarle Sound; the river has its headwaters in the mountains of the two states and drains a large section of both. Near Weldon are the falls of the Roanoke where, within a few miles, the river drops 100 feet.[153] These falls presented a serious obstacle to the safe passage of vessels from the upper to the lower river, and it was in an effort to overcome this difficulty that the Roanoke Navigation Company built the Weldon or Roanoke Canal.

The Roanoke Navigation Company was chartered in 1812 with the principal objective of improving river navigation from the town of Halifax to the Virginia line.[154] To accomplish this, the company planned to open the river westward from Halifax by constructing canals, locks, or sluices. The state granted the company authority to levy tolls but reserved the privilege of subscribing to 200 shares of stock—each share being valued at $100. By an amending act, passed in 1815,[155] the capital stock was increased to $300,000 and the state was allotted 250 shares. In addition, the company was authorized not only to improve the river from Halifax to Virginia but also to extend the project over the entire section of North Carolina through which the stream flowed. The Roanoke Navigation Company was soon organized and January 1, 1838 was set as the completion date for the canal.[156]

These acts fixed the company's rights in North Carolina. But the Dan and the Staunton flowed through a large area of Virginia, so that if a comprehensive program were to be followed, a charter from that state also was necessary. In 1816 Virginia passed an act similar to the one previously enacted in North Carolina and subscribed to $80,000 worth of stock. The North Carolina law provided for a subscription of $25,000, with a reservation that the sum could be increased to equal that held by Virginia.[157]

The falls presented the greatest obstacle to improving the river as below Weldon the river was navigable to Albemarle Sound,

153 Hoyt, *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, II, 136.
154 *Laws of North Carolina*, 1812, ch. 88.
155 *Laws of North Carolina*, 1815, ch. 13.
156 *Laws of North Carolina*, 1816, ch. 34.
157 Hoyt, *Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, II, 136.

with the exception of occasional shoals and bars. Above the falls only a moderate amount of dredging was thought to be necessary to afford excellent navigation in the upper river for small boats, particularly lighters and bateaux. By 1817 construction was well under way and land along the upper river had increased greatly in value.

The navigation company planned to construct a canal around the falls, thereby enabling upper river traffic to descend to the lower river and into Albemarle Sound. After making a survey, in 1819, Hamilton Fulton recommended that the company issue a contract for the entire project rather than employing the former system of piecework.[158]

Within the following year Fulton and Thomas Moore, the engineer for Virginia, met at the canal and made a joint report. They suggested that the locks be built seventy-five feet long and twelve feet wide, stating in their report that the river would never require larger locks. They also recommended an entrance or guard lock, at the western end of the canal, to prevent injury to the works by flood waters and to insure free and uninterrupted navigation at all times.[159]

In 1821 Fulton again surveyed the route and laid out the complete line with specifications for locks in the central section of the canal. Construction below the locks progressed to the basin at Weldon, where the company proposed an eastern outlet.[160]

By November, 1822, the company had spent $216,665.12½ on the waterway,[161] and in the next year it was complete with the exception of several hundred yards lying between the river and the basin at Weldon. Vessels had already begun to pass from the upper river through the canal and into the basin.[162]

The Roanoke Canal extended from the town of Rock Landing for eight and three-fourths miles, on the south side of the river, to Weldon. A pond, which was formed by the construction of a low, rock-and-gravel dam at the head of a considerable rapid, served as its western entrance. The guard lock, located 400 feet from the entrance, had no lift or fall and functioned merely as a

158 Hoyt, *Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, II, 86.
159 *Report of Sundry Surveys Made by Hamilton Fulton, Esq. Agreeably to Certain Instructions from Judge Murphey, and Submitted to the General Assembly at Their Session in 1819* (Raleigh, 1819), p. 9.
160 *Report of the Board of Public Improvements of North Carolina*, 1821, p. xi.
161 *Report of the Board of Public Improvements of North Carolina*, 1822, p. vii.
162 *Report of the Board for Internal Improvements of North Carolina*, 1823, p. 5.

control over the flow of water from the river into the canal. The waterway had an average width of twenty-five feet to the middle locks, three miles down the canal. These locks were composed of two combinations of two lifts each, with a total lift of thirty-five feet. They were sixteen feet wide—a greater width than that recommended by Fulton—and were supplied with slide sluices for wasting. From the middle locks to the basin at Weldon the canal stretched a little over five miles; it was twenty-five feet wide and four feet deep.[163]

From the basin at Weldon to the river was a distance of 1,800 feet, through which, at this time, the canal had not been built. Extension of the canal over this area would entail the construction of several locks at considerable expense, or would necessitate a portage from the basin to the landing on the river. The company was therefore undecided whether or not to undertake extending the project. In this connection, Fulton reported to the Board of Internal Improvements as follows:

> The expediency or inexpediency of locking into the river at Weldon's Orchard, depends, in my opinion, very much on the manner in which the produce carried down the river is purchased. If the produce of the country above the canal be purchased by general agents or wholesale merchants, and by them transported down the river and through the canal, for the purpose of being transshipped into vessels capable of navigating Albemarle Sound, and thence through the Dismal Swamp Canal to Norfolk; in this case, the erection of the locks will be a work of less importance. But if the produce is to be carried to market by its grower, in their bateaux, then the erection of the locks becomes an object of the greatest importance. In the latter case the producer will either have to sell his produce at Weldon, where there is not a sufficient market, or will have to portage his goods to the Roanoke River and hire another set of hands and a boat to take his produce to Williamston or Plymouth. If he plans to make any purchases and return with them, the same problem of transshipment would confront him.[164]

The Board of Internal Improvements was anxious for the Roanoke Navigation Company to complete the final section of the canal; it accordingly recommended to the General Assembly that the state subscribe to 250 shares of stock, thereby aiding in the

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[163] Roanoke Navigation Company, *Engineer's Report* (Portsmouth, Virginia, 1860), pp. 2-4.
[164] *Report of the Board of Public Improvements of North Carolina*, 1822, p. 29.

completion of the project from the basin to the river.[165] In response to the Board's request, the General Assembly passed an act, in 1823, subscribing to 250 shares upon the condition that the money thus subscribed be spent in construction of locks to connect the lower end of the canal with the river.[166] This subscription granted by the legislature was not accepted, however, by the Roanoke Navigation Company. Its directors stated that the stone locks would cost $19,000 more than the state subscription provided for, and even wooden locks would average $10,000 above the sum subscribed. Moreover, the company contended that it was not necessary to send bateaux down the river; it argued that the steamboats which ascended the lower part of the stream at Weldon could transport produce to towns in North Carolina and that the Dismal Swamp Canal provided a waterway to Norfolk.[167]

For several years the navigation company centered its attention upon improving the Roanoke below the falls, and improving the Staunton and the Dan above the falls. Sluicing on the Dan extended 152 miles above the canal to Leaksville, Rockingham County, North Carolina, and the Staunton was improved 88 miles beyond the waterway. Below the falls, with the exception of 15 miles, the entire river was made navigable for large boats. Produce from the upper river flowed through the canal to the basin where it was drayed to the river landing and on to the boats waiting to transport it downstream.[168]

The idea of locks connecting river and canal persisted, however, and upon continued insistence by the state the company accepted the stock subscription, in 1828, on the terms stipulated by the legislature five years previously.[169] Construction of the new locks began immediately but moved forward slowly. Since Hamilton Fulton was no longer employed by the Board of Internal Improvements, the project was directed by Colonel Andrew Joiner, treasurer of the navigation company. After two years of labor less than one-half of the project had been completed.[170]

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165 *Report of the Board for Internal Improvements of North Carolina*, 1832, p. 56.
166 *Laws of North Carolina*, 1823, ch. 17.
167 *Report of the Directors of the Stockholders in the Roanoke Navigation Company on the Subject of Looking into the River at Weldon* (Halifax, 1824), pp. 4-6.
168 *Report of the Board for Internal Improvements of North Carolina*, 1827, p. 15.
169 *Report of the Board for Internal Improvements of North Carolina*, 1828, p. 6.
170 *Report of the Roanoke Navigation Company*, 1830, p. 2.

In November, 1832, communication between the basin and locks was opened; the first, second, and third locks were finished, and water was let into the basins between them. The fourth lock pit, however, was so soft and spongy that it was necessary, in order to establish a suitable foundation, to drive poles fourteen to eighteen feet deep throughout the pit, upon which the lock was raised. The fifth and sixth locks were framed and ready to go into place as soon as the foundations were prepared, but heavy rains hindered completion of the work by causing the banks of the lock pit to slip and cave in.[171]

The locks were finally completed in the fall of 1834 and the canal was opened to traffic. Unfortunately, shortly after completion of the locks, the Roanoke flooded, breaking the sides of the lower locks. The company directors decided against re-building the damaged locks, arguing again that produce could be carried from the basin, by land, as easily as it could pass through the locks—even if the locks were in the best possible condition.[172]

While the last set of locks was being constructed, improvements in river navigation had greatly increased commerce on the canal. For the year ending October, 1830, there passed through the canal 1,728 hogsheads of tobacco, 4,030 barrels of flour, and 532 bales of cotton; the company collected tolls of $1,827.88 for the period. This produce entered the western end of the canal, passed through to the basin, and was then drayed to the river.[173]

PRINCIPAL PRODUCTS TRANSPORTED ON THE ROANOKE CANAL FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 31, 1831

Hogsheads of Tobacco	3,094
Barrels of Flour	9,768
Sacks of Salt	1,386
Bales of Cotton	699
Barrels of Fish	252½
Hogsheads of Tobacco Stems	78
Barrels of Tar	93
Kegs and Boxes of Manufactured Tobacco	1,564½
Hogsheads of Sugar	43
Barrels of Sugar	29½
Pounds of Coffee	17,680
Pounds of Nails	7,593

171 *Report of the Board for Internal Improvements of North Carolina*, 1832, p. 21.
172 *Report of the Board for Internal Improvements of North Carolina*, 1835, p. 7.
173 *Report of the Roanoke Navigation Company*, 1830, p. 3.

Pounds of Dry Goods	39,068
Pounds other than Dry Goods	51,784
Gallons of Wine	613
Gallons of Molasses	2,462
Gallons of Domestic Spirits	1,016
Gallons of Foreign Spirits	491
Casks of Lime	21
Tons of Castings	4⅘
Pounds of Loaf Sugar	2,867
Pounds of Lard	320
Pounds of Raw Hides	720
Pounds of Ginger, Pepper, Allspice	656
Casks of Cheese	6
Gallons of Linseed Oil	100
Feet of Scantling	7,083
Boxes of Tallow Candles	16
Boxes of Sperm Candles	4
Barrels of Beer	10
Bushels of Flax Seed	28
Pounds of Beeswax	421[174]

By 1835 the tolls collected on produce passing through the canal had increased to $7,426.40. The upper rivers had been improved. The Staunton, except at very low water, was navigable for small boats through the Blue Ridge Mountains to Salem, Virginia, and the Dan was also navigable to the foot of the Saura Town Mountains in Stokes County, North Carolina.[175]

PRINCIPAL PRODUCTS TRANSPORTED ON THE ROANOKE CANAL FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 31, 1835

Hogsheads of Tobacco	6,877
Hogsheads of Tobacco Stems	191
Hogsheads of Sugar	124
Barrels of Flour	10,646½
Barrels of Sugar	29
Barrels of Tar	63
Barrels of Port	21
Barrels of Fish	731
Bushels of Wheat	700
Bushels of Flax Seed	25
Bushels of Corn	800

[174] *Report of the Progress and Present Condition of the Affairs of the Roanoke Navigation Company* (Raleigh, 1831), p. 7. The tolls for this period were $3,811.27.
[175] *Report of the Board for Internal Improvements of North Carolina*, 1835, p. 6.

Bushels of Clover Seed	75
Pounds of Manufactured Tobacco	352,994
Pounds of Nails	30,940
Pounds of Coffee	55,620
Pounds of White Sugar	7,525
Pounds of Spices	754
Pounds of Beeswax	867
Pounds of Copper	3,575
Pounds of Seed Cotton	3,230
Pounds of Grindstones	14,590
Pounds of Feathers	84
Pounds of Bacon	24,343
Pounds of Raw Hides	720
Pounds of Goods	253,806
Pounds of Dry Goods	77,922
Gallons of Molasses	9,365
Gallons of Wine	1,518
Gallons of Domestic Spirits	9,179
Gallons of Foreign Spirits	1,387
Gallons of Vinegar	627
Gallons of Train Oil	350
Gallons of Spirits of Turpentine	65
Sacks of Salt	5,921
Casks of Cheese	23
Casks of Lime	546
Bales of Cotton	214
Boxes of Tallow Candles	66
Feet of Mill Stones	20
Tons of Bar Iron	37
Tons of Castings	8
Tons of Gipsum	28½
Shingles	7,000 [176]

Canal tolls continued to increase. For the year ending November 1, 1837, they amounted to $5,680.11, and in the following year they had reached the sum of $8,845.66.[177]

At this period in the history of the Roanoke Navigation Company, the Petersburg Railroad was completed to Gaston—near the head of the canal—and the Portsmouth and Roanoke Railroad had nearly reached Weldon.[178] These two railroads soon drew a large part of the up-country trade that had formerly gone down the lower Roanoke River to Norfolk. Several years later

[176] *Report of the Board for Internal Improvements of North Carolina*, 1835, p. 17.
[177] *Reports of A. Joiner, Treasurer, to the President and Directors of the Roanoke Navigation Company* (Weldon, 1837), p. 1.
[178] *Report of the Board for Internal Improvements of North Carolina*, 1838, p. 34.

Weldon and Gaston were connected by railroad and the Roanoke Canal was no longer considered an important outlet for the commerce of that region.[179]

The improvements made in the upper river allowed bateaux to descend the falls but steamboats, which had begun to travel on the lower river, were not able to navigate around the falls. Despite these improvements and the large sums of money which had been spent on the upper river and canal, the navigation company's future was seriously threatened by the advent of the railroad and the steamboat.

In a report made to the stockholders in 1838 the president of the Roanoke Navigation Company summed up the difficulties:

> At no period of our existence have the means of sending produce from home to any market been so great, or the transportation so cheap. The Roanoke region by means of these two roads, Petersburg Railroad and Portsmouth Railroad now have access to any and all the markets of the Union; to predict which, twenty years ago, would have been considered madness. The improvements however, of that period, more particularly, the great revolutions which have been wrought by the use of steam power, have disclosed the fact that our sluice navigation is unsuited to and insufficient for the wants and convenience of the country through which our rivers flow. Our improvements were planned and constructed before the advantages of steam power were generally known. Were they now to be made, there can be no doubt our funds might be more advantageously applied for ourselves, and for the country.[180]

The years which followed brought a further decline in the fortunes of the Roanoke Navigation Company and, as canal trade continued to decrease, permission was granted, in 1859, to discontinue the waterway. The company was allowed to sell all real estate and other holdings between Gaston and Weldon, provided the proceeds of the sale were used in paying its debts.[181]

One of the contributing factors in the decline of the Dismal Swamp Canal was the construction of a newer waterway which joined the sound region of North Carolina with Norfolk and Chesapeake Bay. The Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal began,

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[179] Cecil Kenneth Brown, *A State Movement in Railroad Development, The Story of North Carolina's First Effort to Establish an East and West Trunk Line Railroad*, p. 59.
[180] *Report of the Board of Internal Improvements of North Carolina*, 1838, p. 34.
[181] *Laws of North Carolina*, 1859, ch. 143.

at its southern end, in the upper reaches of the North River and crossed the Currituck peninsula to the sound; running from Currituck Sound to North Landing, Virginia, the route included the North Landing River and by means of excavation connected the Elizabeth River and Chesapeake Bay.

As early as 1807 this route had attracted the attention of the federal government. Robert Fulton, civil engineer to Albert Gallatin, reported to the United States Senate that a charter had been issued for the construction of a canal connecting the Elizabeth River with Currituck Sound. No stock was subscribed, however, as the Dismal Swamp Canal was already under way. This canal was supposed to provide eight-foot navigation and also to have a capacity equal to that of the Delaware and Raritan and the Chesapeake and Delaware canals, thus forming a portion of an inland waterway from New York to the sounds of North Carolina.

Sometime later this same course was surveyed by Hamilton Fulton, under the direction of the North Carolina Board of Internal Improvements, and by T. L. Patterson for the common council of Norfolk. These more or less superficial surveys demonstrated the practicability of such a route and furnished valuable data for future reference.[182]

Marshall Parks, of Virginia, was the actual founder of the Albemarle and Chesapeake and Canal Company. Parks had previously worked for the Dismal Swamp Canal Company, of which his father had been manager for twenty-five years, and knew from experience the necessity of furnishing an outlet for the commerce of that region. He was well aware of the difficulties to be encountered in securing a charter for a corporation that would compete with the canal company in which the state of Virginia held stock. He therefore applied for the revival of an act passed by the Virginia legislature, March 15, 1850, incorporating the Great Bridge Lumber and Canal Company.[183]

In 1854 the legislature amended the act of 1850 and granted a charter to the prospective company. This charter provided for

[182] Document No. 22, North Carolina General Assembly, Session 1860-1861, *Governor's Message and Busbee's Report on the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company*, p. 7. Governor Ellis had appointed Busbee to inspect and report on the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal. His report is contained in the document along with the message of the governor. Busbee was the reading clerk of the state senate. Raleigh *North Carolina Standard*, January 27, 1855.

[183] *Busbee's Report*, p. 8.

the opening of subscription books at Norfolk and other designated places to receive applications for stock. It also stipulated that subscriptions must total not less than $50,000 and not more than $500,000, with each share equal to $100, and that the city of Norfolk, upon the approval vote of three-fourths of its population, could subscribe to an amount not exceeding $100,000. The newly recreated Great Bridge Lumber and Canal Company was then empowered to obtain lumber and to cut a canal from the waters of the Elizabeth River to the North Landing River.[184]

The company was granted the right to purchase and hold land, not exceeding 30,000 acres, in Norfolk and Princess Anne counties, together with 100 yards of land on each side of the entire length of the canal. It could also hold and employ such machinery, boats, and other equipment as might be needed. The president and directors were allowed to demand and receive the same tolls as those collected by the Dismal Swamp Canal Company.[185]

Following passage of the act granting its charter, the company was organized in November, 1854, with Asa Worthington as president, Marshall Parks as vice president, and James Gordon, Thomas V. Webb, B. F. Simmons, and A. M. Burt as directors. Parks induced his friends to take the minimum amount of stock necessary for incorporation. Although favorably impressed with the advantages to be derived from the new canal, the city of Norfolk did not take any stock in the company. A large per cent of the traders and merchants considered the scheme visionary and their lack of cooperation made it difficult to arouse the interest of non-residents.[186]

A charter from North Carolina, or a confirmation of the existing one, was necessary if the company was to extend its operations into that state. Marshall Parks, endeavoring to stimulate interest, published a pamphlet in which he discussed the importance and utility of the canal as a public improvement, estimated the cost of construction, and predicted the probable volume of trade expected to pass through the new waterway. Ocracoke Inlet and the Dismal Swamp Canal had been the chief outlets

184 *Canal to Connect Albemarle, Currituck, and Pamlico Sounds with Chesapeake Bay* (New York, 1856), p. 19.
185 *Canal to Connect Albemarle, Currituck, and Pamlico Sounds with Chesapeake Bay*, pp. 19-20.
186 *Busbee's Report*, p. 9.

for commerce of the sound region; but the Ocracoke route proved impracticable, due to the high freight and insurance rates, and the Dismal Swamp Canal was too small, lacking sufficient depth and having currents which hindered navigation. The new canal was expected to offer a short, safe, and comparatively inexpensive waterway which would draw trade from these older and less convenient routes.[187]

In 1855 North Carolina's coastwise tonnage comprised two-thirds of the water-borne commerce, while the remaining one-third was devoted to foreign trade. The Albemarle and Pamlico region, with an annual tonnage of 45,000 tons, contributed three-fourths of the coastal commerce, but a large percentage of this shipping was carried on in vessels from other states. Practically all of the northbound trade and much of the southbound traffic was expected to use the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal rather than run the risks and delays of navigating through Ocracoke Inlet.[188]

Shortly after publication of Parks' pamphlet, Senator Jones, of Currituck County, introduced in the General Assembly of North Carolina bill "To Incorporate a Company to Construct a Ship Canal to Unite the Waters of Albemarle, Currituck, and Pamlico Sounds with Chesapeake Bay." [189] The bill was referred to the senate committee on internal improvements, where it received a favorable hearing. The committee reported that twenty counties were directly and immediately interested in this project, which was expected to increase greatly the prosperity of the entire northeastern section of the state. In the opinion of the committee, the difficulties and handicaps encountered in navigating the Dismal Swamp Canal and Ocracoke Inlet made it necessary to offer the citizens of eastern North Carolina a new and better water route. A proposal was made suggesting that the state endorse the bonds of the company; the corporation was then to furnish sufficient security to warrant this endorsement.[190]

The committee reported at length on the desirability of the

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[187] *Ship Canal to Unite the Waters of Albemarle, Currituck, and Pamlico Sounds with Chesapeake Bay* (Raleigh, 1854), pp. 3, 8-17.

[188] *Canal to Connect Albemarle, Currituck, and Pamlico Sounds with Chesapeake Bay*, p. 4.

[189] *Busbee's Report*, p. 10.

[190] *Report of the Senate Committee on Internal Improvements on the Bill to Construct a Ship Canal to Connect the Waters of Albemarle, Currituck, and Pamlico Sounds with Chesapeake Bay* (Raleigh, 1855), pp. 3-6.

proposed project and presented figures illustrating the expected traffic on the canal, as follows:

ESTIMATED QUANTITY OF PRODUCE SEEKING A MARKET THROUGH THE PROPOSED CANAL, CONTRASTED WITH THAT NOW ACTUALLY PASSING THROUGH THE DISMAL SWAMP CANAL

Ship Canal		*Dismal Swamp Canal*
7,500	Bales of Cotton	4,921
40,000	Barrels of Fish	30,821
80,000	Barrels of Naval Stores	53,332
2,000,000	Bushels of Corn	1,176,069
250,000	Bushels of Wheat	113,004
50,000	Bushels of Peas	17,428
100,000	Bushels of Potatoes	10,374
500,000	Cubic Feet of Timber	164,089
10,000,000	Feet of Lumber	5,945,186
10,500,000	Oak Staves	7,164,490
60,000,000	Cypress and Juniper Shingles	44,364,420
50,000	Cords of Firewood	5,623
200	Vessels with Fresh Fish	50
300	Vessels with Vegetables	none[191]

The legislature of North Carolina, having received the committee report, passed an act incorporating the company. In the preamble of the law, attention was focused upon the fact that the state possessed no adequate channel for commerce from the sound region to the ocean. As Virginia had incorporated the Great Bridge Lumber and Canal Company and granted it the right to connect the Elizabeth River with the North Landing River, so North Carolina empowered the company to construct a canal from Currituck Sound to the North River, thus completing the route from Chesapeake Bay to Albemarle Sound. The act provided that the capital stock of the Great Bridge Lumber and Canal Company should form a part of the stock of the new company. It also provided that, for the purpose of raising additional subscriptions, the company could, upon thirty days notice, open books at Currituck Court House, Shiloe in Camden County, Elizabeth City, Hertford, Edenton, Gatesville, Winton, Windsor, Jackson, Halifax, Plymouth, Williamston, Columbia, Hyde

[191] *Report of the Senate Committee on Internal Improvements* (1855), p. 6.

County Court House, Tarboro, Washington, New Bern, and other such places as it might direct. Subscriptions were not to exceed $300,000 in shares of $100 each. For each share $5.00 was to be paid at the time of purchase and the remainder of the sum was subject to call by the company. If a majority of the directors were residents of North Carolina, the company was to have the same officers as the Great Bridge Lumber and Canal Company and also the same rights and duties as were provided in the Virginia act of incorporation. To secure the land through which the canal must pass, the law stipulated that such property could be condemned upon the payment to the owner of a price designated as fair by a jury of twelve. As a further aid to the corporation, any county was allowed to subscribe to stock not exceeding $50,000, provided the matter had been first submitted to the voters. In addition, the state of North Carolina endorsed the bonds of the company for $250,000—for which the canal company mortgaged its entire works. The company was continued as the Great Bridge Lumber and Canal Company, but its name might be changed to the Chesapeake and Albemarle Canal Company—or any other—upon authorization of the Virginia legislature.[192]

On February 28, 1856, the legislature of Virginia passed an act assenting to all the provisions of the North Carolina law and changed the corporation's name to the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company. The capital stock authorized by Virginia plus that authorized by North Carolina gave the company a total capital stock of $800,000.[193]

A preliminary survey of the canal route was made in the spring of 1855 by Courtright, Barton, and Company of New York, under the direction of John Lathrop, who remained in the company's service as chief engineer.[194] The route started at the upper part of the North River, a wide and deep tributary of Albemarle Sound, and by way of a five-mile-long canal led into the northern portion of Currituck Sound. Currituck Sound and the North Landing River provided a natural waterway to North Landing, Virginia, and from there an excavation of nine miles would link the canal with the Elizabeth River.[195]

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[192] *Laws of North Carolina*, 1855, ch. 93.
[193] *Canal to Connect Albemarle, Currituck, and Pamlico Sounds with Chesapeake Bay*, pp. 25-26.
[194] *Busbee's Report*, p. 10.
[195] *Canal to Connect Albemarle, Currituck, and Pamlico Sounds with Chesapeake Bay*, p. 3.

The contractors proposed building the canal along this route at a depth of six feet at low tide and with a width of forty-three feet at the bottom and sixty-one feet at water surface. This excavation, with the installation of one or two locks and the necessary deepening of the rivers, would cost an estimated sum of $800,000. At a board meeting, July 11, 1855, this offer was accepted and the contract was executed the twenty-fifth of the following August. The contract was to be paid as follows: $400,000 in company stock at par value, $250,000 in guaranteed bonds of the company, and $150,000 in cash. Upon the completion of work worth an estimated $100,000 — an estimation to be determined by an engineer — a like amount of stock was to be paid to the contractors. Following that payment, monthly estimates were to be made and the contractors were to receive the bonds of the company for the previous month's work until another $100,000 had been spent. After this sum of $200,000 was paid, the contractors were to receive monthly the sum due in equal amounts of bonds, cash, and certificates of stock, while the company was to retain ten per cent of the stock payment as security for the proper construction of the canal. The contractors agreed to take an additional $150,000 in stock, in lieu of cash payment, from such stockholders as desired to transfer their shares. These stockholders were to be designated by Parks and Burt.[196]

Under this contract, Courtright, Barton, and Company began construction at each end of the canal in October, 1855, and, according to their agreement, they promised to finish the work within two years.[197] The entire length of the excavation was approximately fourteen miles, running through very low and level ground. The main operation consisted of a straight cut from the deep water of the North Landing River to tidewater at Great Bridge, on the principal branch of the Elizabeth River. The Virginia cut ran along the course of a shallow, straight depression where the land was low and swampy. In North Carolina the cut extended for five miles through a low, marshy peninsula lying between the deep water of Currituck and Albemarle sounds.[198]

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196 *Busbee's Report*, pp. 10-11.
197 *Busbee's Report*, p. 12.
198 Ruffin, *Sketches of North Carolina*, pp. 140-141.

Edmund Ruffin, in traveling through eastern Virginia and North Carolina, made a tour of inspection of the project on which he reported:

> But this very level of the land through the route, which so lessens the amount of earth to be excavated, serves, in most places, to increase the difficulty of the work. The surface of the swampy ground is, in many places, so nearly level with the water, and the earth is so generally a quagmire of peat, and so full of dead roots and buried logs, under the water, and of living trees and roots over and at the surface, when but very little above water, that the difficulties of removing such obstructions are very great, and would be insuperable if by the use of ordinary utensils, and with hand-labor.[199]

Excavation of the canal was facilitated by the use of steam dredges, fifty to sixty feet long and equipped with sixteen-horsepower steam engines. In May, 1856, there were seven of these dredges at work. Excavation began in deep water, which was necessary to float the vessels, and the machines worked side by side as they dredged the full width of the canal, moving forward after finishing each position. The machines operated on the crane principle with a scoop at the end of the beam which cut into the earth, removed it from the hole, and deposited it on the banks of the channel.[200]

At the first annual meeting of the company, held in Norfolk on December 2, 1856, a report showed that 4,433 of the total of 5,449 shares were represented and accordingly entitled to 1,250 of the 1,852 votes. Marshall Parks was unanimously elected president and the nine directors elected were T. L. Skinner, B. T. Simmons, Mills Roberts, Edmund Simmons, and Jas. C. Johnston of North Carolina; Thos. V. Webb, James Gordon, and J. Cary Weston of Virginia; and A. M. Burt of New York.[201]

The route of the canal was located in the Spring of 1856 and stretched for 8.45 miles in Virginia and 5.65 miles in North Carolina, making a total length of 14.10 miles exclusive of the contemplated improvements in the natural waterways which formed a part of the proposed route. The prevalence of yellow fever in Norfolk and Portsmouth delayed

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199 Ruffin, *Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 143.
200 Ruffin, *Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 144.
201 *First Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company* (Norfolk, 1857), pp. 3-4.

construction, but by February 13, 1856, the first dredge had begun operation; the last one had started the following May, so that by December about two miles of the canal had been completed. Only two dredges were employed on the North Carolina cut, where the digging was comparatively easy. The dredges working at North Landing — the first put in operation — met with unforeseen difficulties, however, and excavation proceeded slowly. The seventh dredge and a pump and pile driver were used in excavating for the lock, which was located about three-fourths of a mile west of Great Bridge. This lock was to be 220 feet long and 40 feet wide, with a foundation sunk sufficiently low to provide for a draft of eight feet of water.[202]

FINANCIAL STANDING OF THE ALBEMARLE AND CHESAPEAKE CANAL COMPANY, DECEMBER, 1856

Capital Stock Subscribed	
By individuals	$504,000.00
By county of Currituck	44,000.00
	$548,000.00
Received in cash, labor, materials, and county bonds for stock paid in full	$134,900.00
Installments on stock not paid in full	7,930.07
Expenditures	
Construction	$ 80,000.00
Engineers	9,382.41
Office	486.34
Contingent	3,829.84
Land Damages	183.65
Property, Steam Excavators, etc.	63,000.00
Commission	1,800.00
	$158,582.24[203]

In February, 1857, the General Assembly of North Carolina amended the company's charter by providing that the bonds, which had been endorsed by the state, were to be surrendered

202 *First Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company*, p. 8.
203 *First Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company*, pp. 8-9.

and the mortgage which had been executed by the company was declared void. To replace the bond endorsement, the state subscribed to $250,000 shares of stock and pledged an additional $100,000, to be paid when sea-going vessels began using the canal. This act also granted the company the privilege of increasing its capital stock to $1,500,000.[204] Sometime later the Virginia legislature complied with the North Carolina amendment. The $250,000 stock subscribed by North Carolina was paid for as follows: $25,000 on April 8, 1857; $60,000 on April 23, 1857; $165,000 on May 22, 1857; and the additional $100,000 on May 16, 1859.[205]

The second annual meeting of stockholders was held in Norfolk, November 12, 1857, with 2,007 of the total 2,482 votes represented. Parks was re-elected president and the number of directors was reduced to six — J. Cary Weston, Thos. V. Webb, L. H. Chandler, and James Gordon of Virginia; B. T. Simmons of North Carolina; and A. M. Burt of New York.

During the previous year two more dredges had been put to work on the canal, making a total of nine machines: two were on the North Carolina section, two at North Landing, two in the middle of the Virginia cut, and three at Great Bridge. Excavations at the various locations totaled a fraction over five miles, more than four-fifths of which was the full contemplated length of the canal. Two miles of the remaining distance, as yet incomplete, consisted of the line across Coinjock Bay in Currituck County—a section requiring only one-fourth as much excavation as the remainder of the line. Construction of the lock had also progressed; one-third of the piles, upon which the stone masonry of the foundation was to be placed, had already been driven.[206]

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE ALBEMARLE AND CHESAPEAKE CANAL COMPANY, OCTOBER 1, 1857

Subscription by Individuals	$515,400.00
Less Individuals Unpaid	393,109.93
	$122,290.07

[204] *Laws of North Carolina*, 1857, ch. 46.
[205] *Busbee's Report*, p. 13.
[206] *First Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company* (Norfolk, 1857), pp. 1-6.

Subscription from North Carolina	$250,000.00
Subscription from Currituck County	44,000.00
	$416,290.07[207]

In the fall of 1858, 3,600 feet of land had not yet been excavated; 1,600 feet were located in North Carolina and the remaining 2,000 feet lay in Virginia. The canal lock was supposed to be completed by the following February: it was to be the largest lock on the Atlantic coast, built of solid cut stone from the Maryland granite quarries and possessing a double set of gates. Being a tide lock, its lift was only one-half the rise or fall of the tide — usually not exceeding two feet — and its capacity was sufficient to allow the passage of vessels carrying 500 tons.[208]

Complying to a request made by the canal company to the Treasury Department, the federal government ordered the officer in charge of the fifth lighthouse district to direct a survey and place lights and buoys in the North River and Currituck Sound. The superintendent of the coastal survey accordingly detailed a party to complete an inspection of the upper North Landing River and Currituck Sound.[209]

In accordance with the North Carolina law of 1857, the company had obligated itself to enlarge and deepen the canal sufficiently to allow passage of vessels drawing seven and a half feet of water. This necessitated a new agreement with Cartright, Barton, and Company. At its meeting of November 13, 1858, the board of directors, therefore, passed a resolution requesting the company to negotiate with the contractors relative to enlarging the canal. A survey and estimate were made and reported by the engineer, June 28, 1859; a new contract was let, calling for eight-foot navigation at an additional expenditure of $250,000. The contractors agreed to accept seven-per-cent mortgage coupons, at eighty-seven and a half cents on the dollar, payable in monthly installments upon progression of the canal. A provision was inserted in the agreement which maintained that if the contractors

207 *Second Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company*, p. 7.
208 *Third Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company* (New York, 1858), p. 4.
209 *Third Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company*, p. 4.

should sell their bonds at a higher evaluation than eighty-seven and a half cents on the dollar, the excess thus received was to be accounted to the company as partial payment of its debt of $250,000. This agreement did not affect any former contract between the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company and Cartright, Barton, and Company.[210]

Although the completed canal would be much larger than had been contemplated at first and the difficulties encountered had proved formidable, the cost of the fully equipped waterway would fall short by a quarter of a million dollars of the authorized capital of $1,500,000. All the funds for construction of the canal were derived from stock subscriptions, at par, and the company at this time had no debt either floating or funded and had no interest accruing against it for any purpose.[211]

STATEMENT OF AFFAIRS OF THE ALBEMARLE AND CHESAPEAKE CANAL COMPANY, OCTOBER 1, 1858

Capital Stock		
Amount as Prescribed in Charter	$1,500,000.00	
Subscribed by North Carolina	250,000.00	
Subscribed by Currituck County	44,000.00	
Subscribed by Individuals	515,400.00	
Balance Undisposed of		$ 690,600.00
Receipts		
From State of North Carolina	$ 250,000.00	
From Currituck County	44,000.00	
From Individuals	327,207.00	
For Interest	7,331.00	
Included in Expenditures, but not paid	2,074.20	
		$ 630,612.20
Expenditures		
For Construction, Land Damages, Taxes Property, etc.		$ 599,531.56
Balance of Receipts		$ 31,080.64[212]

[210] *Busbee's Report*, pp. 13-14.
[211] *Third Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company*, p. 6.
[212] *Third Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company*, p. 5.

At the same time that the question of an additional expenditure of $150,000 by the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company was before the General Assembly of North Carolina, a joint committee from that body made a trip on the unfinished canal, during the 1858-1859 legislature, and made a report of their findings. From the lock at the Elizabeth River the canal extended, at a width of thirty feet to sixty feet and a depth of six to eight feet, through a swamp to the North River, where the Virginia canal terminated. Here the canal was from 110 to 120 feet wide and the river had an average width of 300 feet and a depth of ten feet for a distance of fifteen miles to Pungo Bridge. Below that point the river widened until, at the entrance of Currituck Sound, it was two miles wide and had a depth of no less than six feet at any place. Currituck Sound varied in depth from six to ten feet for a distance of ten miles from the North Landing River to the North Carolina canal.[213]

This report convinced the committee that eight foot navigation was practicable. The senate then passed a bill providing for a state subscription of $150,000; it failed, however, to reach a third reading in the lower house.[214]

The first vessel passed through the canal on January 9, 1859,[215] although the canal was not yet completed on the scale required by its charter. After failing to gain financial support from North Carolina, the board of directors employed other means of raising revenue. They authorized an issue, to the sum of $400,000, of seven-per-cent bonds which bore interest semi-annually; the interest and principal were payable in the city of New York, the term was seven years, and the issue was to be secured by a mortgage or deed of trust upon all canal, estate, rights, franchises, and property of the company.[216]

The president and treasurer then executed a deed on July 1, 1859, to William T. Hooker and Parker Handy of New York, and R. H. Chamberlaine of Norfolk, conveying the property in trust as security for the payment of the total amount of $400,000, or such amounts as should be issued.[217] Two hundred thousand dollars worth of bonds were offered for sale, secured by the $400,000

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213 Document No. 66, North Carolina General Assembly, Session 1858-1859, *Report of the Joint Select Committee on the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal*, pp. 1-3.
214 *Busbee's Report*, p. 15.
215 Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Port*, p. 203.
216 *Busbee's Report*, p. 16.
217 *Busbee's Report*, p. 16.

mortgage. A total of $136,000 was disposed of at eighty cents on the dollar, and $40,000 of this sum was applied to a new contract for deepening the canal.[218]

By October 1, 1859, $909,400 had been subscribed to the capital stock, with $101,300 of this amount still unpaid — making an aggregate receipt from all sources of $824,829. The latter amount exceeded but little the first contract made with Courtright, Barton, and Company, whereas the total cost of the project was expected to equal $1,150,000. It was this lack of subscription and the failure to secure more funds from the state of North Carolina that necessitated the issuance of the seven-per-cent mortgage coupon bonds.[219]

Fears were expressed, about this time, relative to the opening of a channel of eight or nine feet at the mouth of North River and in Currituck Sound. Frequent depressions of water in the sound from northerly winds and continual shifting of sand made navigation precarious, rendering the task of keeping an open channel an expensive and laborious one. Tide registers erected by the company engineer showed that an average height of water in the sound was 8.45 feet and in the canal, 8.44 feet. The lowest reading was 7.60 feet, and water was below eight feet only sixteen days in an eight-month period. The soil along the banks of the canal seemed to resist caving or sliding, being of a soft, tenacious clay, dark in appearance; It was hard to remove except in masses or lumps.[220]

FINANCIAL STANDING OF THE ALBEMARLE AND CHESAPEAKE CANAL COMPANY, OCTOBER 1, 1860

Capital Stock

Amount Subscribed	$ 909,400.00
Amount Paid	873,903.00

Receipts

From State of North Carolina	$ 350,000.00
From Currituck County	44,000.00
From Individuals	484,903.00
From Interest on State and County Bonds	10,020.00

[218] *Fifth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company* (Norfolk, 1861), p. 5.
[219] *Busbee's Report*, pp. 15-16.
[220] *Busbee's Report*, pp. 20-21.

From Bills Payable	29,745.00
From Tolls and Towing	16,644.00
From Sale of Mortgage Bonds	111,800.00
Total Receipts	$1,047,112.00

Expenditures

For Construction, Purchases, etc.	$1,022,493.00
Leaving on Hand	24,619.00[221]

VOLUME OF NORTHBOUND TRAFFIC ON THE ALBEMARLE AND CHESAPEAKE CANAL FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1860

Barrels of Cotton	6,632
Barrels of Fish	859
Barrels of Flour	5
Barrels of Naval Stores	2,215
Bushels of Corn	200,453
Bushels of Peas	226
Bushels of Flaxseed	419
Bushels of Beans	1,138
Bushels of Potatoes	6,341
Bushels of Wheat	30,488
Kegs of Lard	46
Pounds of Bacon	6,950
Feet of Lumber	356,294
Three Foot Shingles	222,400
Two Foot Shingles	586,475
Twenty-two Inch Shingles	243,475
Bunch Shingles	7,455,700
Hogshead Staves	816,894
Barrel Staves	24,700
Pipe Staves	3,235
Cubic Feet of Timber	17,004
Railroad Ties	6,011
Cords of Wood	953[222]

VOLUME OF SOUTHBOUND TRAFFIC ON THE ALBEMARLE AND CHESAPEAKE CANAL FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1860

Barrels of Bread	139
Barrels of Beef, Pork	928

221 *Fifth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company*, p. 7.

222 *Fifth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company*, p. 14.

Barrels of Beer, Cider	44
Barrels of Flour	2,052
Barrels of Fish	1,287
Barrels of Molasses	203
Barrels of Liquors	1,588
Barrels of Sugar	381
Hogsheads of Molasses	96
Bags of Coffee	278
Boxes of Hats, Shoes	155
Boxes of Soap, Candles	465
Boxes of Tobacco	104½
Cubic Feet of Dry Goods	6,302
Cubic Feet of Hardware	856
Kegs of Nails	509
Crates of Ware	40
Casks of Lime, Cement	1,878
Bushels of Salt	3,488
Sacks of Salt	1,279
Pounds of Iron	50,188
Tons of Guano	2,000[223]

During the year 1859 there was a continual flow of traffic on the canal although, in its unfinished state, such traffic hindered its completion. The company purchased several towboats to meet the demands of the trade and to aid ships in their passage through the canal. An increase in the obstacles hampering the traffic on the Dismal Swamp Canal greatly increased the number of vessels using the newer waterway. By July 1860, 1,655 vessels, totaling 6,600 tons, had passed through the lock at the northern end of the canal. One of the largest vessels making this trip was the barge *Enterprise,* from Halifax County, North Carolina, which[224] had a capacity of 10,000 bushels of grain or 600 bales of cotton.

The Civil War prevented any improvements in the canal for the years from 1861 to 1865, a period in which the waterway was under the control of the Union armies. During the war, the tugs *Wasp, Roanoke,* and *Junaluska* and a dispatch boat, the *Calypso* were destroyed, but with the end of hostilities the *Fannie* and the *Coinjock* were built to replace them. The war demonstrated the capacity of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal: 7,000 vessels,

[223] *Fifth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company,* p. 13.
[224] *Busbee's Report,* pp. 17-19.

the majority of which were employed by the United States government, passed through the canal. These vessels included steam tugs, propeller transports, side and stern wheel steamers, canal barges, and sailing ships. For the year 1861, 2,569 vessels passed through the canal; in 1862, 1,297; in 1863, 950; in 1864, 1,392; and in 1865, 2,617.[225]

With the close of the war canal trade continued to increase. In 1867-1868 over 16,000 bales of cotton passed through the waterway and by 1879-1880 the number had risen to 77,068. Thus with its steadily increasing traffic, the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal played an important part in strengthening Norfolk's position as the chief port of northeastern North Carolina.[226]

Thus it was that in the early and middle periods of the 19th century, canal construction seemed to be the answer to eastern North Carolina's transportation problem. Time and experience, however, proved otherwise. From the beginning to the end the canal companies were beset with difficulties: the physical hazards encountered necessitated constant repairs; construction was consistently delayed by financial insecurity; and few of the projects were sufficiently far-sighted to insure the completion of waterways adequate to the traffic they bore. When private enterprise lagged or failed, the state did contribute its support, but seldom to the degree needed for successful operation. The Civil War either halted most of the work on such projects, or the canals themselves fell into the hands of the enemy. Finally, the development of steam power in railroad transportation — an event which the early canal builders had not foreseen — brought an easier means of travel and transportation with which most of the waterways could not well compete.

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[225] *Tenth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company* (Norfolk, 1866), pp. 3-4.

[226] Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, p. 203.

A NORTH CAROLINA FARM JOURNAL OF THE MIDDLE 'FIFTIES

By Richard Bardolph

The expanding productivity of the farm comprises a critical chapter in the history of nineteenth-century American society. Fabulous increase in population in the nation as a whole outstripped both the rate of population growth on the farms and the degree to which new lands were brought under cultivation; and it was only as the dwindling rural community turned its exertions to increasingly fruitful account that the twin processes of industrialization and urbanization could proceed. And if the progressive improvement of farming methods was a desideratum in the country at large, it was an imperative in the old agricultural commonwealths of the South, where the original fertility of soils had not been great, where generation after generation had robbed the land by exhaustive methods of cropping, and where a complex of natural, social, and economic forces had retarded the development of a healthy diversification.

In the middle 'fifties the modern program of agricultural improvement through systematic, scientific instruction in the schools, the agricultural colleges, state and federal departments of agriculture, experiment stations, and local farm advisers still lay in the future, but important contributions were being made by humbler agencies like agricultural societies and fairs and the farm press. In North Carolina the development of these institutions paralleled a smilar evolution throughout the nation, and in that state, as elsewhere, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the agricultural periodicals were the most influential of the several agencies for the instruction of farmers at least until 1870.[1]

[1] No satisfactory account of the whole movement for agricultural reform in pre-Civil War America has yet appeared, but special phases are treated in Alfred Charles True, *A History of Agricultural Education in the United States, 1785-1925* (United States Department of Agriculture, *Miscellaneous Publication*, no. 36, Washington, 1929); Albert Lowther Demaree, *The American Agricultural Press, 1819-1860* (vol. VIII in Harry J. Carman and Rexford Tugwell, eds., *Columbia University Studies in the History of American Agriculture*, New York, 1941); Wayne Caldwell Neely, *The Agricultural Fair* (vol. II in *Columbia University Studies in the History of American Agriculture*, New York, 1935); Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (2 vols., Washington, 1933); Percy Wells Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (Washington, 1925); Avery Odelle Craven, *Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860* (vol. XIII, no. 1, in *Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, Urbana, 1926); Richard Bardolph "Agricultural Literature and the Early Illinois Farmer," *Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, XXIX, nos. 1-2.

A recent bibliography of the farm journals of the United States and Canada during the 100 years preceding 1910 indicates that about 500 of them were started in this country before 1870 and that of this number 13 were North Carolina publications.[2] These figures are misleading, however, because the bibliography includes a large number of items that cannot seriously be considered as genuine agricultural periodicals. After one strikes these from the compilation, the total is substantially reduced, and there is reason to believe that the figure for North Carolina would shrink to less than ten.[3]

The development of the agricultural press of North Carolina seems to have begun with the establishment by John Sherwood of the semi-monthly sixteen-page *Farmer's Advocate and Miscellaneous Reporter* (Jamestown, N. C., 1838-1843), though an unsuccessful effort to found a rural journal to be called the *Farmers' Magazine* was made at Raleigh in 1820.[4] The second successful attempt at farm journalism in the state was apparently the monthly *North Carolina Farmer*, published by Thomas J. Lemay at Raleigh for five years, from August, 1845, to July, 1850, and so far as is known no other genuine agricultural periodicals were established in that decade. The remainder of the North Carolina farm papers were started in the 'fifties and 'sixties, most of them surviving for less than three years. The brevity of the individual journal's life was typical of the experience throughout the nation.[5] The circulation of the several

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[2] Stephen Conrad Stuntz, *List of the Agricultural Periodicals of the United States and Canada Published During the Century July 1810 to July 1910*, United States Department of Agriculture, *Miscellaneous Publication*, no. 398 (Washington, 1941). The North Carolina titles listed by Stuntz for the period to 1861 follow: *Farmer's Reporter* (Salem 1835); *Farmer's Advocate and Miscellaneous Reporter* (Jamestown, 1838-1843); *North Carolina Farmer* (Raleigh, 1845-1850); *Hornet's Nest* (Charlotte, 1849); *Farmer's Journal* (Bath and Raleigh, 1852-1855); *New Era* (Goldsboro, 1852); *Carolina Cultivator* (Raleigh, 1855-1857); *Arator* (Raleigh, 1855-1857); *North Carolina Planter* (Raleigh, 1858-1861); *Edgecombe Farm Journal* (Tarboro, 1860). It appears from the Stuntz list that after the *North Carolina Planter* expired at the outbreak of the war, no other farm journals were published in the state until a full year after Appomattox.

[3] The *Hornet's Nest* (Charlotte, 1849-1851) for example, is included in the bibliography, but the journal was in fact a weekly newspaper of Whig persuasion. Like so many other news journals throughout the country at the time, the *Hornet's Nest* declared in its sub-title that it was "A Family Paper, devoted to Politics, Literature, Agriculture, Manufactures and News." It even went so far as to promise in its opening number that "a corner each week will be especially devoted to [the agricultural] interest; the best agricultural papers selected from; and no pains spared to render this feature interesting to the farming and planting community." This pledge was not redeemed. See *Hornet's Nest*, July 7, 1849, p. 3; and succeeding issues. A partial file is in the library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. The author's investigation of the farm journals published in Illinois before 1870 suggests the need for caution in using the Stuntz bibliography. The list mentions forty such items, but a careful examination of files of the publications mentioned makes it appear that only eighteen of them were *bona fide* rural journals. See Bardolph, *Agricultural Literature*, chap. IV.

[4] Stuntz, *List of Agricultural Periodicals*, pp. 55, 59.

[5] Demaree, *American Agricultural Press*, pp. 17-18.

North Carolina journals (again, typical of the fate of farm papers all over America,[6] was not large, and a considerable number of the readers of such works preferred to subscribe for some of the more distinguished periodicals published outside the state, like the *American Farmer* (Baltimore), the *Farmers' Register* (Shellbanks and Petersburg, Va.), the *Southern Agriculturist* (Charleston, S. C.), the *Southern Planter* (Richmond), and the *Southern Cultivator* (Augusta, Ga.). Some even chose to take one of the better northern or western publications. Though the North Carolina farm editors, enthusiastic improvers that they were, put no obstacles in the way of out-of-state publications, they stressed the need for local papers that printed contributions from neighboring husbandmen, to accord with local problems and circumstances.[7]

If the subscription lists of the North Carolina journals were not long (the *Arator*, published at Raleigh, 1855-1857), for example, never enjoyed more than 2,000 paying subscribers[8]), it is not to be assumed that the extent of their circulation was the measure of their influence. Imitation is forever genuflecting at the altar of success. If a particular North Carolina agriculturist found profit in following a specific program recommended by, say, the *North Carolina Farmer*, his neighbor, however he might sneer at "book farming," would be tempted to profit by his example.[9] It should perhaps be noted that the per capita circulation of farm journals in the slave states was sharply less

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[6] Bardolph, *Agricultural Literature*, chap. IV; *Valley Farmer*, X (May, 1858), 137.

[7] See, for instance, *Arator*, I (April, 1855, January, 1856), 1, 2, 29; II (September, 1856, February, 1857), 570, 683. A farmer in Harnett County wrote the editor of the *Arator* that "whilst there are certain great leading principles in the science of agriculture—such as the necessity of collecting and applying manure, hill-side ditching, thorough draining, close cultivation. &c— which apply every where; the various details in the modes of carrying them out must depend upon the nature of the soil and climate, the labor to be applied, the crops produced, and other local circumstances. Home papers alone can be relied upon for much important information needed on these branches of agriculture. [I hope] that others may be induced to furnish for your paper the results of their experience. . . ." *Arator*, II (February, 1857), 683.

The editor himself declared that numerous out-of-state journals were read by North Carolina farmers, "but none of them fully meet their wants." Furthermore, said he, "we have peculiar institutions, peculiar soil and climate, peculiar staple products, and must therefore have a peculiar system of agriculture, wrought out from the lights of experience and science, gathered from home as well as abroad—aye, in many important particulars, we must have an agricultural code and practice of our own; and it must be formed by attrition and consultation with, and help from one another. . . . A judiciously conducted paper, devoted to these ends, regularly appearing, cannot fail to be a useful auxiliary in their comsummation." *Arator*, I (April, 1855), 1-2. For similar arguments by agricultural improvers in a western state, see *Union Agriculturist and Western Prairie Farmer*, I (January, April, May, 1841), 5, 28, 34-35; II (January, 1842), 5; *Prairie Farmer*, IV (December, 1844), 288; V (January, 1845), 1; *Emery's Journal of Agriculture*, I (January 7, 1858), 19; Illinois State Agricultural Society, *Transactions*, I (1853-1854), 204 ff.

[8] *Arator*, II (March, 1857), 717; III (April, August, 1857), 733, 799.

[9] See Demaree, *American Agricultural Press*, *passim*, and Bardolph, *Agricultural Literature*, preface and *passim*.

than that in the free states, a circumstances that stemmed in part, of course, from the large proportion of Negroes in the South and the prevalence of illiteracy among the poor whites who worked on non-commercial farms. The *Farmer and Planter* (Columbia, S. C.) estimated in 1860 that there were then 233,600 subscriptions in the free states, and 32,250 in the slave states.[10]

The *Arator* may be taken as typical of the *ante-bellum* farm papers of North Carolina, and this monograph undertakes to sketch its history and to analyze its contents for the double purpose of suggesting the role of the agricultural press in the movement for farming progress in the state and of gleaning from its pages some picture of the condition of North Carolina's agriculture on the eve of the Civil War. The *Arator* was selected for the study partly because a complete file is available and partly because its predecessors were more clearly in an experimental stage. It may also be remarked that it was in the fifties that the movement for agricultural advance was at last attracting serious attention in North Carolina.

When Thomas J. Lemay issued the first number of the *Arator* in April, 1855, he pointed out that the venture was not a novel one to him, but a

> tried and familiar sphere of action, with the grateful exception of having divested ourself of every thing connected with party politics. . . . and we cannot but rejoice that, instead of fighting in a heated and dusty arena, we shall luxuriate in blooming fields, and balmy air, and quiet cottages, and draw animation from humming shops and bustling markets.[11]

Twenty years earlier Lemay had become sole owner of the Raleigh *Star*, after he had already been in the newspaper business since 1827. The *Star* had been founded in 1808 as a "paper devoted to the Agricultural Interests." In its early years it was neutral in politics, carried little advertising, ran several departments, including one devoted to agriculture, and closely resembled the "family newspaper" which was later to become so common in the America of the forties and fifties. When Lemay bought the paper in 1835 it had become mildly political, and the

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[10] Cited in Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern States*, II, 788.

[11] *Arator*, I (April, 1855), 1. The combined resources of the New York Public Library and the Library of the University of North Carolina provide a complete file of the *Arator*.

Whig party line became more pronounced during the eighteen years while it was under his control.[12]

Since his first connection with the press he had been pushing the cause of agricultural advancement, and, to use his own words,[13]

> in 1845, so deeply convinced were we of the importance of arousing our farmers to action, that we commenced the publication, without previous subscription, of a monthly periodical devoted to their interests, called the "North Carolina Farmer," which we continued, at a sacrifice for five years, amidst the multiplied and arduous labors demanded by the chief business from which was derived our support; (nor did we abandon it until forced to do so by declining health;) and in which we urged, from first to last, all the important measures [of farm legislation] which we have since had the pleasure to see adopted.

While playing the double role of publisher of the *Star* and of the *North Carolina Farmer,* Lemay's papers became "the first in the State to urge the establishment of [the North Carolina State Agricultural Society], and we doubt not contributed in a good degree towards preparing the public mind for the important movement." [14] He opened the campaign in November, 1848, number of the *North Carolina Farmer.* "This," he later declared, "we continued to urge, from year to year, until 1852, when our suggestion was adopted, and a meeting was held in this city . . . and the now existing Society was organized." [15] Among the other voluntary and legislative aids for the farming class for which, as editor of the *North Carolina Farmer,* he contended, and which he later "had the pleasure to see adopted," were the establishment of numerous county agricultural societies, the creation of a Geological Survey for North Carolina, legislative grants-in-aid for the state and county societies, and the development of railways in the state.

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[12] Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1937), 766-767; *Arator,* I (April, 1855), 29. It is interesting to note that Lemay's nine-year-old son, Leonidas, started a short-lived paper—it ran for a few years—called the *Raleigh Microcosm,* devoted to "the flowers of Literature, Science, Commerce, and Agriculture." Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina,* p. 796. So stout was the elder Lemay's adherence to Whiggism that he earned for himself in the forties the sobriquet of "The Little Blower of the Little Whig Trumpet." Edgar Estes Folk, "W. W. Holden and the North Carolina Standard, 1843-1848," *North Carolina Historical Review,* XIX (January, 1942), 22-47. See p. 29.

[13] *Arator,* I (April, 1855), 29.

[14] *Arator,* I (April, 1855), 8.

[15] *Arator,* I (April, 1855), 29.

The *North Carolina Farmer* was discontinued in 1850 when failing health (not to mention a failing subscription list[16]) induced Lemay to lighten his publishing responsibilities, and three years later he sold the *Star* to William C. Doub. In another two years he rejoined the editorial fraternity, this time as founder, owner, and editor of the *Arator*. In the opening issue he declared that he had been "solicited and urged" to undertake its publication

> by a number of the most intelligent and influential members of the State Agricultural Society and other friends of the cause, with the assurance of their hearty and active support of the work. Relying upon the fulfillment of their pledges and upon the liberality of the public, we now lay our hands to the *plough*, with the determination never to "look back."

No other farm periodical, he said, was being issued in North Carolina at the time, and he promised that it would be a home journal devoted to the state's peculiar interests.[17] A practical farmer himself, and apparently the owner of an extensive farm near Raleigh,[18] Lemay pledged the *Arator's* best endeavors to the fulfillment of its mission through the four-fold program of supporting the state and county agricultural societies "in their patriotic and laudable efforts to advance all the industrial pursuits and interests of North Carolina" by

> collecting and publishing from our own most skillful and successful agriculturists, the best methods of cultivating, manuring, and otherwise improving our land, and of managing every branch of husbandry in our own State; . . . presenting a view, so far as it can be culled from the best sources, of the same things in other parts of the world; [and by] stimulating our most reliable practical men to work out from

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[16] Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, p. 796.

[17] *Arator*, I (April, 1855), 1. "We flatter ourself," said the editor, "in the prosecution of this work, as we shall assiduously labor to impart information and pleasure, that we shall contribute a mite in promoting 'the common good and general welfare;' and shall receive, in return, satisfactory and substantial evidence of the public appreciation of our efforts; for our principles, objects and policy will be so interwoven with the web of every man's prosperity and happiness, that all readers will be interested in its pages and serve themselves by contributing to its support."

Lemay's statement that no other farm journal was being published in the state at the time was a surprising error. The *Carolina Cultivator* was established—also in Raleigh—some weeks before the *Arator's* first appearance, and expired early in 1857.

[18] Lemay speaks of his experience in raising oats in the 1853 season, and in an early number of the *Arator*, and several months later, in an advertisement in the journal's columns, he offers to sell "200 acres land 4 miles from Raleigh—a valuable market farm." I (September, 1855), 183; II (February, 1857), 704.

the whole a system of *practical agriculture* of our own, suited to our own locality and condition.[19]

Declaring that the farmers of the state must take counsel together to devise what he called a "new practical system," he called upon them to make the *Arator* their organ for the purpose. The best crops and the varieties best adapted to North Carolina's agriculture had yet to be determined upon, and, said he:

> we should seek to ascertain the rotations in which they should follow each other, with the least exhaustion of our lands; the best fertilizers within our reach; the best method of draining; and the most effectual means of preventing the washing and other deteriorations of our soils; for we cannot, as a general thing, rely upon guano and other foreign substances, though in some instances and localities they may be, and have been, used with signal advantage.[20]

Outworn practices and theories were to be rooted out, the frontiers of agricultural knowledge were to be rolled back by bold experiment and wide diffusion of its results, and the whole business of farming was to be grounded on understanding rather than on ancient usage and blind imitation. And it was the press, said the *Arator*, that would prove "the cheapest, easiest, and as to much valuable information, the only medium through which these things can be accomplished." [21]

Throughout its brief life the *Arator* labored tirelessly to advance these objects. Through editorials, articles selected from other journals, and letters from the plain farmers of the state which were printed in its columns, the paper boldly attacked the defects in the state's husbandry, contended fearlessly for reforms, offered concrete proposals for their realization, and waged

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[19] *Arator*, I (April, 1855), 1.
[20] *Arator*, I (April, 1855), 2.
[21] *Arator*, I (April, 1855), 2. A zealous improver in Tarboro echoed the same sentiments. "If the plan of improvement now going on in this county [Edgecombe], and so rapidly spreading in the adjoining counties, can be made general throughout the State, and it is through the influence of your valuable paper this may be effected—for I suppose nearly every farmer in the State will take the 'Arator,' . . . then we may expect to see the Old North State, no longer the by-word, the 'Rip-Van Winkle of the South,' shake off her lethargy, and be, as she is well able to be, the best farming State in the Union." *Arator*, I (June, 1855), 80.

constant warfare against ignorance and apathy.[22] Readers were repeatedly urged to look upon agriculture as a science, and the journal offered materials giving systematic instruction in the scientific principles underlying agriculture and in the fundamentals of plant and animal physiology, animal breeding, vegetation, growth, and soil fertility.[23] The value of extensive reading of agricultural books and periodicals by plain farmers was frequently emphasized, and the husbandman's perverse prejudice against book-farming, so characteristic of the rural class throughout the nation, was subjected to ceaseless attack.[24] One reader, complaining that he had heard and read a great deal about subsoil plowing almost everywhere except in North Carolina, and that few had tried the reform in this state, went on to mourn:

> It is mortifying to reflect upon the tardy movements of our people, who wrap themselves up in the mantle of ignorance, and exclude from their minds the rays of light which pour in from all quarters, by stupid and obstinate resistance to all book farming. We are thus more than a quarter of a century behind our haughty neighbor on the north . . . . How, then, can it be hoped that our agriculturists of the present generation will adopt the subsoil culture? A few in North Carolina have tried it successfully; but it is feared an age will roll by before the example will be followed by many.[25]

Several months earlier an *Arator* article on crop rotation made the point that "the wisdom and propriety [of rotation] are

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[22] For one of these editorial calls to arms, see "Farmers of North Carolina, Improve!" in *Arator*, I (January, 1856), 310. "You must first duly impress upon your minds a sense of the importance and dignity of your calling," the paper's readers were told. "Your vocation is one of which you have reason to be proud." You should "raise yourselves to a state of independence and commanding influence and power in the community." Second, success in farming depends on "a thorough and correct knowledge of the true science and practice of your art." And since no one knows anything intuitively about farming, we need the instruction of others, oral and written. Agricultural books and periodicals are more reliable than casual hearsay information. Third, farmers must "often meet together and discuss and talk over the matters connected with your calling;" and finally, farmers must *practice* what they learn. "By supineness, over-cropping, and bad management, we have greatly defaced and injured one of the fariest and finest countries in the world, and well nigh ruined ourselves . . . . All, everywhere, must arouse from their lethargy, and enter HEART AND HAND INTO THE GREAT AND GLORIOUS CAUSE OF AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT." Other states, said the journal, have been moving in this direction for some time with splendid results. "Is it not time that the people of North Carolina, in every county and neighborhood, were manifesting a decided zeal and interest in this great cause? Prompt and united action among those who are already alive to the matter, will soon put the masses in motion, who will, we trust, press nobly on until they raise our good old State to the high and proud position to which she is entitled among the great agricultural States of this vast Republic."

[23] As in *Arator*, I (April, May, November, 1855), 2, 33-34, 225-227; II (April, 1856), 411-415. It should be noted that much of what passed for scientific agriculture a century ago has lost its validity. Too frequently, over-zealous improvers fell into the error of oversimplification, particularly when they pinned too much faith on "soil analysis" and agricultural chemistry in the Liebig tradition. See Bardolph, "Agricultural Literature. . . ," p. 18, 118 ff.

[24] Examples may be found in *Arator*, I (April, May, 1855; January, 1856), 2, 3-5, 33-34, 310.

[25] *Arator*, II (March, 1857), 705.

acknowledged by all the works of creation except two — the one being a species of political *pap-sucker,* known as the *parasite office-holder,* and the other, the inveterate enemy of agricultural improvement, known as the *anti-book farmer.*" One of these will be "*rotated out,*" said the magazine, and "the other will find himself *out* at the *pocket,* out at the *crib,* and out at the *larder.*" [26]

The sources from which materials for the *Arator's* columns were drawn followed the pattern long since established by the agricultural periodicals of the nation. Out-of-state journals with which the editor exchanged were placed under heavy contribution, agricultural items were sometimes drawn from the newspapers of North Carolina and other states, excerpts from the transactions of societies were printed, selections were taken from books on husbandry, the editor made some contributions of his own, and effective use was made of the annual addresses delivered at state and county fairs and of premium essays written by farmers in competition for awards offered by societies for farming improvement. It was from these quarters that the great majority of the pieces came, but only because the response to the editor's plea for communications from the readers themselves was rather less than he had hoped for. Lemay and some of his more progressive readers constantly reiterated the thesis that the true function of the agricultural periodical was to furnish a clearing house or pool of agricultural intelligence through which farmers might appropriate for themselves the accumulated experience of the entire rural class. Every farmer who had a new fact to offer, who had discovered a more efficient practice, who had been stung by some humbug, or who had any information that might be of benefit to his fellow farmers was importuned to "write for the papers." Although, as the months went by, a considerable fraction of the columns came to be filled with excellent contributions from working farmers, the *Arator,* like so many of its contemporaries all over the land, never wholly succeeded in becoming the farmer's forum that it hoped to be.[27] A number of the older journals in the North and West were far more successful in this regard. It was, understandably, no easy matter to induce the ill-tutored farmer to sit down by the light of a tallow

[26] *Arator,* I (April, 1855), 3.

[27] On the effort to persuade farmers to write for the journal, see *Arator,* I (April, May, 1855), 1, 2, 53; II (September, 1856; February, 1857), 570, 683; III (April, 1857), 733.

candle after a long day in the fields, to turn author and dash off a piece on manuring or the value of underdraining.

An effective device that was employed to elicit information was the question-and-answer method. Sometimes farmers sent in brief questions asking the opinion or advice of the editor, and the queries, together with the answers, would be published in the periodical. Or again, one reader would send in questions asking the experience of other readers, and they would be answered in succeeding issues by interested farmers. More rarely, the editor himself would seek specific information from subscribers by printing interrogatories of his own.[28]

Lemay's tireless campaign to extend the circulation of the *Arator* yielded disappointing results, and it was the "want of adequate patronage" that finally induced him to give up the journal in its third year. Pointing out that the paper's influence, its quality, and indeed its very survival depended in large degree upon an ample subscription list (to provide both readers and writers for its columns, and to furnish revenue for its improvement), he called upon the farmers of the state to form clubs of subscribers. A free copy was offered for every block of five subscriptions sent him, and larger prizes were held out to those who would supply him with longer lists.[29] In some cases he sent unsolicited sample copies to known friends of improvement and then, unless they were returned to him marked "refused," the addressees' names were entered on the subscription roll. He expressed the hope that fifty or sixty patrons would be found in each county of the state and promised that he would then do his best to make the *Arator* the "very *best* agricultural paper in the country." [30] At first the response was encouraging. In June, 1856, Lemay announced that the best list had been sent in by Jesse H. Powell, of Edgecombe County, "one of the most intelligent and successful farmers of that pioneer county," who submitted forty paid-up subscriptions. Another list, almost as large, was trans-

[28] See, for instance, *Arator*, I (December, 1855), 281-282, where Lemay answers at some length a request from a Person County farmer concerning the value of charcoal dust as manure. Two full pages of questions on a wide variety of farm problems are answered by the editor on II (June, 1856), 474-475, and another full page providing this service appears on II (July, 1856), 498. See also II (January, 1857), 676-677. On page 638 of the December, 1856, issue Lemay asks his readers: "Wanted to know—what is the best remedy against rust in wheat?"

[29] *Arator*, I (April, 1855), 25. A silver cup worth twenty-five dollars, "or the cash, if preferred," was offered for the largest list, a fan mill worth twenty dollars for the next largest, and a hay cutter worth fifteen dollars for the third largest.

[30] *Arator*, I (May, 1855), 53.

mitted by Thomas Ruffin, "the venerable and distinguished President of the State Agricultural Society." [31] Thereafter, however, the harvest diminished. The circulation never reached 2,000 and Lemay vainly published appeal after appeal for greater exertions among the farmers of North Carolina.[32] Perhaps the modest circulation of the *Arator* would have sufficed to keep it alive had it not been for the circumstance that an astonishing number of readers failed to pay for their papers. Although the price was set at only a dollar a year, in advance, and a dollar and a half on credit, Lemay like other agricultural editors throughout the nation suffered heavy losses from defaulting subscribers, though he frequently inserted little items in his papers beseeching his readers to make their payments. In the spring of 1856 he reminded his readers that since " *'times are hard,'* and . . . *provisions cannot* be obtained, without the *Almighty Dollar*, I have no doubt that they will send in the *Cash* immediately." Two months later he declared: "Our list, if *every one* pays, will *barely pay expenses;* and surely no one will be so ungenerous or unjust as to *delay* payment. On the contrary, we *expect* to be agreeably *surprised, very soon,* by receipt of the money and a batch of new subscribers from all of them." [33]

Another grave disappointment came to Lemay when a proposal to make the *Arator* the official organ of the State Agricultural Society failed of adoption. It was upon the urging of several of that association's leaders that Lemay undertook to found the paper early in 1855. He was assured that the organization would lend active support to the project, and he drew the inference, whether rightly or wrongly, that his publication would be officially patronized by the society. At a meeting in January, 1855, some months before the *Arator* was launched, a resolution was passed authorizing the executive committee "to adopt, as the organ of this society any agricultural periodical published in this State, which they may think proper, and . . . to take such steps towards securing subscribers, as in their judgment they see proper." [34] Some months later the committee reported at the

[31] *Arator*, I (June, 1855), 93.
[32] For some of these pleas, see *Arator*, I (January, 1856), 316; II (June, August, 1856), 473, 537; III (April, 1857), 733.
[33] *Arator*, I (October, 1855), 219; II (April, June, 1856), 401, 473.
[34] See proceedings of the North Carolina State Agricultural Society in *Arator*, I (April, 1855), 17-23.

autumn meeting that it had been unable to come to an agreement on the subject, and referred the question back to the membership. Thereupon, after considerable debate, a motion to lay the question on the table carried, and there the matter rested. Lemay felt that he had been ill used, and it is perhaps more than coincidence that from that day forward he ceased to serve as the society's secretary. It was characteristic of his genuine zeal for rural advance, however, that the *Arator's* stout support of the society and its program continued undiminished.[35]

The harassed editor found some encouragement, while the state society's action was still pending, in a letter from George W. Blacknall, chairman of the executive committee of the Granville County Agricultural Society, dwelling upon the importance of agricultural journals. "I propose [added Blacknall] subscribing for fifty or one hundred copies of the *Arator* or *Cultivator* to be given out as premiums at the coming Fair to our farmers, and should like to see the same course adopted by other county Fairs, also by the State Fair." [36]

Though Lemay ascribed the failure of the *Arator* to its small subscription list and to the "fallaciousness of human promises and prospects," [37] his own ill health was another cause. Just as physical infirmities had obliged him to abandon the *North Carolina Farmer* several years earlier, so repeated sickness constantly interfered with his direction of the *Arator*. In numerous issues he apologized for the want of editorial matter and for long delays between issues—sometimes they fell several months behind — because of what he called "severe and protracted domestic affliction." On one occasion he cut an article short with the words: "We have more to say: but from weakness and exhaustion, caused by severe sickness, we can hold the pen no longer." [38] In his final number he expressed thanks to those who had counselled and sustained him and hoped that a farm journal would "yet spring up among us, more worthy of their support." Asking subscribers

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[35] *Arator*, I (April, 1855), 17; III (August, 1857), 799.

[36] *Arator*, I (August, 1855), 149. The practice of awarding agricultural journals and books as premiums at state and county fairs was tried, with varying success, in other sections of the country. See, for instance, Illinois State Agricultural Society, *Transactions*, III (1857-1858), 83-88, 355; *Illinois Farmer*, I (February, 1856), 49b; *Prairie Farmer*, XVII (March 19, September 24, December 24, 1857), 94, 306, 413.

[37] *Arator*, III (April, August, 1857), 733, 799. In the closing months of the journal's life Lemay tried to keep it solvent by cutting down its size from the usual 32 pages to 24, and at last to 16.

[38] See *Arator*, I (September, October, 1855), 187, 219, 220; II (November, 1856; January, March, 1857), 625, 676, 717; III (May, June, 1857), 752, 770.

who were still in arrears to send him their remittances by mail "at the risk of the Editor," he promised that he would promptly refund the balances due those who had paid in advance.[39]

The *Arator's* column's were addressed primarily to the non-slaveholding yeoman farmer and the small slaveholding agriculturist, for it was these husbandmen, after all, who stood at the center of antebellum North Carolina agriculture. The traditional picture, so dear to the heart of romancers, of a commonwealth made up almost wholly of great planters, Negro slaves, and "poor whites" simply does not fit the facts. Of the nearly 193,000 persons listed in the eighth federal census (1860) as gainfully employed in North Carolina, 104,438 — about fifty-four per cent — were described as being engaged in agriculture.[40] The remainder were distributed among 215 other occupations. At no time in the fifties did as many as a third of the white families in the state possess slaves; at the beginning of the decade the proportion of the white population connected with slave ownership stood at only 29.2% and ten years later the proportion was about the same.[41] Still more significant is the fact that of the total number of slaveowners in 1860 (34,658), 88% owned less than 20 slaves, including of course, women and children, and men too old to work, 70% owned less than 10, nearly a half owned five or less, and 20% owned only a single slave.[42]

The census data on the size of North Carolina's farms on the eve of the Civil War are also illuminating. The average size of the state's farms in 1860 is given as 316 acres (it had been 369 acres in 1850), but this figure must be interpreted cautiously. For one thing, the average number of *improved* acres per farm was only 102 (129½ in 1850); and, for another, the distribution of acres was very uneven. There were, for example, over 8,000 farms, — if they may be called that — in 1860 having less than three acres of land; another 2,050 had from 3 to 10 acres; and over 25,000 farms had from 20 to 50 acres. On the other extreme, there were 1,184 farms having from 500 to 999 acres, and 311 farms exceeded 1,000 acres. The total number of farms in the

[39] *Arator*, III (June, 1857), 799.
[40] *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Population*, pp. 362-363. Of the total engaged in agriculture, 85,198 are listed as "farmers," 19,119 as "farm laborers," and only 121 as "planters."
[41] Bureau of the Census, *A Century of Population Growth* (Washington, 1909), p. 138; Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, pp. 56-57.
[42] *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture*, p. 236.

state in 1860 was a little over 75,000, and of that number nearly 55,000, or almost three fourths, had fewer than 100 acres. Nearly *half* the farms of North Carolina had less than *fifty* acres.[43] While it appears from the census figures that the relatively small class of large land-owners (those possessing 500 acres or more) held substantially less than half the state's land, it is not to be denied that this group enjoyed a social, economic, and political preponderance far out of proportion to their numbers.

The material in the *Arator's* columns reflected the population pattern. The special problems of the big planter—except, of course, when, as in the case of soil exhaustion and the want of diversification, they were the problems of smaller planters and farmers too — were largely ignored. Some of the correspondence for the journal came from great planters,[44] but even then their contributions were of benefit to the whole rural community because they dealt not with the minutiae of big plantation economy but with the general aspects of farm improvement like manuring, hillside ditching, more careful tillage, or the wisdom of diversifying farm operations. Not only did the *Arator* address its exhortations chiefly to the yeoman farmer and the small planter, but a notably small number of pieces on the culture of the state's principal staples, cotton and tobacco, appeared in the journal.[45] Recognizing the greater need for instruction in the raising of other products, the editor published a far larger number of essays, articles, and letters on grains, grasses, root crops, fruits, livestock, and soil-building legumes. It was the rank and file of farmers that the *Arator* called upon to improve their practice, to stop the butchery of the state's soils, to make concerted demands for legislation to alleviate their lot, to diversify their production,

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[43] *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture*, pp. 210, 222, 235-236; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Population*, pp. 657-680; Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, pp. 53-59.

[44] Johns S. Dancy of Edgecombe County, co-owner of "Panola," generally considered the finest plantation in North Carolina in the fifties, wrote occasional pieces for the *Arator*, as did a few other large planters in the state. "Panola" comprised nearly 1,000 acres, used 34 blacks (whose heaviest labor was the hauling of some 44,000 wagon loads of manure to the fields in a year), and raised great quantities of grain, sweet potatoes, forage crops, and hogs, in addition to the staple cotton. See, for instance, *Arator*, I (April, July, August, 1855), 14-15, 112, 138. Dancy was one of the leaders in the cause of agricultural improvement in Edgecombe County and the state at large. Edgecombe, it may be noted, was in the forefront of the crusade for advancing the state's husbandry.

[45] For examples of these infrequent *Arator* selections on cotton and tobacco, see "Culture of Cotton—Selection of Seed," *Arator*, I (March 1856), 374-375; "Cotton Planting," II (July, 1856), 494; "The Culture of Short Staple Cotton," II (August, 1856), 521-523; "On the Cultivation of Tobacco," I (February, 1856), 335-337; "Raising the Tobacco Plant," II (May, 1856), 439-440; "Tobacco; Its Culture and Management. Read before and published by order of the Liberty Neck Agricultural Club of Amelia County [Virginia]," II (November, 1856), 615-618.

to enlist in the campaign to make North Carolina agriculturally and industrially independent of her sister states, to make common cause to improve social life on the farm, and to associate themselves with societies designed to promote the farmers' interest. That some of the specific practices enjoined upon the farmers by the journal proved, in the light of experience and scientific discoveries that still lay in the future, to be misguided or based on faulty premises is not nearly so important as the fact that the *Arator,* like its fellow farm journals all over the land, was challenging its readers to think about their problems and to experiment for their solution. Agricultural science, in any genuine sense, was still very much in its infancy in the fifties, but the spirit of improvement, the willingness to break with established practice, and the growing awareness that farming must and *could* be improved were the elements from which the later progress was compounded.

No subject was more extensively discussed in the pre-Civil War farm periodicals of the South than that of re-building the section's exhausted soils, and to this rule the *Arator* was no exception. When, in an early issue of the publication, an Edgecombe County farmer outlined his practical plan for soil restoration, the editor commented:

> our old worn out lands need only to be replenished with the materials abounding on their premises, to be converted from dreary and sterile wastes into cheerful and fruitful fields and farms on every side. . . . It will *insure increased crops more than paying for the trouble and expense of improving — giving abundance for consumption on the farm, leaving a handsome surplus for market — and enhancing the money value of the land* MORE THAN SIX PER CENT EVERY YEAR. . . . [It will solve] a problem of more vital importance to the people of North-Carolina than the *philosopher's stone. . . .*[46]

The famous Thomas Ruffin warned that though the state's natural endowments were "good enough—too good, I am tempted to say, for sinful man," the patrimony was being swiftly dissipated.[47] Another jeremiad, excerpted from the transactions of the Agricultural Association of the Slaveholding States, declared:

[46] *Arator,* I (June, 1855), 79-80, 83.
[47] *Arator,* I (November, 1855), 244-252.

The Chronicles of the first half of the 19th century will present no great department of human industry subject to greater reproach than that of Southern Agriculture. The vicious system has grown out of a seemingly unlimited extent of virgin soils, which nevertheless have been rapidly subdued and exhausted. Such a temptation may furnish some apology, but little justification, to the intelligent agriculturist, accessible as he is, to the precepts and examples of better systems of husbandry, and urged, as he is, both by interest and duty, to adopt them.[48]

The principal means urged upon the state's cultivators for the restoration and preservation of soil fertility were the application of natural and commercial manures, the employment of thorough drainage systems, improved plowing methods, scientific rotation plans, and the culture of grasses, clover, and peas. In the large number of articles, editorials, and letters appearing in the *Arator* on the subject of manuring there was little agreement as to the particular manures, natural and artificial, best suited to North Carolina's crops, but every issue of the journal preached the doctrine that manuring of one kind or another was the *sine qua non* of the state's agricultural salvation.

It was in the late 'forties and the 'fifties that the guano mania swept the cotton states with such force that the limited importations from Peru rarely met the demand. The *Arator*, like other Southern farm periodicals, printed pieces admitting the efficacy of that fertilizer but seriously questioned the profitableness of using a product whose price had, thanks to the Peruvian government's monopoly, become burdensome. Some farmers expressed the belief that it could be used profitably on tobacco, but with guano at $60 a ton and wheat at $1.25 a bushel its use on that crop would turn profit into loss. Items in the *Arator* generally took the view that guano was a satisfactory soil-restorer if it could be obtained on "living terms." The paper denounced the Peruvian monopoly and consignment system and supported the

[48] Isaac Croom, "The Clovers and Grasses of the South," reprinted in *Arator*, I (September, 1855), 167.

An account of soil exhaustion and restoration in two Southern states is brilliantly set forth in Craven, *Soil Exhaustion . . . of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860*. Professor Craven points out that "the destructive practices of the Old South were, in fact, in the beginning merely the normal product of frontier conditions. The dependence upon a single crop produced by whatever methods gave largest immediate returns regardless of the waste entailed; the thrusting of the burdens of abnormal production upon land because it was more plentiful than either capital or labor; the placing of an exaggerated value upon the crop which first furnished the surplus by which exchange with the outside world was established—all these were typical practices which have characterized all frontiers.

"And practices begun by the frontier were continued under the influence of markets and government, and the pressure which they added made the continuance of early practices almost compulsory." See p. 163.

vain efforts that the United States government was making, at the instance of agricultural leaders of the nation, to induce the government of Peru to make the product available on less rigorous terms.[49]

Commercially prepared chemical fertilizers began to appear after Liebig's important discoveries of the value of "mineral manures," but the craze in the 'forties and 'fifties for soil analysis and "agricultural chemistry" shattered many naive hopes before it had spent itself. The business had been quack-ridden by a number of charlatans and pseudo-scientists who led farmers to expect too much, and it was only after the Civil War that southern farmers began to use artificial manures on a really large scale.[50] The *Arator's* attitude toward the so-called agricultural chemistry and commercial fertilizers was cautious, and writers for the journal sometimes expressed strong disapproval of any disposition to buy fertilizers from outside the state, particularly guano from Peru and the " 'villainous compounds' which are vended from the Humbugeries of the chemical mountebanks of the North." [51]

Most of the *Arator* articles and letters on the application of soil restorers counselled North Carolina farmers to use "home products," and a most astonishing variety of substances was recommended. Chief among them were barnyard and stable manures, which, the journal lamented, were usually wasted by the farmers of the South. Green crops, plowed under, were often urged, as well as leaf mould, composts of many sorts, seaweed, ashes, bone dust, fish marl, peas, tan bark, grass, mud, suds, garbage, and literally scores of others. Detailed instructions for their collection, storing, preparation, and application were given at great length. Farmers were constantly reminded that the means for enriching their lands lay immediately about them and

[49] *Arator*, III (August, 1857), 789-792; North Carolina State Agricultural Society, *Transactions* (Raleigh, 1857), p. 7. Johns S. Dancy supplemented the prodigious quantities of stable manures and composts in his fields with guano, mixing in about 200 pounds of the Peruvian product with every acre-heap (over 100 wagon loads) of manure and compost. H. K. Burgwyn, owner of an extensive grain farm near Halifax, reported in 1856 that he had found the use of guano profitable in the previous year, but that, tempted by the high price of grain, he had sought to repeat his success this year only to find that wheat prices were declining and that he had made "a contribution of $1,200 to the support of the Peruvian Government." *Arator*, II (September, 1856), 559. See also II (June, July, August, 1856), 472, 508, 531-532, 538; III (August, 1857), 793-794.

[50] Harry Bates Brown, *Cotton* (New York, 1927), p. 191.

[51] *Arator*, I (April, October, November, 1855; April, 1856), 9-10. 203, 205-207, 225-227, 382; II (July, November, 1856), 508, 629.

that they had only to rouse themselves from their lethargy.[52] The state's plowmen were slow to take up manuring, however, for two decades after the *Arator's* agitation only a third of North Carolina's cultivated acres were being fertilized.[53]

A great deal of space was given to disquisitions on the importance of rotation if the soils of North Carolina were to be preserved, and specific rotation systems, usually embodying four- or five-field sequences, were described. The plans were, of course, capable of infinite variation and the many suggested rotations showed considerable diversity, but much stress was laid upon the cultivation of grasses, clovers, and peas as critical elements of a rotation system. The paper protested that rotation and the use of fallow crops were shockingly neglected by the North Carolina husbandmen. One farmer wrote that "our farmers and planters, generally, have yet to learn their alphabet in this method of cultivation." [54]

The widespread belief that grasses and clover could not prosper in the South was vigorously assailed in the *Arator,* and their importance both as soil restorers and as a basis for a much-needed expansion of livestock production was frequently hammered home. The pea fallow was particularly championed as an excellent preparation for grain crops, and Lemay expressed the view that "peas sowed broadcast, and the vines suffered to rot on the land, will make a poor soil produce double as much cotton as it would if not thus treated." [55]

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[52] Said one writer, "These, in many places, are abundant; and it only requires system and a determined will to bring them out. They may be found in the kitchen, the privy, the horse stable, the cowpen, the hog stye, the hen house, the woods, the marsh, the fence corner, the field, the sea shore, creek and river bank, and in many rich beds in the earth; as well as in the green crops, which may be turned into the earth; consisting of suds, slops, urine, animal manures, woods mould and trash, leaves, straw, weeds, stalks, mud, muck, scrapings of various deposits, ditch banks, seaweed, ashes, lime, marl, cow-pea, &c," *Arator,* II (November, 1856), 629.

[53] Fred A. Shannon, *The Farmer's Last Frontier* (New York, 1945), p. 115.

[54] *Arator,* III (May, 1857), 743-744. See also I (May, 1855), 56; II (April, 1856), 393-395; III (May, July, 1857), 753, 792-793.

[55] For some of the many statements extolling the virtues of a number of varieties of peas both as soil builders and forage crops, see I (May, November, 1855), 486-488, 636-637, 650-651, 683-684; III (May, August, 1857), 756, 794-795. See also North Carolina Agricultural Society, *Transactions,* 1857, pp. 7, 28-29.

One article declaring that the pea fallow ("we mean of course, the Indian, or field, or cow pea, as it is variously called") was the very best preparation for the wheat crop, went on to say, "we wish it understood that while the pea vine is peculiarly valuable to the poor land farmer, growing where no other plant would be worth the labor and cost, and greatly benefitted by the small application of a bushel of plaster per acre yet it is not a mere make shift for poor land, but entitled to a very high stand in our list of fertilizers." *Arator,* II (July, 1856), 487. A Wake County farmer asserted that "by a proper alternation of crops, and the use of pea fallow always for wheat, the land will keep up, and, you may depend upon it, it will pay. By the addition, occasionally, of wood ashes and a dose from the compost heaps, the land may be brought to surpass its original fertility. That, too, will pay. I have tried it." *Arator,* II (February, 1857), 683-684. On grasses and clovers see *Arator,* I (September, October, 1855; January, March, 1856), 167-173, 175, 184-186, 211, 213-214, 317-318, 359; II (April, August, 1856; February, May, 1857), 404-406, 540, 701, 742-743.

Improved plowing methods and drainage systems were ceaselessly preached as means to greater utilization of soil potentialities and the prevention of exhaustion and washing of top soils. Farm journals, agricultural societies, and individual improvers all over the country for a half century before the Civil War, and for many years beyond, emphasized — perhaps overemphasized — the value of deep plowing as well as the stirring of the subsoil with plows specially constructed for that purpose. The *Arator* added its voice to the universal chorus, and many of its contributors heartily endorsed the reforms, though the editor himself showed a wise restraint when he cautioned against a too sanguine reliance upon these practices as a panacea for the farmer's ills. Friends of the system of deep tillage and subsoil plowing alleged that it has the effect of lengthening the growing season by protecting growing crops against weather extremes,

> permits a freer access of air to the soil . . . allows the freer passage of the small rootlets . . . permits of an easy passage of rain water, which in a wet season, would collect on the surface, and stagnate . . . [and] in time of drouth it affords a passage upwards of the moisture from below, and thus furnishes a supply when it is most needed.[56]

There can be little doubt that North Carolina's fields had suffered from shallow scratching of the earth's surface, and the *Arator's* agitation in behalf of deep plowing and subsoiling at least had the merit of turning the attention of some farmers to the importance of more careful tillage. Whether the particular practices advocated by the editor and his correspondents were the proper remedy is even now a matter of controversy. Opinions still vary over the value of deep plowing, and, indeed of plowing at all.[57]

More thorough drainage was strongly commended both as means to increasing the productivity of the soil by better distribution of moisture and to checking the washing away of top soil. Numerous systems of draining were set forth in detail, but most of the emphasis was placed on hillside ditching and horizontal

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[56] *Arator*, II (November, 1856), 614-615. For statements on deep and subsoil plowing methods, see *Arator*, I (May, June, October, 1855; January, 1856), 50-51, 79-80, 196-198, 291; II (July, August, October, 1856; February, March, May, 1857), 505, 515-516, 585, 682-683, 705-707, 741-742.

[57] See Charles E. Kellogg, *The Soils that Support Us* (New York, 1941), 223, and Edward H. Faulkner, *Plowman's Folly* (Norman, 1943), *passim*.

(or hillside) plowing, the two practices usually being recommended as the complementary phases of a single draining plan. So convinced were North Carolina agricultural leaders of the far-reaching benefits to be derived from hillside ditching and horizontal plowing on hilly land that some of them regarded the program as "the most important discovery of the modern agricultural era," so vital to the South that her farmers should be forever grateful to its discoverer, according him "a place upon the tablet of memory next to that of the father of our country."[58] When, in 1857, the North Carolina Agricultural Society published its first and only volume of transactions, nearly all of the space devoted to instructional material was given over to essays and letters on the subject.

The system consisted essentially of constructing ditches on hillsides to carry off surplus moisture and then of cultivating the land in *parallel* horizontal lines, defined with the aid of a levelling instrument, to direct and control rain water with the plow. The old practice of simply plowing straight up and down the hills had resulted in a fearful washing of top soils, and the horizontal system was hailed as a conservative device of incalculable worth. The technique had been employed by Thomas Jefferson's son-in-law, Thomas Mann Randolph, in Virginia as early as 1816, and Jefferson himself was a staunch advocate of the plan. The program had been obliged to make its way through torrents of ridicule, but by the time the *Arator* and the agricultural societies of North Carolina took up the crusade the idea was taking firm hold, and by 1860 it is reported that it was widely used especially in the piedmont areas extending all the way from Maryland to Texas.[59]

Another long-range reform to which the *Arator* devoted much space in its columns was the diversification of agricultural production. The journal argued that a greater resort to "mixed farming" instead of a heavy dependence upon cotton and tobacco would help to save the state's soils, would increase the farmer's cash income, and would help to free North Carolina from reliance

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[58] North Carolina State Agricultural Society, *Transactions*, 1857, p. 37.

[59] Gray, *History of Southern Agriculture*, II, 800-801; Craven, *Soil Exhaustion . . . of Virginia and Maryland*, pp. 90-91. For Jefferson's views, see his letter, reprinted in North Carolina State Agricultural Society, *Transactions*, 1857, p. 36. See also the articles on the subject in the same volume, pp. 33 ff. For statements of the case for the method in *Arator*, see I (June, November, 1855), 65-70, 244-252; II (April, October, 1856), 401-402, 582; III (April, 1857), 730.

upon the farmers of other states for needed products. Much attention was accorded to wheat and corn, though, as a matter of fact, these grains were staple products of the state, and agricultural editors sometimes insisted that it was as necessary to break away from the tyranny of corn and wheat as it was to loosen the stranglehold of cotton and tobacco from the agriculture of North Carolina."[60] Sugar cane (particularly the species known as "Chinese Sugar Cane") was attracting a great deal of notice all over America in the middle 'fifties, and the *Arator* printed a number of pieces on that branch of husbandry, but advised caution.[61] The culture of root crops was strongly upheld, both for the feeding of livestock and for the farmers' tables, and a more extensive production of kitchen vegetables was also advocated. Some pieces on the production of turpentine and timber appeared, and heavy emphasis was placed on the raising of forage crops.

Another department of husbandry to which the journal devoted much of its effort was fruit culture. Said the journal:

> We sincerely believe that our agriculturists, by extending their orchards and increasing their attention to the cultivation of fruits, will increase their own comforts and prosperity as well as contribute to the general welfare and improvement of the State.

Declaring that "it may be made a very profitable as well as agreeable business," the *Arator* drew attention to the successful orchard experience of Benjamin Hamilton of Rutherford County, and pointed out that if each of the 959 farmers of that county would devote five acres to apples they could together produce a

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[60] See *Farmers' Journal* (Raleigh, N. C.), November, 1854, 239-240. Cited in Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, pp. 484-485. The production of wheat and corn by the North Carolina farmers of the middle 'fifties was surprisingly extensive. The federal census for 1860 gives the state's production of these crops as follows: wheat, 4,743,706 bushels; corn, 30,078,564 bushels. *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture*, p. 109. In the same year the tobacco crop amounted to 32,853,250 pounds, and the aggregate of ginned cotton (400 pounds to the bale) was 145,514 bales.

[61] *Arator*, II (December, 1856), 636, 649-650. Dealers interested in the sale of seed of Chinese Sugar Cane and in the sale of the mills for crushing the stalks and extracting the juice fed the fever by advertising extensively in the farm press and country newspapers, and making extravagant claims for their merchandise. An Atlanta distributor of the Chinese Sugar Cane seed who advertised in the *Arator* promised that "an acre of the Stalks properly cultivated, will yield from 400 to 500 gallons of pure Syrup, equal to the best New Orleans. . . . It surpasses all other plants for fodder and for feeding green to cattle or hogs, on account of the great abundance of sugary juice which it contains; and sown in close drills, will yield from thirty to fifty thousand pounds of superior fodder to the acre. . . . It is so certain and prolific a crop that Planters may be sure of succeeding with it as a syrup plant anywhere south of the State of New-York." II (December, 1856), 654.

million dollars worth of that fruit for market in a single year.[62] Most of the large number of horticultural offerings were pieces on the production of peaches, grapes, apples, and berries. A further service to the cause of horticultural advance and the improvement of agriculture generally was the frequent publication of entomological items offering instruction on the eradication or control of insect pests injurious to field crops and fruits. Advice was also presented on dairying, poultry raising, and bee culture as avenues to profit.

In bringing a large number of crops to the North Carolina farmer's consideration, the *Arator,* like its contemporaries in the several states, counselled farmers to experiment carefully, to make haste slowly, to beware of humbugs, and to avoid the headlong rushes into agricultural crazes that so frequently victimized credulous farmers all over America in the *ante bellum* period. One correspondent wrote:

> Whatever is newly introduced, promising favorable results, let it be tried with prudence, fairly, and with moderate and reasonable expectations. Generally, in the introduction of something new, it is accompanied, through the agency of interested, and, often, unprincipled, speculators, with false and extravagant colorings, deceiving the public, and to leading to high expectations, destined to certain disappointment and mortification, sometimes causing that which is valuable to be abandoned as a "miserable humbug," just because it did not come up to the most unreasonable and silly calculations.[63]

One direction in which farmers were most urgently advised to diversify their efforts was that of increasing livestock production. Not only did the *Arator* upbraid the farmers of the state for not raising cattle, swine, sheep, and draft animals on a sufficiently extensive scale, but the methods employed in animal husbandry were also severely criticized. Many farmers provided no shelter for their beasts even in winter, and many who raised stock failed to supply adequate feed. Lemay said that he was constantly encountering

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[62] *Arator,* I (November, 1855, March, 1856), 256, 370-371. The federal census for 1860 listed the total money value of the produce of North Carolina's orchards as being less than $650,000. *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture,* p. 110.

[63] *Arator,* II (December, 1856), 636. For a discussion of the speculative fevers that swept rural America during the period, see Arthur H. Cole, "Agricultural Crazes; a Neglected Chapter in American Economic History," *American Economic Review,* XVI (December, 1926), 622-639.

long files of lean, gaunt, half-starved cattle . . . picking up a very scant portion of forage in the woods, to yield an equally scanty supply of a watery fluid nicknamed "milk," for their owners' supper. The wonder is how these animals can live and move; for, really, with a few exceptions, it would require about six of them to be melted down and moulded into a reasonably decent looking cow: Compared with a thoroughbred, they do not seem to belong to the same species, and instances have been known in which high bred cows would not associate with them.[64]

A considerable yield of beef and dairy products was of course impossible as long as cattle had to subsist on such pitifully short commons, and the improvement of strains through selective breeding was unthinkable while every man's mongrel cattle ran together with every other's. The state of swine husbandry was equally low. The hogs of the time are described as poor, rangy, and stunted. In the words of one North Carolina farmer,

the plan throughout the South, excepting only in those districts, where land is too valuable to admit of a large range, is to suffer hogs to run in the woods all the year, until time to take up for fattening. It is with many literally "root pig or die." Many do die, either of poverty, or disease, or the knife of the vagrant—to whom this system gives the means of living without honest labor.[65]

A goodly quantity of editorials, letters, and articles on the selection, breeding, feeding, and care of livestock were presented, as were also a number of veterinary items on the prevention and treatment of common animal ills. Pieces like "Remedy for Hog Cholera," "Gapes in Chickens," "Contagiousness of Glanders," "Pneumonia or 'Thumps' in Hogs," and directions for the cure of such afflictions as spavin, heaves, sprains, colic, ring bone, poll evil, and galls presented the homely remedies of the time, some of which, to be sure, would astonish the modern practitioner of the veterinary art.

Propaganda for an expanded production of livestock was buttressed with arguments that a greater number of cattle, sheep, hogs, and poultry about the farm lot would provide an increased

[64] *Arator*, I (February, 1856), 338-340. "Our farmers have yet to learn that 'shelter is cheaper than food,' " the journal pointed out, and that stall-fed animals put on more flesh than do the miserable beasts who are forced to fend for themselves in every kind of weather.
[65] *Arator*, I (December, 1855), 267-268.

quantity of stable and barnyard manures, and that a greater emphasis on stock raising would help to make the state self-sufficient in respect of foodstuffs. The somewhat naive stress upon the benefits to be derived from such independence was provided both by the editor and by farmers who wrote for the journal. Agricultural reformers in the state were especially anxious to replace with domestic produce the heavy importations of pork, bacon, beef, grains, and forage crops from the West and North, particularly from Kentucky and Ohio. One zealot went so far as to say that

> even if they cost us more, it would be good economy to buy them at home—thus keeping the money in the country, and saving the cost of transportation, which would come out of our pockets. At all events, never let it be said again that our farmers . . . have to send north for mess-pork to feed their hands, and hay, to feed their mules.

Another wrote that the "amount of money that is annually sent out of the State to pay for *young* mules and *broken down* or *vicious* Kentucky horses is enormous." North Carolina, he insisted, could profitably raise all its own draft animals and a surplus for export.[66]

Another reform to which the *Arator* gave its blessing was a movement away from extensive and large-scale farming, and in the direction of smaller units more intensively cultivated. It was not concentration of ownership against which this campaign was directed, be it noted, but the habit of cultivating more land than could be managed with maximum efficiency. One correspondent lamented the fact that too many North Carolina agriculturists "seem to be above practising the arts of husbandry. Indeed they are not husbandmen, or farmers, but *planters;* which, they imagine, is a more dignified title." In 1857 an article entitled "Too Much Land" made the point that a few acres well tilled represented a better policy than did many acres thinly cultivated, and that the failure to act upon this principle was the American farmer's besetting sin.[67] Some months earlier the journal had said,

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[66] *Arator*, I (September, 1855), 183. See also I (July, December, 1855), 115, 267-268; II (April, October, 1856), 385-393, 577-580.

[67] *Arator*, I (December, 1855), 268; III (May, 1857), 748. See also "A Little Farm Well Tilled," in I (May, 1855), 35.

We desire to impress on the common-sense reasoning of every man, the paramount importance of having no more land in cultivation than can be well cultivated. By no means attempt to manage more than you can manage well. Be a FARMER, not a mere earth scraper, lazily scratching up sufficient earth to destroy the face of the soil, and throw seed away, or you will always have to scratch hard for a living. But make your farm a source of pride, and it will surely become a source of profit. Make the object to be not to have MANY but RICH acres.[68]

The *Arator* like other Southern prophets of improvement also deprecated the disposition of large-scale planters and farmers to entrust their farming operations and marketing activities to overseers and agents.[69]

In addition to the long-term programs to promote these larger objectives, the paper presented a great variety of information on every aspect of the farmer's work. No farm task was considered too unimportant to warrant serious attention in the press. There were pieces on farm implements, on fencing, on the construction of farm buildings, on the mending of equipment, on the eradication of rodents—on nearly every problem, in a word, that the farmer encountered. A particularly useful service was the printing of a monthly column called "Work for June [July, etc.]" in which was outlined the farmer's program for the current month, with suggestions for the better performance of the tasks to be done.[70]

Southern farm periodicals devoted much less space to pieces on farm implements than did the western journals, for southern agriculture lent itself less readily to the machine than did the extensive and level grain fields of the West. Cotton and tobacco culture have steadily resisted mechanization, though the development of a practical cotton picker in the 1940's may at last crown the efforts that were already going forward in the *Arator's* time to perfect such a contrivance. In 1856 Lemay described

a new and important implement, which we have long thought might be invented, to aid in picking out cotton. . . . The mechanism consists essentially of a tube, provided with a gearing and endless revolving

[68] *Arator*, I (January, 1856), 301.
[69] *Arator*, I (July, 1855), 115; North Carolina State Agricultural Society, *Transactions*, 1857, pp. 7, 16-17.
[70] See, for examples, II (June, July, August, September, 1856), 477, 505, 538, 569.

chain, the whole weighing less than six pounds. It is suspended from the right side of the person by a strap passing over the shoulder, and is kept in motion by means of a lever or crank operated by the hand or fingers. By presenting the tubular point to the cotton ball [*sic*] it is immediately seized by the chain and conveyed to the opposite end, where it is freed, by means of a stripper, and deposited in a bag suspended at the bottom. The bag is rapidly filled and emptied. This improvement enables one field hand to pick more than five to eight hands by the old method.[71]

Some space was devoted to plows, particularly those that facilitated deep and subsoil plowing. One observer remarked that Carolina husbandmen used "farming tools, that belong as far back as the seventeenth century," a condition that was by no means peculiar to the South. Reapers and mowers were, perhaps necessarily, far rarer in the South than in the Northwest before the Civil War,[72] but they were beginning to attract the attention of farmers who cultivated grains and grasses on a sufficiently extensive scale to warrant the relatively high cost of investing in those machines.

When, in 1856, J. W. Norwood began operating the first reaper to reach the Hillsboro vicinity, the *Arator* reported that "a number of persons, including some of our best farmers, have seen the machine at work, and were all delighted with it." Norwood had purchased one of Hussey's reapers for $110 from an agent of the manufacturer at Norfolk, and his experience with it had led him to write a letter on the value of the implement. The letter, printed in both the *Hillsborough Recorder* and the *Arator*, stressed the labor-saving qualities of the machine and the simplicity of its operation. "So far as I am concerned," said Norwood, "the occupation of the cradle maker is gone, and the little pig must *root or die*, for his *gleaning* is ended."[73] Drills and other implements for sowing and planting were not used extensively anywhere in the United States in the fifties—perhaps

[71] *Arator*, II (November, 1865), 625.
[72] *Arator*, II (February, 1857), 687; Shannon, *Farmer's Last Frontier*, chap. VI.
[73] *Arator*, II (August, 1856), 527-528. Such letters were eagerly sought by implement manufacturers to help promote sales, and sometimes they were merely advertising "puffs" dressed up as genuine testimonials from local farmers. Norwood, however, was a well known leader in farm improvement in Orange County and in the State Agricultural Society, and there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of his letter. See North Carolina State Agricultural Society, *Transactions*, 1857, pp. 85-92, and Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, p. 108.

least of all in the South—and no corn-harvesting devices of any importance had been introduced.[74]

Besides offering instruction in the improvement of farming practice, the *Arator* devoted itself to the cause of the social and economic betterment of the class it served. Like its fellow farm journals throughout rural America, the paper was much given to reminding its readers that agriculture was the noblest of all occupations, "the great art, which we labor to elevate, and which lies at the foundation of all other arts and improvements,"[75] and the great superiority of life on the farm over life in the city was set forth both in poetry and prose. Pieces like "The Good Old Plough," "Life in the Country," and "Agriculture," appearing in the journal in 1855[76] were calculated to inspire rural folk with a sense of the dignity of their calling and to offset the lure of the city that so often turned the heads of young folk. One homily called "Country Girls" assured the rural daughters of the state that the "farmer's daughters are soon to be the life as well as the pride of the country—a glorious race of women, which no other land can show." The girls were told that they need not be discouraged if they could not be sent off to boarding schools, because "men of superior minds, and knowledge of the world would rather have for wives, women well and properly educated at home." Moreover, "women in the towns and cities, are becoming so universally unhealthy and so almost universally extravagant, foolish and fashionable, that men are almost in despair of getting wives who are not invalids, and providing them with what they demand, after they have married them." City girls might have "more highly polished manners," but country girls have "more truth, household knowledge and economy, health, (and consequently beauty,) simplicity, affection, and freshness of thought." To conclude, the article submitted that

> A sweet country home, with roses and honeysuckles trained to climb over it, with good taste, intelligence and beauty within, toil enough to insure health, and leisure enough to court acquaintance with books and flowers, and the loveliness of nature; with peace, plenty and love, is

[74] Shannon, *Farmer's Last Frontier*, pp. 131, 136.
[75] *Arator*, I (April, 1855), 25.
[76] *Arator*, I (April, August, November, 1855), 26, 147, 234.

surely one of the Paradises which heaven has left for the attainment of man.[77]

A special service for women was the frequent printing of recipes, hints on household tasks, and instruction on keeping the family in health and nursing it in time of sickness or injury. Some conception of the range of these offerings can be gained from a few sample captions picked at random from the paper: "Receipt for Making Ink," "To Take Ink Stains out of Mahogany," "To Cure Bacon Hams," "Cure of Itch in Half an Hour," "To Keep Silk," "How to Pack Firkin Butter," "Preserving Eggs," "To Cure Earache," "How To Do Up Shirt Bosoms," "To Make Tough Beef Tender," "Remedy for the Cramp," "Method of Detecting Cotton in Linen,," "How to Get the Real Flavor of Coffee," "Provision and Fruit Preparation," "'Accidents" (treatment of sprains, bruises, burns, etc.), and "Ways of Committing Suicide" (warnings against over-eating, sleeping in ill-ventilated rooms, etc.). One half-facetious selection entitled "Advice to Housewives" inveighed against extravagant dressing and excessive "socializing," and concluded:

> Neither shalt thou substitute sour looks for pickles; neither shalt thou allow hard feelings or unwashed dishes to accumulate; nor withhold either secrets or shirt buttons from the bosom of thy husband; and never omit little kindnesses of any kind.[78]

Now and then the paper essayed a little moral lecture to farm folk on keeping out of debt, early rising, and other homely virtues. The husbandmen themselves were admonished to do all they could to make the farmstead as cheerful and pleasant a place as possible.

> Plant a tree—train a vine—foster a shrub—deposit a flower seed and nurture its blossom—paint the fence—"slick up the yard"—fix the side walk—erect a tool-house—prune the orchard—make a hen coop—in short, give heed to neatness and to the little things that constitute the grand aggregate of health and beauty.[79]

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[77] *Arator*, II (October, 1856), 589.
[78] *Arator*, II (May, 1856), 440.
[79] *Arator*, I (October, 1855), 207.

Though the *Arator* strongly insisted upon the state's responsibility for promoting the farmers' interest through legislation of one kind or another,[80] the journal held itself strictly aloof from political and partisan discussion. The slavery controversy was spreading its ominous wings over the nation in the middle 'fifties, but the great majority of the country's farm periodicals kept the dispute out of their columns. Only once did the *Arator* permit itself to be drawn into the futile debate when, stung to fury by a sentence in a New England agricultural paper, Lemay lashed out in a savage attack upon the "hypocritical declarations" of Northern antislavery men.[81] Said he:

> The North is full of false philosophy, false theology, and false rhetoric—all calculated to captivate and inflame the vulgar mind in that locality, and excite unfounded hatred to the South, and infamous sedition and treason against the Union.—Unless a check is put to this state of things, the South will retaliate. . . . To what consequences the mad and mischievious interference of our Northern brethren with our institutions, with which they have nothing to do, may lead . . . is difficult to say; but go on they will . . . until this glorious Union will be split into fragments, and the best system ever devised by man for human government and liberty, dashed into irretrievable ruin. . . . In such a deplorable event, the North will be visited by a withering and blasting retribution, and a Southern Republic will arise and flourish and become *master* of this wide-spread country.[82]

Though North Carolina agricultural leaders were sensitive to northern taunts about the South's "peculiar institution," they manifested a wholesome attitude toward northern criticism of southern farming practice. In February, 1857, for example, the

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[80] It was especially interested in laws to protect sheep from dogs ("but for their ravages, almost every agriculturist would raise sheep, and our State would become one of the largest sheep and wool-growing States in the Union"), legislative subsidies for agricultural societies, and the establishment of a State Board of Agriculture. See *Arator*, I (April, 1855), 25, 29-30; II (November, 1856), 624.

[81] A correspondent of the *New England Farmer* in discussing the growing interest in sugar cane production in New England had made the observation that the farmers of Massachusetts, by the culture of cane, would be "no longer dependent on slave labor for their supply of sugar and mollasses." Lemay retorted hotly that Massachusetts folk would continue to use the products of slave labor as long as they found it profitable to do so; that even if they produced the commodities themselves, the self-righteous Yankees would sell them to slave-owners for money made by slave labor; and that, moreover, "the white servants of the North are *bound* to *servitude* as severe as that of Negro slavery." *Arator*, II (December, 1856), 649.

[82] *Arator*, II (December, 1856), 649. Speakers at the meetings and fairs of the state's agricultural societies sometimes struck out similarly at northern anti-slavery views and undertook to defend the slave system at great length. See, for instance, the remarks of a certain Venable in North Carolina State Agricultural Society, *Transactions*, 1857, p. 7, where the speaker dilates upon southern grievances against the "Free Love, Abolition north." See also the spirited defense of slavery by Thomas Ruffin in his address before the Society at its 1855 fair, reprinted in *Arator*, I (November, 1855), 244-252.

Arator printed excerpts from a *New England Farmer* article written by a Vermont agriculturist who had visited the South. Admitting that the Vermonter's judgments gave only "too true a picture of the lazy, improvident and unsuccessful method of conducting the pursuit of agriculture which prevails extensively in our own State," the *Arator* hoped that "the laggards among us may read and profit." The Vermont farmer blamed the backwardness of southern agriculture partly upon the inefficiency of slave labor, partly on the circumstance that many whites were consumers only and not producers, partly on the high prices southerners had to pay for manufactured goods, "but most of all [on] the very imperfect system of farming which prevails almost universally." He asserted that Carolina farmers did not make, save, or apply manures, that rotation was woefully neglected, that depleted lands were abandoned for newer lands where the same exhausting process was repeated, that obsolete farming tools were employed, and that fumbling, inefficient slaves were superintended by "overseers, who have no intelligent notions of agriculture." The *Arator* was quick to concede that the writer had "told some truths, which, though not palatable, may, nevertheless, be wholesome. Let our Southern planters wake up and do better hereafter."[83]

As early as 1838, the very first issue of North Carolina's pioneer agricultural periodical, the *Farmer's Advocate and Miscellaneous Reporter*, conceded that North Carolina was "at least an age behind New York, in improvement." The cause, said editor John Sherwood, was not to be sought in the want of natural advantages; indeed, said he, North Carolina enjoyed endowments superior to those of many of the northern states that had outstripped her. The real cause of the trouble, he insisted, was "*negligence, imprudent economy*, and a *ruinous* system, or rather *unsystematic* course of agriculture. . . ." [84]

Not necessarily symptomatic of the growing sectional cleavage, the *Arator's* lusty crusade for industrial self-sufficiency for North Carolina (agricultural societies and periodicals, North and South, East and West, had sought to promote this object in their particular states for the preceding half century) nevertheless

[83] *Arator*, II (February, 1857), 686-687.
[84] *Farmer's Advocate and Miscellaneous Reporter* (Jamestown, N. C.), I (August 1, 1838), 5.

gave occasion for intemperate language. The editor and some of his correspondents kept up a steady agitation for the establishment of home industries—especially boot and shoe factories, to stop the annual export of two millions of dollars of North Carolina's money to Massachusetts alone. One typical admonition on this point insisted that the state could produce her own clothing, shoes, furniture, and farm implements, for it abounded in the needed resources.

> Indeed, nothing is wanting save a little of the spirit of enterprise—a little Yankee *go-aheadativeness.*
>
> When . . . are we to wake up to the advantages of our State? When will capital begin to seek, among us, some other investment besides land, negroes and bank stock? We never can become a prosperous people until our pursuits shall be more diversified.[85]

The same concern for advancing North Carolina's prosperity led agricultural leaders to deplore the heavy exodus of the state's farmers to the Far West and to the newer cotton lands of the farther South and nearer West. Fleeing the exhausted fields only to repeat the same practices elsewhere offered no genuine solution, they pointed out, and would accomplish the ruin of North Carolina. By 1860 nearly a million free persons born in the state were living in the United States, and thirty per cent of them were residing outside of North Carolina.[86] The *Arator* printed an interesting correspondence between "Little Farmer" and "Little Planter" in which the former endeavored to prove that rebuilding a run-down farm in North Carolina was less costly than a removal to Arkansas, and that it would give "as clear gain, by remaining in North-Carolina, good markets, good roads, good water, good climate, good health, good government, good society, good increase, and finally a burial in good old age, among our fathers." When Lemay himself visited Texas in the spring of 1856 he wrote letters back to the editorial office for publication in the *Arator,* warning North Carolina farmers not

[85] *Arator,* II (January, 1857), 677. "Will [North Carolina investors] do it," asked Lemay, "and give employment and prosperity to a large number of industrious and respectable mechanics; enlarge and enliven the business, the population and the improvements of the city; add to their own fortunes; and contribute to the independence and greatness of the State? Or will they still give their money to build up and increase those who already have the will, and acquire from that very means the power to turn upon and rend us?" *Arator,* I (April, May, July, 1855), 8, 14, 25, 27-28, 51, 120-121; II (December, 1856; January, 1857), 639-640, 676; North Carolina State Agricultural Society, *Transactions,* 1857, p. 7.

[86] Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina,* p. 40.

to court disaster by rushing to the West. Admitting that there was much to admire in Texas and Far West generally, he insisted that he "saw nothing—all things considered—to charm a citizen of the glorious Old North State, who is happily situated, from the land of his nativity, of his kindred and friends."[87] The exhortations of agricultural improvers probably did little to check the outward flow, but it is evident that they were keenly aware of the problem and made a forthright effort to meet it.

Another interest to which the *Arator* lent its support with whole-souled enthusiasm was the cause of the State Agricultural Society (established partly through Lemay's instrumentality in 1852) and the dozen or more county and local societies and clubs in existence at the time. The *Arator's* pages were frequently crowded with their transactions, accounts of their fairs, and complete reprints of their premium lists. Frequent editorials dwelt on the value of these institutions and called upon farmers to support them liberally and to increase both their number and the scope of their activities. Said the *Arator,*

> If there is one with soul so dead, as not to do a good deed, speak a good word, or breathe a good wish for the success of this great and noble cause, let him continue to crouch in the chimney corner, roll in the ashes, and endure the consequence of his folly and madness.[88]

The extent of the *Arator's* influence cannot have been very large, but the periodical and its contemporaries of the rural press provided the most effective agent for the instruction of the farmers that had yet appeared in the state by 1861. The state and local agricultural societies reached few common farmers and did very little more than sponsor annual fairs where educational features were all but lost sight of in the pageantry of exhibits; state-supported research and formal agricultural instruction in the classroom were still in the future; but the farm journals made their monthly visits in the rural home and caught the ear of the progressive husbandman. The wide range of subjects they discussed, their practical and democratic flavor, the sense of class solidarity and pride which they inspired, and the high

[87] *Arator,* I (July, 1855), 120-121; II (May, June, July, 1856), 434, 473, 499-501; II (November, December, 1856; February, March, 1857), 629, 633-635, 681-682, 710-712; III (May, June, 1857), 750-751, 757-758.

[88] *Arator,* I (March, 1856), 370.

purpose of the agricultural leaders and plain farmers who wrote for them were beginning to point the way to a better rural economy when the dislocating impact of war intervened and postponed further progress for years to come.

SELECTED WILLIAM E. DODD-WALTER CLARK LETTERS[1]

Edited by HUGH TALMADGE LEFLER

Among the Walter Clark Papers in the State Department of Archives and History, in Raleigh, and also in the Clark Papers in the possession of Mr. John W. Clark of Greensboro, there are many letters from the late William E. Dodd,[2] professor of history at the University of Chicago. There are also copies of several letters from Clark[3] to Dodd.

Clark thought that Dodd was the most outstanding American historian in the country and wrote him on numerous occasions about historical and constitutional questions, particularly with reference to the origin of judicial review. Dodd said that Clark was "the only Judge of a high court I know who thinks seriously about social and political problems," and he assured the North Carolina jurist that his opinions "are quoted by all the lawyers of liberal views I know." He considered Clark the ablest chief justice of any state supreme court and time and again expressed the hope that he would be appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States. He marvelled at Clark's energy and ability to do so much work, and he expressed the wish that the judge "might be endowed with perennial youth."

Dodd's letters are filled with comments on historical, governmental, constitutional, and educational matters. They likewise contain many interesting observations about the political scene in North Carolina, Virginia, Illinois, and the nation. His comments about the Hughes-Beveridge "deal" in 1916 are significant.

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[1] These and other Dodd-Clark letters will be included in Aubrey Lee Brooks and Hugh Talmadge Lefler, editors, *Papers of Walter Clark*, scheduled for publication by the University of North Carolina Press in 1948. The letters dated September 7, 1906, April 21, 1913, April 19, 1919, May 9, 1919, and June 7, 1919, are in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C. The letter dated May 15, 1919, is a carbon copy and is in the State Department of Archives and History. The other letters are in the possession of Mr. John W. Clark of Greensboro.

[2] William Edward Dodd was born at Clayton, North Carolina, October 21, 1869. He obtained the Ph.D. degree at the University of Leipzig in 1900; taught at Randolph-Macon College, 1900-1908; and was professor of American history at the University of Chicago, 1908-1933, when he became ambassador to Germany, a post which he held until 1937, when he resumed his teaching at Chicago. He died February 9, 1940.

[3] Walter Clark was born at Prospect Hill, North Carolina. He attended Hillsboro Military Academy and graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1864. He was judge of the superior court, 1885-89; associate justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, 1889-1902, and chief justice from 1902 until his death in 1924. For further details, see Aubrey Lee Brooks, *Walter Clark, Fighting Judge.*

Ashland, Va.
Sept. 7, 1906

Dear Judge Clark:

I have read your article in the Independent with great pleasure. It is not usual for a successful and able lawyer or other member of the student class to speak out as you do about the courts. In Europe I used to listen to the professors lecture on the United States when occasion offered. I shall not forget how one able historian of the Bismarck school lauded the American Supreme Court very much as a good follower of Charles I or Lord Strafford must have spoken of the Divine Rights. Since that day I have been a closer student of Court decisions and the lives of judges than I should otherwise have been. I am engaged now in connection with the Carnegie Institution in Washington in "raking" the country for Marshall letters in the hope of showing more of the life of that remarkable judge. But I think nevertheless that the power of the Supreme Court is derived from Judge Marshall and that that power is akin to the Divine Right theory. I do not think there was a corrupt motive, but the *esprit de corps* which is so admirably provided for in our extraordinary constitution prompted him. You recall how Lincoln regarded the Supreme Court in 1858-60 as working in the interest of the slave holders. It worked before in the interest of vested rights as its decisions since the war, except in a few cases, have been in the interest of the new slavery. I am not now reprobating African slavery in particular—there is no need to when we have another and more humane appearing system, and shall always have. There is no such thing as freedom in any country I have studied; but there is a moiety of it in our country. Note our chains binding us fast to the Negro question. I fear the South would defeat Govt. ownership of railways in order to save the "Jim Crow" laws!

But I did not intend to let my letter take this turn. I enjoyed your article very much and I shall get my students in Civil Govt.— I teach this subject, too, I venture to confess—to study your article. The view that our constitution is crystallized reaction from the opinions of 1776 strikes me as especially apropos. Washington himself, in my opinion, regretted much of his earlier enthusiasm, honestly. How many appointments did he not make from the class of people who opposed him when a general leading a forlorn hope. To instance the famous lawyer Rawle[4] of Philadelphia. Or was this the peculiar American method of conciliation such as brought ruin to the Confederate cause?

Government among ordinary selfish men is a difficult thing, if they live close together. I have watched things in this state closely for five

[4] William Rawle, prominent lawyer of loyalist sympathies, whom President Washington appointed United States Attorney for Philadelphia. Rawle held this position from 1791 to 1798 and prosecuted the leaders of the Whiskey insurrection.

years—it is an instructive if disheartening study. This state is no more self-governing to-day than the Catholic Church. Thomas F. Ryan[5] is our master and he lives in New York. Thomas S. Martin[6] is his henchman and we have powerful newspapers to defend both with none to oppose either. Every candidate for the governor's office a year ago was in some way a dependent or ally of the Ryan-Martin-railroad group and I fear Mr. Montague[7] was influenced by a deputy of the New York end of the machine without his knowing it. It is interesting to watch the Virginia deputies of Ryan "do honor" to Mr. Bryan while the New York Times raises the black flag against him. I trust Mr. Bryan knows he has no friends in Virginia public life who will for one moment support him except so long as the people lead the way. I am one of the few college men who has always supported the Nebraskan, but I begin to fear he will be powerless to accomplish anything when his subordinates will have to be chosen from our "machines."

Pardon so long a letter, and allow me to express the hope that our state will put stronger men in the U. S. Senate.

Yours very truly,
Wm E. Dodd

Chicago
June 4, 1911

Dear Judge Clark:

I am glad to hear that you are a candidate for Simmons' seat in the Senate—that is, the Lumber trust's seat so long as he holds it. If I could vote in North Carolina I should try to get down there to work for you; but I have to do my fighting and voting here where it seems to be almost impossible to put an upright man into office—certainly in Federal legislative offices. The "Hon. William Lorimer"[8] is my spokesman, legally, at least, in the Senate and Mann[9] in the house, both Spoilsmen and representatives of the interests. But as Jefferson was fond of saying, the prospects are becoming brighter; we shall win yet. It ought to be an easy thing for you to beat Simmons who has shown himself of the same stripe as Lorimer. The only trouble I anticipate is the division of your strength. Aycock and Kitchin, I think, are too timid for the times, afraid of the interests where they are not in one way or another tied up with them. We want an uncompromising democrat in the Senate, a democrat written with a small d.

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[5] Thomas Fortune Ryan, New York financier; delegate from Virginia to the Democratic National Convention in 1904.

[6] Thomas Staples Martin, United States Senator from Virginia, 1895-1919.

[7] Andrew Jackson Montague, governor of Virginia, 1902-1906; Democratic representative in Congress, 1913-1937.

[8] Republican representative in Congress, 1895-1901, 1903-1909; United States Senator, June 18, 1909-July 14, 1912, when the Senate declared his election invalid because of "corrupt methods and practices" used; president of La Salle Trust and Savings Bank in Chicago.

[9] James Robert Mann, Republican representative in Congress, 1899-1923; minority leader of the sixty-second through the sixty-fifth Congress.

I am coming to doubt many of those who insist on the big D like Bailey,[10] Martin and their group.

It is the hope of our family that you may win the nomination—and we have no axe in the case. If you and your kind of men could hold the upper hand in the South the Democrats would control the Federal government for twenty years, or until the party became honeycombed with the interests and then a new and more democratic successor would arise. This part of the country is only watching the South and the party now called Democratic to see if it can go over to it. But the South must be progressive.

Have you heard whether my uncle Ashley Horne,[11] of Clayton, is for you? I hope he will not fail you, though he is interested in lumber.

Yours sincerely,
Wm E. Dodd

Chicago, Ill.
March 26, 1912

Dear Judge Clark:

I enclose you a copy of a letter I mailed a few days ago to Prof. W. W. Cook[12] of this university which may interest you. If you will return it at your convenience I shall be obliged. There is sharp difficulty and disagreement among the historians and the law schools of the university, of all the leading universities of the north on this subject, the majority so far as I can judge being with you. Corwin[13] of Princeton, W. F. Dodd[14] of Illinois University being two whose names are best known and came out boldly with the word "usurpation."

Beard[15] of Columbia has recently written the article mentioned in the letter; it is published in the Am. Pol. Science Quarterly of Columbia.

These are strange times in politics. Here there is a bitter fight on between Taft men and Roosevelt men, almost as bitter as that between Buchanan and Douglas in 1858-60. The Taft men seem to be winning in the Middle West, while the LaFollette men are getting ready to vote for Wilson (if nominated) or form a new party. Prof. Merriam[16] who came so near winning the majority of Chicago last spring will vote, he tells me, for Wilson or Bryan in preference to

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[10] Joseph Weldon Bailey of Texas, representative in Congress, 1891-1901; United States Senator, 1901-1912.

[11] Member of the General Assembly, 1895, 1911, and prominent Democratic leader in North Carolina politics for many years.

[12] Walter Wheeler Cook, professor of law at the University of Chicago, 1910-1916; Yale Law School, 1916-1919, 1922-1928; John Hopkins University, 1928-1933.

[13] Edward Samuel Corwin, professor of politics at Princeton University, 1910-1918; McCormick professor of politics since 1918.

[14] Walter F. Dodd, professor of law at the University of Illinois, 1910-1915; University of Chicago, 1915-1917; Yale University, 1927-1930.

[15] Charles Austin Beard, professor of politics at Columbia University for many years.

[16] Charles Edward Merriam, professor of political science at the University of Chicago, 1900-1942.

Taft, though no one expects Bryan to run. If the South proves reactionary at Baltimore the Democratic party abdicates.

Yours sincerely,
Wm E. Dodd

Chicago, April 21, 1913

My dear Judge Clark:

Some two weeks ago I took the liberty to write to President Wilson urging your appointment to the United States Circuit Court judgeship now vacant in the district in the circuit of Virginia and the Carolinas and received a cordial acknowledgment saying that your name was under consideration.

From the moment I learned of the vacancy in February I have felt that your services on that bench would be invaluable to the country especially that part of it where the struggle of the interests to control legislation and the courts have been so successful. I do not, of course, know your own feelings, but I trust my writing may prove only one of a number of similar voluntary requests and reminders which are going to Wilson. We have made much progress in the legislative and administrative departments of the Federal government; but the judiciary still lags. If you would put some of your democracy into that branch of the government it would be a good thing. This is the reason and motive of my seeming impertinence. If your name should go before the Senate I hope you may be in a position to accept.

Yours sincerely,
William E. Dodd

University of Chicago
April 19, 1919

My dear Judge Clark:

Thank you for the pamphlets you were kind enough to send me. I read them at the breakfast table and after this morning. I always read promptly anything you send me. You are the only judge of a high court I know who thinks seriously about social and political problems. It is a matter of great pride to me to be your friend and to point out to others that North Carolina probably has the ablest chief justice of any state in the Union. Your opinions are quoted by all the lawyers of liberal views I know, men like Roscoe Pound.[17] I only wish you were endowed with perennial youth.

Last September and again in March I had long talks with the President and you will be glad to know, as you doubtless already know quite

[17] Dean of the Harvard Law School.

as well as anyone, that he is entirely of your frame of mind about courts, a change this from the day he wrote his book on constitutional government in 1908.[18] He said he would never appoint another reactionary to the courts, if he could avoid it. But he said: "It is indeed hard to make appointees continue what they were when appointed." You know this lamentable failing of poor weak man.

Sometimes I wish to get off a week or two and stay in Raleigh just to get a chance to talk at leisure with you. But we are always busy in this world, too busy for our good or anybody's. I often wonder if this half-crazy industrial life can ever be made to slacken its pace.

Yours sincerely,
William E. Dodd

University of Chicago
May 9, 1919

My dear Judge Clark:

I enclose you copy of a letter I am sending to-day to a young woman friend in Raleigh who is studying Vance and his war time record with a view to publication of her work. I am sure she is earnest, able and honest; but I have indirectly discouraged her. Won't you let her talk the matter over with you without letting her know I have written you and if she really means to do something, help her to get at the truth? I think you know the truth and love it. Please let this letter be confidential and return to me at your leisure.

This subject brings to mind a good deal. When I was a youngster and briefless, the University of North Carolina needed a man in history. I was informed by an ex-President then influential that if A. B. Andrews[19] recommended me I would be appointed. Last November, the night after the election I dined here with A. J. Beveridge.[20] I had read his Ms Life of Marshall with a view to giving advice. When we finished talking Marshall, Beveridge told me what was arranged for the next presidential campaign, who were to be pressed by the great eastern interests upon the Republican convention. The Hamlet in that play is now dead and so I tell you what was otherwise confidence.

Then I was told that Beveridge received Hughes'[21] pledge in the new building the night before the Indiana Progressive convention met in September 1916 that he, Beveridge, was to be Secretary of War in the Hughes cabinet and that night he, Beveridge, sent the telegram

[18] *Constitutional Government in the United States.*

[19] Vice-president and general manager of the Southern Railway. Andrews was for many years a member of the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina.

[20] Albert Jeremiah Beveridge, United States Senator from Indiana, 1889-1911; chairman of the Progressive National Convention, 1912, and author of the *Life of John Marshall,* 4 vols. (1916-1919).

[21] Charles Evans Hughes, Republican presidential candidate in 1916, later Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

to Indianapolis that swung the convention into line the next day for Hughes.

Of course I know the vanity of politicians well enough to discount the personal note in this. But Beveridge is a good man, unconsciously used, perhaps consciously using others sometimes, by men of the Roosevelt following. Yet he told me the truth. It was part of the Hughes campaign to secure the German vote which favored Beveridge, Beveridge having published a book that had been forbidden to be sent to the army camps.[22] Now I do not believe in suppressing books or censoring news, except of a military character, and so do not endorse this conduct of the Government or condemn Beveridge if he wrote out of an honest heart a defense of any part of the German system. (Only it was a curious thing in a Progressive).

My point now is to indicate how things of this sort are the stock in trade of leadership, how in bad men it is simply a matter of bargaining sacred things away. This kind of thing underlay the whole civil war in this country on both sides to an amazing degree. If Miss Smith,[23] to whom I have written, really means to tell the story of Vance and North Carolina during the civil war, she must try to get under the surface and give the whole story, fearing nothing or nobody.

Your story of the West Virginia arbitration came[24] and I enjoyed reading it. This struggle, the one in which you played a part then, is as old as mankind. It is now on here with intense purpose on both sides to win. Wilson was defeated at Paris by the great and bitter opposition that refused him the support that was due him. He comes back to re-fight every battle he has fought heretofore. His place in history is still insecure. What a picture man must make in the eyes of that greater Intelligence that overlooks us all!

Yours sincerely,
William E. Dodd

Raleigh
May 12, 1919

Dr. William E. Dodd,
My dear Doctor:

I read with interest the within letter, which I return as requested. It was Walpole who said "As for history, we *know that* is a lie." And Napoleon said "History is a fiction agreed on."

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[22] *What is Back of the War* (1915), which the New York *Herald* called a "pro-German book on the War." See Claude G. Bawers, *Beveridge and the Progressive Era*, p. 482.

[23] Florence E. Smith, professor of history at Agnes Scott College since 1929. Miss Smith obtained the Ph.D. degree at Chicago, writing her dissertation on "The Influence of the Populist Party in North Carolina."

[24] *An Eight-Hour Day Decision: By Hon. Walter Clark, Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, Acting as Umpire in the Case of Iron Molder's Union No. 364 (Wheeling, West Va.) versus the Wheeling Mold and Foundry Co.* (Washington, D. C.: American Federation of Labor, 1918), p. 8.

There is probably no true history of any time. The material is often destroyed and more often is biased or faked. Then the past often has a bearing on the present and for that reason is warped, either intentionally or by the bias of the writer. Byron said that "Fame depends not so much upon what a man did as upon his historian's style."

Pilate's question "What is Truth?" was not answered by the only one who could have answered the question and it is very rarely found in the narrative of today's events and still less in those of the past.

As to the incident you relate of Mr. Beveridge, I have no doubt it occurred, and I think you will find that in most cases the candidate for President usually makes up his cabinet as one of the methods of getting the requisite support for a nomination and election. I believe it is established that Lincoln did so, and it is probable that it is always done. As to some positions the promise is definite and as to others indefinite, and we know there have been many fierce quarrels after election and charges of bad faith in not keeping ante-election pledges. This has extended not only to appointments in the cabinet, but to many other high positions.

If the truth about these pre-election pledges were made known, the world would be astonished.

We are usually of the opinion that Napoleon owed his rise to himself, and of course his genius was indispensable, but when looking up the Draper papers at Madison, Wisconsin, I came across a letter from the First Consul to General Ney, which satisfied me that one of the means by which Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor in May 1804 was pledges given to 14 leading generals that they would be created marshals if they would bring their soldiers to the support of the aspirations of the general in chief.

Since then closer reading of history has satisfied me that this is what actually took place and occurs more or less in the nomination or selection of every man for high position. His own merits give him the "Bulge," but he usually wins out by the shrewdness of his manager in exchanging promises for support.

As to Governor Vance, I regard him as the ablest North Carolinian of his day and that he was really at heart in favor of popular rule. He had policy in what he did and ambition, but he did not surrender his convictions to procure success. His language and his anecdotes were not always what they should have been, but they were suited to his hearers and he understood how to move them.

In 1866 I was a law student in Washington[25] and had law business with Black,[26] Lamon & Herndon. The former was the famous Attorney General, and the other two were former partners of Lincoln, who had made Lamon, marshal of the District of Columbia during the War.

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[25] Clark studied law at the Columbian Law School in 1866.

[26] Jeremiah S. Black, Attorney General of the United States, 1857-1860, and Secretary of State, December, 1860-March, 1861.

From then I learned the true character of Lincoln tho they were his friends, and it was *entirely different* toto ceolo, from the apotheosis of him, which is now current. Indeed they wrote a life of him, but on its appearance the first volume was bought up and suppressed, and the manuscript of the second volume was destroyed. His party came very near defeating Lincoln for re-nomination in 1864, and I presume you know much of what happened at that time.

I think that what I have quoted from Walpole and Napoleon above is a true estimate of history by two of the men whose experience entitled them to know how it was made.

With high regard,

Most truly yours,
Walter Clark

P.S. Do you ever see the "Federationist"? I have an article in this May issue which I wrote at Mr. Gomper's request. I would like for you to get and read it.

University of Chicago
June 7, 1919

My dear Judge Clark:

I read your article in *The Federationist* for May with entire agreement, as I am apt to do in the reading of anything you write on historical and constitutional subjects. There are few judges in the United States that can see things from the point of view of common men. You are almost alone, a fact which has distressed me. Why can not men educated, as so many of them have been, at the public expense and for public positions and at present paid out of the public treasury bring their minds to see two sides to a question? It is a fact which one only understands by a more than casual study of history.

You will say, why can not historians see things from the people's point of view? I agree that most do not, that most historians, like lawyers, are color blind. The same understanding of history, already mentioned, is required to answer this query. I am almost to the point of putting forward a law of history, or national evolution which shows this; but I dislike dogmatism so strongly that I hesitate. I may yet do it.

What you said about Vance corresponds with what I have thought and written; and what one of my best students, now at the University of Iowa, has brought out in a careful, but unpublished, study of the facts. I do not think the war governor worse than other so-called statesmen, both from North Carolina and from other states; only he should have been better, after all that has been claimed for him.

Warren's History of the American Bar unconsciously showed me much about lawyers and Judges—and professors too.

After all that has been said against Bryan, and Bryan does disappoint us in private conversation, he has not lowered the public taste or cheapened morality. He has actually made the mass of men better and cleaner in their thinking; the same must be said for Wilson. This can not be said for Vance. Some of the filthiest "yarns" that ever came to my ears as a youngster were known as Vance stories. I can not condone that. He was proclaimed to be the greatest our state ever produced! I was reared so to think.

Another thing. His role during the civil war was mere politics. That is not to say there were no grievances in our state. It is to say Vance treated everything just in the way Lodge is now handling things in the Senate. I shall never call a man statesman who behaves that way. And again Vance showed where his heart lay in the sore trials of 1893 and thereabouts. But I won't continue.

Yours sincerely,
William E. Dodd

Chicago
April 16, 1924

My dear Judge Clark:

Your *Magna Carta and Trial by Jury* both interests me and calls forth my admiration for your keen acumen and the great intellectual vigor you show and keep busy amidst toils and distractions that might readily absorb all the energies of a much younger man. I have tried to do some work in my day and I am frank to say I wonder how you do so much.

But your kind and mine is not multiplying. This nation of ours is so fast becoming firmly fastened to the wheels of the industrial machine that I doubt whether most young men think it worth while to bother. See what evidences even the south brings forth day by day that they only wish to be counted "like the industrial north." Hardly a college, great or small in all the south but now sets up a school of commerce to teach young men, not to think more closely, but to get rich quickly. I am wholly depressed when I visit the colleges of the country, especially the south where the experience of years gone ought to have made them hesitate.

Yours sincerely,
William E. Dodd

THE VINSON CONFEDERATE LETTERS

Edited by HUGH BUCKNER JOHNSTON

The collector of local history can make no discovery more satisfying than a bundle of old letters, because they are likely to possess considerable social and historical significance if penned during a period of civic distress such as "the late unpleasantness" between the states. The seeming obscurity of the persons involved should not detract from the importance of their thoughts and observations, for it was primarily the rank and file of the Confederate Army who toiled over the earthworks, threw their lean bodies against the steel of the enemy, and suffered the countless mental and physical agonies of war.

The Vinsons were a family of moderate means who resided on a farm adjoining the Wayne County (North Carolina) Poor House at the time the federal census was taken on September 28, 1850.[1] Thomas Robert Vinson was then thirty-nine years of age, and his wife, Martha Fletcher was forty-four. There were five children: Rachel, Mary, Uriah, Daniel, and Benjamin, whose ages ranged from four to twelve. The two girls were described as students in the neighborhood school. It may be conjectured that T. R. Vinson was a son of Clarka Vinson who was born in 1785 and lived not far away on a little property valued at $300.[2] Most of their near relations of the Vinson name had settled not many years earlier in Madison County, Tennessee.

We are mainly concerned, however, with the three sons of T. R. and "Patty" Vinson, as the first six letters of the following series were written by Uriah, the seventh by Daniel, and the eighth by Benjamin. The ninth letter came from their first cousin, Charles Croom, whose father, John C. Croom, had married into the Vinson family of Wayne County and had moved with other Croom relations to Madison County, Tennessee,[3] where he died on August 28, 1853. The official military record of Charles Croom shows only that he enlisted on July 27, 1863, for a period of three

[1] Census of 1850, Wayne County, North Carolina, No. 1025, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.
[2] Census of 1850, Wayne County, North Carolina, No. 1062, taken on October 2, 1850, The National Archives.
[3] Census of 1850, Madison County, Tennessee, The National Archives.

years, in Company F, Newsom's Regiment of Tennessee Cavalry.[4] This company appears to have been enrolled at Jackson, the county seat of Madison County.

Mary or "Mollie" Vinson (mentioned in letters one, five, six and nine) was born on November 10, 1840, and died on August 1, 1906. She married John Henry Sasser (February 8, 1840-August 17, 1892) of Wayne County and had a daughter, Rachel Ellen Sasser (born November 11, 1873) who married Curtis Daniel Howell (born December 17, 1868), son of Elder Curtis Daniel Howell (1837-April, 1920) and wife, Sophia Deans (June 13, 1844-January 7, 1912) of Wayne County.[5] The former was a son of the Reverend Morris Howell and wife, Polly Deans, and the latter was a daughter of Jeremiah ("Jerry") Deans and wife Nancy Thompson.

Elder C. D. Howell (named above, and also in the first letter) enlisted at Goldsboro on September 20, 1862, in Company F, First North Carolina Artillery and Engineers Regiment (10th State Troops). His military record states that he was five feet and five inches in height and had dark hair, hazel eyes, and a fair complexion.[6] The muster rolls of August 31 and October 31, 1863, show him on detail at Fort Anderson, and he was captured at Fort Fisher on January 15, 1865. The Union forces sent him to Elmira Military Prison at Elmira, New York, where on February 15 he made the claim that he was "conscripted" on July 15, 1862, proposing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States because he "desires to go to Henry County, Indiana, where he has relatives residing." He was not allowed to leave Elmira Prison until May 29, 1865, however, and apparently he proceeded directly to his home in North Carolina.

The captain of the company mentioned above was William S. G. Andrews, by profession a merchant and by birth a native of Woodbury, Connecticut. He enlisted at Beaufort on August 1 and was commissioned on August 20, 1861.[7] He was taken prisoner at Hatteras on August 29 and was released by parole on

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[4] War Department, The Adjutant General's Office, Old Records Section, Confederate States Army Records, The National Archives.

[5] Family records in possession of Mrs. Sadie Howell Collins, Wilson, North Carolina.

[6] War Department, The Adjutant General's Office, Old Records Section, Confederate States Army Records, The National Archives.

[7] War Department, The Adjutant General's Office, Old Records Section, Confederate States Army Records, The National Archives. See also Walter Clark, editor, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-'65*, I, 489, 501, 525; V, 39-52.

December 27. Company F was ordered to proceed to Fort Macon on March 2, 1862, but Captain Andrews was absent on detached service at Harker's Island when the Fort and its garrison surrendered on April 26. He was granted a sick-furlough on July 10, 1863, probably because of the chronic diarrhea that put him on August 3 in C. S. A. General Military Hospital No. 4, at Wilmington. From there he was transferred to the Confederate Military Hospital at Goldsboro, resigning his commission because of poor health on March 8, 1864. E. D. Walsh succeeded to the captaincy and was captured by the enemy at the fall of Fort Fisher. Despite Confederate States Army regulations on the subject, Captain Andrews appears to have spent surprisingly little time with his company during the period of his service.

Uriah T. Vinson enlisted at Goldsboro for the period of the war on September 12, 1862, in Company F, First North Carolina Artillery Regiment.[8] The muster rolls of August 31 and October 31, 1863, show him absent on detail to Fort Anderson. On June 8, 1863, Daniel J. Vinson enlisted at Goldsboro in the same company.[9] On June 26, 1864, he was detached for special duty at Smithville, being still absent on August 31. He experienced an attack of acute diarrhea, and was treated at General Military Hospital No. 4 at Wilmington on December 27 and 28. During an attack made by the Federals against Fort Fisher on January 3, 1865, he received a slight wound in the face. On January 15, 1865, the two brothers were captured at the surrender of this fort, after which they were incarcerated on January 30 at Elmira Prison. Daniel died there of chronic diarrhea on March 16, age about twenty-one years, and Uriah died there of pneumonia on March 19, age about twenty-three years.

Benjamin W. Vinson (1846-1909) enlisted at Goldsboro on March 18, 1864, under Captain W. R. Bass (who will be mentioned subsequently). On September 17, he secured a transfer to Company H, First North Carolina Artillery Regiment, but his name appears regularly on the muster rolls of Company K of this regiment.[10] He served in the Confederate Army until

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8 War Department, The Adjutant General's Office, Old Records Section, Confederate States Army Records. The National Archives. See also Walter Clark, editor, *North Carolina Regiments, 1861-'65*, I, pp. 489-498.

9 War Department, The Adjutant General's Office, Old Records Section, Confederate States Army Records, The National Archives.

10 War Department, The Adjutant General's Office, Old Records Section, Confederate States Army Records, The National Archives.

the end of the war, and then spent the rest of his life farming near Contentnea Creek in Wilson County. He never married.

W. R. Bass started his military career in 1862 as second lieutenant of Company I, Thirty-fifth North Carolina Infantry Regiment, but he was captain of a company of unattached militia from Wayne County and vicinity as early as July 20, 1863. The records of the War Department state that this was [new] Company D [old Company E], Eighth Battalion of North Carolina Partisan Rangers.[11] The Eighth and Thirteenth battalions were consolidated on October 2, 1863, to form the Sixty-sixth North Carolina Infantry Regiment that was mustered into Confederate service on October 31, as a part of Martin's Brigade, Whiting's Division. It is stated further that Bass's Company was assigned to the Sixty-sixth Regiment as Company L, but that to all practical purposes it remained Captain W. R. Bass's Independent Company of North Carolina Infantry.[12]

Walter Clark's *North Carolina Regiments, 1861-1865,* calls it Company C, Sixty-eighth North Carolina Regiment; John W. Moore's *Roster of North Carolina Troops* lists it as Company K, Sixty-seventh North Carolina Regiment; and an unsigned notation made by a veteran of this company was equally certain that it was Company H, Sixty-eighth North Carolina Regiment. The details presented by Clark are sufficiently convincing that it actually bore the classification of Company C by the beginning of 1865, before taking part in the battles of South West Creek and Bentonville. The Sixty-sixth, Sixty-seventh, and Sixty-eighth regiments were closely associated during the final period of the war in the military activities of eastern North Carolina, and the flexible movements of Bass's Company were undoubtedly responsible for the confusion over its exact organization appellation.

There is some doubt as to the identity of Lenoir Hill (mentioned in the fourth letter), but the most reasonable explanation is that the writer intended to say Leonidas Hill who enlisted at Goldsboro for the period of the war on September 1, 1862, in Company F, First North Carolina Artillery Regiment.[13] On

[11] War Department, The Adjutant General's Office, Old Records Section, Confederate States Army Records. The National Archives.
[12] Clark, *North Carolina Regiments, 1861-'65,* III, 725-727; IV, 402.
[13] War Department, The Adjutant General's Office, Old Records Section, Confederate States Army Records. The National Archives.

August 9, 1863, he was admitted under complaint of intermittent fever to C. S. A. General Military Hospital No. 4. He deserted at Smithville on September 11, but returned voluntarily on December 20 and was clapped into the guardhouse, where he continued to languish as late as February 28, 1864. On March 25 General Martin ordered his transfer to Company K, Sixty-sixth North Carolina Infantry Regiment, and the absence of further record implies that he served until the disbanding of this organization after Lee's surrender.

Isaac Croom (see the fifth letter) was conscripted at Wilmington for the period of the war on May 25, 1863, in Company F, First North Carolina Artillery Regiment.[14] He was described about this time as being five feet and eight inches in height, with auburn hair, blue eyes, and fair complexion. He was absent from his company on detail to Fort Anderson on October 31, 1863, and was sick in the hospital on December 31. He was again taken sick at Smithville on June 26, 1864. On January 15, 1865, he was captured with the rest of the company at the fall of Fort Fisher, being imprisoned on January 30 in Elmira Military Prison. On March 31, 1865, he asked that he might take the oath of allegiance to the United States. His statement said that he "Claims to have been an Union Man," and that he "desires to go to Wilmington, N. C., where his family resides," but the federal authorities did not see fit to release him until May 29.

Wilmington, N. C.
Jan. 27, 1863.

Dear Father,

I take my pen in hand to let you know that I am well at this time, also in hope these few lines may find you all well. To-day is very windy, and the fire is raging furiously in the lower part of Town, and all of one Company have gone down to it. There is great excitement in this Town now. They are looking for the Yankees every day now, and all the business is stopped. There is action now and then. It is very hard times here now. We do not get half enough to eat, and that is not fit to eat, but I will try to get along the best I can, in hopes that the War will soon end and we will soon meet together to stay longer than ever. I want you to do the best you can, and do not be uneasy about

[14] War Department, The Adjutant General's Office, Old Records Section, Confederate States Army Records. The National Archives.

me, for I am just as safe here as I would be at home. I received your letter this morning and was very glad to hear that you were all well, and was very sorry to hear that Daniel had to go to Raleigh. I am afraid that they will keep him. Curtis Howell is well as common, and all the rest that left our neighborhood, as far as I know. I will write to you to-morrow and let you know how the fire is coming along. You must write as soon as you get this. You may tell Mary that I went to Church on last Sunday night and heard the Reverend Moran[15] preach, and I would be glad to sit and hear him one whole week. I must come to a close, for I am on guard to-day. Nothing more at this time, only I remain your

Uriah T. Vinson.

Wilmington, N. C.
March 1, 1863.

Dear Father,

I again take my pen in hand to let you know that I am well at this time, hoping this will find you enjoying the same good blessing. I have not had any letter from you in some time. I want you to write to me as soon as you get this and let me know how you all are, for I am anxious to hear from you all. We have not had anything to eat in one week, only what we bought, and we have to give everything for it, leave nothing. We live the hardest we ever did, and it is certain. I do not think that the War will last long, as it is getting such hard times. I have no news of importance to write this time, only there are five big steamers in here now that have run the blockade. Goods are very plentiful here now, but they are very high. Salt is selling at four dollars per bushel. Nothing more.

Uriah T. Vinson.

Headquarters, Garrison of Wilmington
March the 22, 1863.

Dear Father and Mother,

I seat myself to write you a few lines to inform you that I am well as common, but I am faring bad, for I have not been off of guard in three days. We have not moved yet, nor do I think we will soon, but wish that we could leave here, for I think it is the worst place in the State. Capt. Stephens'[16] Company that stood guard with us has

[15] Dr. R. S. Moran became chaplain of the Fiftieth North Carolina Infantry Regiment when it was organized at Camp Mangum, near Raleigh, on April 15, 1862. Company E of this regiment was enlisted from Wayne County. Clark, *North Carolina Regiments, 1861-'65*, III, 161, 202; IV, 617.

[16] There is a bare possibility that this was Captain J. F. Stephens of Company D, Second North Carolina Regiment of Detailed Men. He was from near Toms Creek in Surry County. On September 26, 1864, the headquarters of this company was in Charlotte, North Carolina. Confederate States Army Records, The National Archives.

gone to Charleston, and that is what makes it so much harder on us than common. I want you to write when you get this, for I have not had any letter from you since you were here. It is the longest time without hearing from you it has been since I left home in October, and I have written to you twice since you left here. I hope this will find you all enjoying the best of health and doing well. I would like to be at home this Sunday to go to meeting. You all live like we used to. The big steamer "Giraffe"[17] ran in again one day last week. She brought a large cargo of shoes and blankets for the Government, and that one you and Capt. Andrews went aboard of when you were here was taken by the Yankees the day after they left this Port, with all of her cargo. Her cargo consisted of 600 bags of cotton and 250 boxes of tobacco. She was taken down at the mouth of Cape Fear. We have drawn a new uniform and new shoes, all of the best kind. Nothing more at this time, only I remain your loving son until death,

Uriah T. Vinson

"Time and tide wait for no man." Franklin.

Wilmington, N. C.
Uriah T. Vinson
to
his loving father T. R. Vinson.
Wilmington Provost Guard

Co. C, 4 Regiment[18]
N. C. T.
in Capt. Andrews'
N. C. T. Artillery

Wilmington, N. C.
March the 27, 1863.

Dear Father and Mother,

I this evening seat myself to write you a few lines to inform you that I am well at this time, hoping these few lines may find you with the blessing of health. I received your letter this morning, of which I was glad to hear that you were all well. I have nothing of importance to write at this time, only that we have not moved yet, nor do I think we will this winter. I have written every week since you left here, and I have not had any letter from you until this morning. I hope I will get the chance to come home some time this spring, as they are giving out furloughs now. I do not need any clothing now, for I drew a new suit this week. I want you to write to me if you have begun to plant corn yet, and write all of the news that is going on in the neighbor-

[17] The *Giraffe* was one of two steamers purchased from Great Britain early in 1863 for the purpose of running the Union blockade. Its signal officer was Robert Herring. Clark, *North Carolina Regiments, 1861-'65*, V, 406.

[18] John B. Andrews of Iredell County was captain of Company C, Fourth North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A. This company was organized at Camp Hill near Garysburg in May, 1861, and was present at the surrender at Appomattox Courthouse, April 9, 1865. Clark, *North Carolina Regiments, 1861-'65*, I, 229-280.

hood, and you all to remember me. I would love to be at home now and go to the field to work like I did last Spring. Our Company is all well at this time. Lenoir Hill is well. Nothing more at this time, only write soon.

Uriah T. Vinson

Wilmington, N. C.
April 19, 186[4]

Dear Father,

I take the opportunity of writing you a few lines to let you know that we are all well at this time, hoping this will find you all the same. We are in Wilmington in the same quarters where Capt. Bass's Company was, and they have moved out of Town about a quarter of a mile. Ben has not swapped yet. Captain Bass will not give Ben for Croom, but I think I can get him in this Company yet. We all stand guard here in Town together, and Ben is well. I wrote to Mary last Sunday was a week ago, and I have not got any answer yet.

Your loving son until death,
Uriah T. Vinson

Fort Penn
Smithville, N. C.
Oct. the 30th, 1864.

Dear Father and Mother,

I again take my pen in hand to let you know that we are all well at this time, hoping these few lines may come safely to hand and find you all enjoying the same good blessing of health and answer to your kind letter that came to hand last week, which was the first one that we have had from you since we left Wilmington. I would like to know why you do not write, for we have written some four or five letters since we came from Wilmington.

These are very exciting times in Smithville now, and everybody is looking for the Yankees, but I do not see any more sign of them than I did twelve months ago. Times are mighty hard and provisions the worst to get that I ever saw. Potatoes are thirty dollars a bushel. I have not time to write much at this time, and will write more when I get a letter from home.

Uriah T. Vinson

When this you see, remember me, dear sister Mary.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE LIBRARY

Fort Holmes, Bald Head Island
Brunswick County, North Carolina
Decer. the 9, 1863.

Dear Father,

I this day take the pleasant opportunity of informing you that I am well, hoping these few lines will come safely to hand and find you and family well, but Uriah is in very bad health. He is very poor. I don't think he has eaten one ration of meat since we ate what he fetched from home. He doesn't do any duty at all. I wish he was well. There is not much news stirring at this time. I should love to hear from Virginia about this time. On Sunday morning before day broke the steamer "Ceres" was trying to run the blockade from Bermuda, and the Yankees chased after her very close. She ran on the sand where the water was about seven feet deep, and the crew threw out about fifty tons of pork. The Yankees came so close that Capt. set her on fire, and the crew got on their life boats and oared ashore. The Yankees went and got aboard of her and tried to put her out, but they failed. In the time they were on her, Caswell[19] opened fire on them, and Sweetman's[20] Battery fired. Our Battery opened fire, and there was a constant brawl of cannons. The Yankees had to leave there, but that night they came and carried her off. I have but little to write this time. I will close by saying I am truly your

Son until death,
Daniel J. Vinson

Mason Hospital No. 5
at Wilmington, N. C.
Sept. 8th, 1864.

Dear Father,

I seat myself to write you a few lines to let you know that I am not well, but I am better than I have been. I came to the hospital last Monday very sick, but I am on the mend. Dear Father, I have no news to write at the present. I will tell you about our fare at the hospital. We fare very well indeed. We get a plenty to eat, and that is good. I hope that I shall soon be well again, so I can return to my Company. Dear father, I must bring my letter to a close for this time. You must write as soon as you can, so I remain your loving son until death.

From Benjamin Vinson

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[19] Fort Caswell in Brunswick County, North Carolina.

[20] On March 16, 1861, at Pensacola, Florida, Robert L. Sweetman was appointed second lieutenant of an artillery company. On May 29, 1863, he was ordered to report to General Whiting for engineering duty at Wilmington, North Carolina, where, on July 18 he was appointed captain of an artillery company that attained considerable local repute under the title of "Sweetman's Battery." He was still in service in the vicinity of Wilmington as late as March, 1865, and returned to Florida on parole after all military activities had ended. Confederate States Army Records. The National Archives. Clark, *North Carolina Regiments, 1861-'65, IV*, 418, 430.

Defenses, Richmond and Petersburg, Va.
Sept. 1, 1864.

Dearest Mollie,

Yours of Aug. 26th has been received and is now before me, and I suppose I need not assure you that it was indeed a great source of pleasure to me, for you cannot but know that I am glad to hear from you. Dearest, I am sorry to tell you that I am not with my Company as usual, but am on the Pioneer Corps. A special detail was sent in for me, and I was obliged to go. I do not know why it was, but there were sixteen men detailed from the Division to finish some work on the fortifications just opposite to where the Yankees are cutting the canal across the bend of the River, and I was one of the men named. The Capt. asked General Pickett[21] to give him some men and to allow him to name the men, and I was one of the men named. I suppose that some one recommended me as a good hand. In fact, Capt. Fairfax[22] told me that I was recommended to him by some of the Provost Guard, and as there are some of the 7th in the Provost Guard I suppose they told the Capt. that I was a good willing hand. If I had it to tell, I should say I was rather a poor hand, and by no means a willing hand.

We have to work pretty hard, but not as hard as I expected. We have reliefs like we would on guard, but not being used to work, it goes pretty hard with me. My hands are a little sore, and I feel somewhat tired to-day after I have quit work, but have sustained no bodily injury any further than that we are working about three miles from where my Regiment is on the lines. The object in throwing up the forts upon which we are now at work is to keep the Yankee boats back after they have cut the canal through and have changed the bed or channel of the James River, so as to flank our Howlett Batteries and by that means turn our left flank and make us fall back to Drury's Bluff, but if they ever do get the canal through, they cannot pass up into the main channel of the River with their boats. We will have not only the Battery we are now constructing, which is just opposite where the canal will tap the River, but we will have our gunboats there also to guard the River. We have two mortar guns now playing on the Yankee working party, and I would think that "digging" with a mortar shell falling in among the party occasionally is rather unpleasant work. They have not been shelling our party yet, but they doubtless will before long, and when they do, we will have the work to do, nearly all of it, after night. We do now nearly half of the work after night.

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[21] General George E. Pickett (January 25, 1825-July 30, 1875), C. S. A.

[22] Raymond Fairfax enlisted on April 17, 1861, at Alexandria, Virginia, in Captain Morton Marye's Company (Alexandria Riflemen), Seventeenth Virginia Infantry Regiment, C. S. A. He was then thirty-one years of age. On May 23, 1861. he was elected first lieutenant and was transferred on May 28 to Company I (Captain Stephen W. Presstman's Company, O'Connell Guards), Seventeenth Virginia Infantry Regiment. On April 26, 1862, he was elected captain of this company, but the muster rolls for December 31 show him on detached service with the Pioneer Corps, Pickett's Division, Department of North Carolina. On August 9, 1864, he applied for transfer back into the regular service; and on September 21 he was admitted, while on furlough, to the Ladies' Relief Hospital at Lynchburg, Virginia. Confederate States Army Records. The National Archives.

I hope they will not keep us long on the detail. I had much rather be in the Company. I miss my friends, and I miss the good meetings we were having when I was there, and I miss the mails and the papers. We get neither mails nor papers here. I got my letters when they came by going after them or by some of the boys in the Company bringing them over. So you see I am somewhat behind the times. I would like to know to-day what they do at Chicago. All eyes are turned with deep interest to the Convention.[23] I trust the anxious hopes of us all will not be disappointed. I will have to close soon, as we will have to go to work, but I will try and finish this and send it to-morrow evening. Do not get tired waiting. While you are sleeping tonight I will be laboring to defend our Country from invasion. Be a good girl, darling, and do not forget me in your prayers.

Sept. 2nd. 1864.

Dear Mollie, this morning before going to work I will try to finish your letter. We worked very hard last night until 12 o'clock. We were mounting 200-pounder guns, which was extremely heavy work. You will see that working does not make me write a better hand. We had a visit from General Lee[24] yesterday. He seemed quite well, and very full of his jokes. General Pickett came down with him to see the forts we were making. I was standing near-by where they were talking. He asked General Pickett if there was any change in the Howlett House Batteries. General Pickett told him there was no material change. General Lee then said that he would ride up there if he could get there with his wagon, meaning his carriage, and said he did not want the Yankees to strike his wagon with one of those big shots and break it up, for he set a good deal of store by it; that he considered it a present from General McClellan, and he supposed if McClellan was elected President of the United States,[25] he (McClellan) would want his wagon back again. General Lee then went on to say it was captured in the seven days fight before Richmond and was said to be General McClellan's. I never knew before yesterday that General ever troubled himself about small things such as the construction of a fort, or placing guns into position, etc., but I was laboring under a mistake. He was looking all around our fort and giving his advice and instructions just the same as if he had been in command of the working detail, but I must close. Please excuse this badly written letter. I will try and do better next time. Give my love to all and accept a large share for yourself, and by writing soon you will gratify and oblige yours truly,

Charles.

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[23] The Democratic National Convention which met at Chicago on August 29, 1864, included in its platform a plank urging an immediate armistice between the United States and the Confederate States.

[24] General Robert Edward Lee.

[25] General George Brinton McClellan (December 3, 1826-October 29, 1885) received the Democratic nomination for President of the United States on August 31, 1864, and subsequently polled 1,800,000 popular votes, although President Abraham Lincoln defeated him by 212 to 21 electoral votes.

BOOK REVIEWS

NORTH CAROLINA TODAY. By Samuel H. Hobbs, Jr., and Marjorie N. Bond. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1947. Pp. ix, 420. $2.30.)

This little book proposes to give in brief compass and simple language an overall view of the state of North Carolina. Under the limitations set by the nature of such a book it accomplishes this objective in a remarkable fashion. It first lays down a base in a general treatment of the economic concept of wealth. This is followed by an inventory of the wealth of North Carolina. Two sections are devoted to farming and manufacturing as the chief ways in which North Carolina's wealth has been used and abused. There are several chapters on the state's institutional wealth and a final rather optimistic appraisal of the state's possibilities in the near future. Recent publications are listed and classified for use by students and teachers.

North Carolina Today should come as an encouraging note to those teachers who have been somewhat bewildered by the clamor for the past two decades concerning the integration of the social studies at the elementary level. Without any statement of such a purpose it utilizes the findings and the methods of regional geography, history, economics, and sociology. It escapes the formlessness and vacuity of many "social science" texts, however, by sticking closely to North Carolina. Some teachers will probably feel that it sticks too closely to North Carolina, as it has only one chapter on "North Carolina in the World Today." Furthermore, it ignores the question as to what might happen in the nature of economic reaction if North Carolina people should enter heartily into the various programs of improvement while their neighbors continued to jog along in the old ruts of comparative backwardness now typical of the Southeast. There will also be differences of opinion as to the emphasis placed on various topics. Certainly the Indians deserve more than passing notice in half a dozen items. Many students of rural economics will also consider one and a half pages an inadequate treatment of industrial processing of farm products other than cotton and tobacco.

The book should be more highly regarded by junior high school students than one recently inscribed by its youthful owner thus:

"In case of fire throw this in first." The style is mainly descriptive, concise, and informal. Illustrations are plentiful and well articulated to the text. Hypothetical or "average" family groups and individuals are frequently introduced into the discussion with results that should be happy for the young reader in clearly personalized concepts. This device is not used in the chapters on social services and organs of government, and these latter thereby barely escape the formal abstractions characteristic of older civics textbooks. The best third of early teen-age readers will demand some explanation of the comparative method of measuring progress of the state; the middle third with slight aid will grasp the major concepts based on resource-use; while the bottom third will have to depend on the teacher's explanation. The book should quickly prove a valuable addition to the standard equipment for teaching or learning down-to-earth facts about the Tar Heel state.

PAUL MURRAY.

EAST CAROLINA TEACHERS COLLEGE,
GREENVILLE, N. C.

MEMORIES OF DAVIDSON COLLEGE. By Walter L. Lingle. (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press. 1947. Pp. 157. $3.00.)

This volume, as Dr. J. R. Cunningham, president of Davidson College since April 1, 1941, says in a brief introduction, "is a valuable contribution to an institution 'where a good past predicts a better future.' " While its general character is indicated by its title, it is essentially a narrative of the development of Davidson College through all its years. The "Memories," however, begin with the commencement of 1888, which the author, then nineteen years of age, attended, having come for the purpose from his country home about twenty-five miles to the northeast. Since that time he has been closely connected with the college—as student, 1888-1893; as trustee, 1903-1929; as president, 1929-1941; and as president emeritus since 1941.

It is a good story that Dr. Lingle tells in his 157 pages. His descriptive powers are great. In his early years, at the request of President J. B. Shearer, he undertook to "show the college" to the great Presbyterian theologian, Dr. Robert L. Dabney, then aged and grown blind in the service of Union Theological Sem-

inary. In this seemingly impossible assignment he succeeded by the use of oral description, following the promptings of the wise scholar. That skill of showing Davidson College, even to the blind, Dr. Lingle has manifested in the eleven chapters of this volume. There are shifting scenes in historical sequence of the college life, each filled with lively throngs of people, of whom some play important parts. Very helpful for the understanding of all are the graphic descriptions of the college plants, beginning with that of its first years, when its small, poorly equipped, dingy buildings formed a quadrangle 140 yards west of the present buildings.

More interesting, however, are the chapters which deal with men and women, faculty members, grey-bearded trustees, and students and their young lady friends. Such is the chapter, "My First Commencement," that of 1888, an old-time commencement, for which all the students remained, though it lasted five days, from Sunday to Thursday night, ending with a students' reception. Interesting also is the chapter on the faculty, that of his student days, of each member of which the author gives a sketch illustrated by an anecdote. He never saw a better college faculty and he has seen many. In fact, Davidson College has always given prime attention to its faculty. The fathers "let buildings and grounds go and put all they had into the faculty," and the author will have it that the excellence of its faculty continues to be a distinguishing feature of the college. Dr. Lingle takes much account also of students, their activities and recreations. There is not a subject relating to these things that he has not discussed with insight, sympathy, and good judgment. These qualities are seen especially in his statement on college fraternities.

All the chapters of the volume, whatever their subject, contribute to one result, that of showing how Davidson College has progressively developed from the small but good institution with only the support of an impoverished people in the days after the Civil War to its present place among the strongest and most respected colleges of America, with an ever increasing number of friends ready and willing to provide for its needs as they arise.

Fittingly, the author on his last page summarizes the changes, all for the better, that he has seen in the college in the fifty-nine

years that he has known it. Above all material things he places the spirit of the college. It possessed him on his first visit and changed the whole course of his life. In closing his work he says: "The Davidson spirit which I felt at my first commencement still abides, and has grown even stronger and finer."

In reading the *Memories* one becomes aware of something of which the author himself was ignorant, that is, the great personality of him who wrote them—so modest, so honest, so healthy-minded, so appreciative of good in others, so sympathetic toward young men and women, so highly endowed with common sense, sound judgment and wisdom.

As this volume comes from a great educational institution, the reviewer feels much regret that more attention was not paid to its style. The narrative is easy to read, and the meaning is always clear, but many of the pages are flecked with stylistic faults, more or less serious, which cannot escape the notice of readers. Some of these are due to the printers, who seem to have no editor, no stylebook, and no proofreader; others are manifestly due to the author, who wrote with much disregard of niceties of style and conventions regularly observed by good writers.

GEORGE W. PASCHAL.

WAKE FOREST, N. C.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF BENJAMIN ELBERFIELD ATKINS, "A TEACHER OF THE OLD SCHOOL," 1848-1909. Compiled by Emmett D. Atkins and James W. Atkins. (Gastonia, privately published. 1947. Pp. 97.)

Benjamin Elberfield Atkins was born in East Tennessee, the son of a Methodist minister. From 1866 to 1874 he attended Emory and Henry College and taught school at successive intervals. Thus at graduation he was already launched on a career of teaching that extended throughout his life. This career was divided among the states of Tennessee, North Carolina, and Kentucky. It was attended by most of the sorrows and many of the triumphs that ordinarily become the lot of a man who sincerely devotes himself to teaching as a medium of public service and a means of earning a livelihood for his family. His teaching in North Carolina consisted of fifteen years, 1879-1894, as professor and president of Asheville Female College and two years

as the first principal of Oakland High School, established at Gastonia by the Methodist Church in 1896.

The pamphlet here under review was edited and published by the sons of Benjamin E. Atkins "for family circulation." There seems to have been little intent to select "significant" passages from the diary and less effort to introduce editorial identification of the many names and places mentioned. It is, therefore, a simple, personal story of the private schoolmaster at his best during the era of his passing from the center of the educational stage. Opening ceremonies, holiday quietness at boarding-school apartments, current topics for essays and debates, public examinations considered "moderately good" when half a class passed, and the place of woman in the social order constitute a fair sample of the multitude of subjects interlarded with personal and family items. The editors make no mention of the present location or condition of the original manuscript.

PAUL MURRAY.

EAST CAROLINA TEACHERS COLLEGE,
GREENVILLE, N. C.

WILLIAM TATHAM, WATAUGAN. By Samuel Cole Williams. (Johnson City, Tennessee: The Watauga Press, 1947. Pp. 109. $2.50.)

Judge Williams, leading living* historian of Tennessee and an indefatigable collector of historical material on North Carolina and Tennessee in particular, during the early and pioneer periods, has performed a highly important service in bringing out, in a limited *edition de luxe* of 350 copies, this small but richly informative volume. In 1921 Judge Williams brought out a booklet of the above title, in a small edition which was quickly exhausted. The new edition contains much new material, gathered in England at the British Museum in 1929, supplementing materials gathered there in 1921 and utilized in the first edition. William Tatham played a role, of more or less importance, in North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and indeed in the United States; but he has been ignored completely until effectively resuscitated by Judge Williams. So far as I can discover, no mention of him is made in any North Carolina history; but S. A.

*Since this review was written, Judge Williams has passed away at his home, "Aquone," Johnson City, Tennessee, December 13, 1947.

Ashe, in his *History of North Carolina*, II, 84, mentions General John Willis, with whom William Tatham was associated in establishing the town of Lumberton. His name appears once only, I believe, in the late Robert C. Lawrence's *The State of Robeson* (Lumberton, N. C., 1939), page 4. Shortly before the appearance of Judge Williams's second edition of *William Tatham, Wataugan*, this extraordinary man was made the subject of one of the sketches in the column, conducted by Mr. A. A. Wilkinson in the *Durham Morning Herald* (November 21, 1946), entitled "People and Places in North Carolina," under the significant title "Lost Prophet." A sketch of William Tatham by Judge Williams is in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. The earliest article on William Tatham, evidently an autobiographical account, appeared in the volume *Public Characters, 1801-1802* (London, 1804). Miss Elizabeth Gregory McPherson, research worker in the Library of Congress, edited "Unpublished Letters from North Carolinians to Jefferson," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VIII (1935), 252-283, 354-380, among which appear a number of letters from William Tatham (pages 357, 359, 362, 364, 366). Miss McPherson also edited the "Letters of William Tatham," which appeared in two installments in the *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. XVI.

When Felix Walker, clerk of the Watauga Court, Tennessee (then North Carolina), left in the spring of 1776 to serve in the campaign against the British in South Carolina, William Tatham was chosen as clerk *pro tem* in Walker's stead. Through this chance, Tatham achieved the distinction of drafting the "Petition of the Inhabitants of the Watauga settlements to the Legislature of North Carolina," July 5, 1776. The substance was composed, beyond doubt, by the mature and responsible leaders, John Carter, John Sevier, James and Charles Robertson, and others; but William Tatham actually was the draftsman, according to his own statement: "The memorial on which the civil and military organization of that government was founded, was actually drawn up by him (and still is preserved in the archives of North Carolina) at a time when he was no more than twenty-four years of age" (*Public Characters*, p. 484). The historian of Tennessee, J. G. M. Ramsey, discovered this document in the North Carolina

State Archives; but it has since disappeared, although the text in full has been preserved. The "inhabitants of Washington District, including the River Wataugah, Nolachuckie, &c.," although within the chartered limits of North Carolina, had been acting as though they were Virginians and using Virginia laws. Now in this memorial they petitioned, singularly enough, to be "annexed" to North Carolina (the curious and incorrect word used by Tatham). Actually the Watauga settlements had hitherto constituted a sort of miniature independent republic and now wished to be taken under the protection of North Carolina within whose bounds their settlements lay.

It was the writer's good fortune, seventeen years ago, to discover, in the North Carolina State Archives, a single folio of sheets, stitched together, numbering 102 manuscript pages. This is the official report of the Treaty of Long Island of Holston River, July, 1777. The commissioners for North Carolina were Waightstill Avery, William Sharpe, Robert Lanier, and Joseph Winston; those representing Virginia were William Christian, William Preston, and Evan Shelby. Daniel Smith was chosen as clerk by the Virginia commissioners, and William Tatham as clerk by those from North Carolina. Tatham himself says that he "assisted the North Carolina commissioners in preparing the documents and conducting the conferences." This important historical document, described above, was edited by the writer and published in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, VII (1931), 55-116.

William Tatham was born in 1752 at Hatton-in-the-Forest, in the County of Cumberland, England. At the age of seventeen he crossed the Atlantic and formed a connection with Carter and Trent, a firm of merchants on James River, Virginia. In 1776 he removed to the Watauga Settlement, where he entered into the service of John Carter, merchant. He served as adjutant to the military force in Washington District and at Long Island of Holston, under John Carter, James Robertson, and John Sevier in warfare with the Cherokee and Creek Indians. In 1777 he removed to Virginia, where he engaged in mercantile enterprises. During the next two years he followed a military career in Virginia, and in 1780 he studied law in the office of Samuel

Hardy. Later this same year he returned to the Tennessee country, where he busied himself with affairs of the North Carolina land office. Here he formed the acquaintance of Spruce Macay and William Richardson Davie. Returning to Virginia he met, and won the friendship of, Thomas Jefferson. During Arnold's invasion of Virginia he acted as a courier, taking messages between Governor Jefferson, General Nelson, and Baron Steuben. He served as aide to General Nelson, and was present at the siege of Yorktown. After the capitulation of Cornwallis, Tatham was appointed, and served for a year, as clerk to the Board of Privy Council of Virginia.

Some years later he went to Halifax, North Carolina, where he completed his law course under William R. Davie; and he was admitted to the North Carolina bar, March 24, 1784. Endowed with talents as an engineer, he spent the next two years both in the practice of law and in exploring the feasibility of linking eastern and trans-Alleghany Carolina by waterway. In 1786, as already mentioned, he was associated with John Willis and others in laying out and establishing the town of Lumberton, Robeson County; and the following year he served as a representative of that county in the North Carolina assembly. By a joint vote of both houses he was elected lieutenant-colonel of the Fayetteville militia district. After this date he is no longer associated with the state of North Carolina, but with Virginia and the nation. His work in behalf of a general topographical survey caused him to be termed the "Father of the United States Topographical and Coast Surveys, and of the Coast-wise Canal." In 1807 Tatham executed a manuscript map of North Carolina, which is preserved in the Maps Division, Library of Congress. He did important engineering work in Great Britain, went on a secret mission to Spain, and made a number of coastal surveys along the Atlantic coast. He left behind a large collection of maps, plats, charts, and explanatory manuscripts, which over a period of years he sought, but in vain, to sell to the government. He was a prolific writer and published a considerable number of books and pamphlets.

In his latter years misfortune dogged his footsteps. Harassed by debt, he fell into melancholia and his mind became distracted. At the sundown salute of the "public guard" in Richmond, Vir-

ginia, February 22, 1819, he deliberately stepped in front of a cannon about to fire and was blown to smithereens. He was a friend and correspondent of Jefferson and Madison, and "collaborated with Robert Fulton on canalization and the invention of the steamboat."

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

SUMMER MIGRATIONS AND RESORTS OF SOUTH CAROLINA LOW-COUNTRY PLANTERS. By Lawrence Fay Brewster. (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1947. Pp. vii, 134. $1.00.)

Sometime in June, if possible, the nineteenth-century South Carolina planter packed up his family, his servants, and his "goods and chattels" and journeyed either to "the Salt" or to "the Pine" to avoid the devastating effect of the malaria parasite. Before the days of practically universal house screening and the discovery of DDT, and before it was generally known just why the Anopheles mosquito appeared to be "public enemy number one," the lowlander made it a practice to live almost a third of each year away from home. He discovered that a more healthful climate could be found in such localities as Charleston, Beaufort, and Georgetown, at the sea island beaches, on the pine ridges at spots suggestively designated as Pineland, Pineville, and Pinopolis, and in the invigorating atmosphere of the South Carolina foothills and the North Carolina mountains.

Dr. Lawrence Fay Brewster, author of *Summer Migrations and Resorts of South Carolina Low-Country Planters*, was formerly a member of the Duke University faculty but is now professor of history at East Carolina Teachers College in Greenville, North Carolina. While teaching at Clemson College, South Carolina, not far from Pendleton, one of the better known resort towns, he became interested in the low-country planter families and the places to which they migrated.

After discussing the reasons why the planter left home, Dr. Brewster takes up the questions of time and duration of the self-imposed exile. In general the "advent of summer" marked the beginning of the trek and the first killing frost determined the date of the journey back home. Though there were variations

in the schedule according to seasons and localities, many of the families escaped in May and did not feel it safe to return until November.

While a number of inlanders migrated to Charleston at the beginning of the "sickly season," some of the residents of that city in turn moved to the sea islands to escape the "pestilential heat and poisonous mosquitoes, in the hot, "stinking" city by the sea. Sullivan's Island, Mount Pleasant, Edisto, and St. Helena islands were among the favored resorts. There were also those who "resorted" to Newport, Rhode Island, as early as 1765.

According to Dr. Brewster, many families sought to escape malaria by moving only a few miles away to the dry, sandy soil of the pine-barrens. Summerville appealed to visitors during the first decade of the nineteenth century and had grown large enough to be incorporated by 1837. Life in the pineland villages seems to have followed a more or less regular pattern, for, as the author puts it, "Everybody knew everybody else, and, having little else to do went to see everybody else every day and at all hours. Sociability became almost oppressive until one got used to it . . ." The volume reads almost like a social register, for the author has included literally hundreds of names of well known South Carolina families, such as the Allstons, Balls, Calhouns, Du Boses, Heywards, Middletons, Pinckneys, and Ravenels.

Low-country planters discovered the up-country as a health resort quite early and frequented such places as Pendleton, Spartanburg, Greenville, and Winnsboro. They helped to secure better roads, stage lines, inns, churches, and schools for these fairly distant localities. Although in those days a distance of thirty-six miles from Greenville, South Carolina, to Flat Rock, North Carolina, was a long day's journey, some of the hardier folk made the trip and were repaid in the enjoyment of the cool breezes and magnificent scenery of the mountain region.

"Ho! For the Spring" is the title of Chapter V of Dr. Brewster's book. Here he lists some of the little known and a few of the more famous watering places, such as Spring Hill, Glenn Springs, and Chick Springs, but states that many South Carolinians seemed to prefer the resorts of North Carolina, Virginia, and New York. Some of the springs bore such enticing names as

Warm, Hot, Red, Gray, Salt, and White Sulphur, but the author does not comment on whether these names were indications of temperature and mineral content of the water or merely designations for advertising purposes.

Dr. Brewster makes no attempt to write, as Perceval Reniers does in *The Springs of Virginia*, of "Life, Love, and Death at the Waters." One could wish that he had characterized some of the outstanding individuals who migrated, had given additional details as to size of quarters and entertainment offered, had added appropriate illustrations in black and white or in color, and had included stories of the "doing's and going's on" at the resort centers.

As is fitting for the *Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society*, this work is thoroughly documented. The author in his researches used memoirs, proceedings, travelers' journals, private papers, church records, South Carolina statutes, and contemporary newspapers, as well as numerous secondary source materials. Carefully done, concisely and objectively written, this book serves the purpose for which it was intended and might well form the basis for a more detailed study of the South Carolina resorts of the period.

NELL HINES.

STATE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY,
RALEIGH, N. C.

GEORGIA: A SHORT HISTORY. By E. Merton Coulter. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947. Pp. xii, 510. $4.50.)

This work is a revision of Professor Coulter's *A Short History of Georgia*, published by the University of North Carolina Press in 1933. The number and titles of the chapters are the same in the two works. There is some rearrangement of materials dealing with the consolidation of the state government following the Revolution and the ratification of the federal Constitution. The chapter on the period since the First World War has been extended from five pages to twenty-two pages. There are numerous minor emendations, and some general interpretations have been strengthened by the use of additional illustrative material. This latter change is especially noticeable in the treat-

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ment of colonial society and trade relations, the propaganda of the Revolution, and *ante-bellum* publications.

The colonial, revolutionary, and early federal periods are presented in unified narrative form. This part of the book absorbs fifteen of the thirty-one chapters and culminates in an excellent treatment of "Land Speculations and Settlements" at the end of the eighteenth century. In the sixteenth chapter a shift is made to a topical arrangement which presents in succession federal relations, Indian affairs, party politics, transportation, social and economic structure, and cultural development during the *ante-bellum* period. The treatment of this period comes to a high point in two chapters dealing with Georgia's identification with extreme southern thought and the resulting secession from the Federal Union. Four chapters on the twenty-five years of civil war and reconstruction leave an equal number for the seventy years since 1876.

The most interesting and valuable feature of this work is the bold and lucid interpretation given to many controversial incidents in Georgia history that impinge upon the history of the nation. Professor Coulter states that Georgia was never a debtors' colony, since the rigid tests by the trustees prohibited the acceptance of most debtors as colonists. South Carolinians welcomed the colony as a buffer against the Spaniards, but became intensely jealous when the Indian trade began shifting to Savannah and Augusta. Georgia was the pet of the British mercantilists, many of the older colonists were loyal to the king, and Georgia might have been saved to the British Empire but for the agitation by leaders from other colonies and the hot-headed anger of the young men who were aspiring to political leadership. There were three classes in the white population of antebellum Georgia, and the "poor white trash" made up less than a fourth of the total. Andersonville was a tragedy, but the resulting suffering and deaths were "from causes over which the Confederacy had little control" (p. 339). Presidential reconstruction was accepted in good faith, and its repudiation by Congress brought undue punishment to a state whose social and economic structure had been completely disrupted by war. After reconstruction the history of the state merged with that of the section and finally

with that of the nation, thus becoming of relatively less importance *per se.*

There is little in the presentation of these and other items that can give comfort to the professional controversialist. Historical evidence and so-called sober fact are mingled in each case into an overall pattern that requires no special pleading. Technical historians who have done some research in one or another of the questionable areas may object that the gullible reader is being led into the quicksands where only the trained investigator is safe from erroneous conceptions. By this treatment, however, the reader escapes the multitude of closely guarded hypotheses which could have stretched the volume out to double its length without any corresponding increase in usefulness to the elementary student or general reader.

The shifts back and forth between chronological narrative and topical arrangement militate against smooth reading. A more thorough digesting of materials since the eighteenth century could have brought improvement here and eliminated some minor errors. Wilson Lumpkin was elected governor in 1831 as the nominee of the Union party and not as "Troup man" (p. 246). The Union-Democratic party during the eighteen-thirties supported broad suffrage and liberal action by the state in public education and prison reform; it did not become a "conservative party" (p. 247) until it had absorbed the leadership of the Whigs in the fifties.

It is hard to reconcile the presentation of the Civil War as a major revolution in the social and economic structure of the state with the bland dismissal of the period since reconstruction as an inconsequential era in state development. This work presents good pen portraits of Eugene Talmadge and Ellis Arnall and analyzes their respective policies from the standpoint of immediate political issues. For the historical development of the social and economic cleavages that must have created these issues the reader must depend on his own deductions. Nor is there any attempt to explain the effect of greater nationalization on life in Georgia or to contrast that life with conditions preceding the Civil War. It is to be regretted that the boldness of interpretation so evident in other sections of the work is not apparent in the final chapters. Such a course must have provoked some contro-

versy in historical as well as political circles, but it might have also provided the spark of inspiration for a definite study in this field.

There are lists of page references to most of the reliable works for the various chapters. Most of the periodical articles listed in the original edition are omitted, but monographs published since 1933 are included in these lists. The index is adequate. Less than half a dozen errors in spelling and sentence structure mar an otherwise perfect editorial product.

PAUL MURRAY.

EAST CAROLINA TEACHERS COLLEGE,
GREENVILLE, N. C.

THE BRITISH DEVELOPMENT OF WEST FLORIDA, 1763-1769. By Clinton N. Howard. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1947. Pp. ix, 166. $3.00.)

In recent years the British colonies of East and West Florida have been rescued from near obscurity by the able and comprehensive studies of Charles L. Mowat *(East Florida As a British Province, 1763-1784)* and Cecil Johnson *(British West Florida, 1763-1783)*.

The present volume adds little of historical value to the earlier study of West Florida. In less than fifty pages, the author traces the colonization of North America from 1492 to 1763, describes the inauguration of British rule in West Florida under the military government, and portrays the problems and work of the colonial governor in relation to the military establishment, the council, and the first assembly. The conclusions reached in the preface and on page forty-seven have so little in common with the text that the reader is left in doubt as to the purpose of the book.

More than one half of the volume is devoted to miscellaneous documents which include a list of land grants made by the council of West Florida from December 19, 1764, through February 24, 1769; letters and papers of Governor George Johnstone; a list of the acts of the first assembly; financial statements; and two letters of Lieutenant Governor Montfort Browne, one of which relates to the Spanish trade and the other to the evils of absentee officeholding. The section on land grants is the result of careful

research. It gives the names of the petitioners, the locations of the lands desired, the reasons advanced by the petitioners, and the decisions of the council. Good footnotes further enhance its usefulness. It should be held in mind, however, that these land grants had little effect on the development of West Florida since few of the grantees occupied and developed their holdings.

Three maps, full notes, and an excellent index contribute to the value of the book.

REMBERT W. PATRICK.

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA,
GAINESVILLE, FLA.

THE CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF SERGEANT ONLEY ANDRUS. Edited by Fred Albert Shannon. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1947. Pp. 147. $1.50.)

Onley Andrus was a member of the Ninety-fifth Illinois Regiment of Infantry Volunteers. Most of the letters here presented were written by him to his wife, Mary Andrus, at irregular intervals from September 3, 1862, to May 22, 1865. With the exception of one short furlough Andrus was in service with his regiment throughout this entire period. To a non-military reader the regiment seems to have engaged in an inordinate amount of moving in proportion to its active fighting. The small amount of actual fighting, however, was one thing about which this soldier of the ranks made no complaint. Food, shelter, relations with superior officers, and speculation as to the next move absorbed most of his writing not given over to personal and family affairs. His attitude on all these varied a great deal with the circumstances of each day of "this cruel war." On two things he was completely consistent: he insisted repeatedly that money must be saved from his pay and bounties to establish his family in a home; he was equally determined that the war should continue until the "rebellion" was crushed.

Professor Shannon has done a meticulous job of collateral research in identifying names and places mentioned. A map of the Mississippi River region shows the itinerary of the regiment for the entire period, and an index of nine pages facilitates the use of the volume for reference. It is interesting again to the non-military reader that the editor is no kinder in his remarks on Grant and the high command than Andrus was in his stric-

tures on his "star-chasing" commanding officers. Altogether, the publication is of interest to students of the Civil War in giving the unvarnished reaction of the common soldier who was interested in winning the war and saving his own skin.

PAUL MURRAY.

EAST CAROLINA TEACHERS COLLEGE,
GREENVILLE, N. C.

THE INDIANS OF THE SOUTHEASTERN UNITED STATES. By John R. Swanton. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 137. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1946.)

Undoubtedly the foremost authority on the Indians of the southeastern United States is Dr. John R. Swanton, who has retired after long service in the Bureau of American Ethnology. Dr. Swanton's scholarly work touched many tribes and many regions of the United States, but his master work has been the study of the Southeast and its early inhabitants. His earlier publication, *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors,* has served a guide for students of the Indians of the Southeast, with supplementary material in various other studies he has published. Now in his last contribution he has summed up in a book of more than 1,000 pages the ethnological and historical material of the Indians of the Southeast.

With his accustomed scholarly care Dr. Swanton has gone fully into every detail and furnishes an encyclopedia of information about the aborigines of the area under investigation. The various tribes are noted with historical accuracy and their manner of living is given in elaboration. In his study he has assembled the references to the Indians. Tribal organization, economic affairs, architecture, clothing, food, weapons, cradles, tattooing, and hundreds of other subjects are treated, including cushions, and towels and soap. The labor of many years has borne fruit in this full, rich volume of ethnological and historical value. References and index are carefully arranged and serve as a help for research.

Illustrations include plates to the number of 107 and give a remarkably well chosen selection of subjects for illustration. Among the illustrations may be noted one that has paraded in

several volumes as "John Ross, Chief of the Cherokees," which Dr. Swanton has presented as "Ben Perryman, a Prominent Creek Indian."

To Dr. Swanton, living in retirement in Newton, Massachusetts, the southeastern states pay tribute for this monumental work and for his other valuable contributions to knowledge of the Indians of the Southeast.

Douglas L. Rights.

Winston-Salem, N. C.

Thomas Jefferson and the National Capital. Edited by Saul K. Padover. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946. $1.75.)

This is a volume of letters to and from Jefferson, contemporary notes, reports, memoranda, resolutions, proclamations, and presidential messages to Congress illustrating Jefferson's influential role in the founding and building of the national capital. There are very few editorial notes and comments.

The collection stands as additional proof of the unique value of source materials. Almost every paper presented has for the reader that warm human interest that makes it linger in the memory. Each letter reveals not merely the author's problem and purpose, but also the contemporary atmosphere, the existing conditions significant for us but then taken for granted, and the very mind and character of the author. The richness of these materials can be appreciated when we find the previously published secondary works on the subject frequently taking a ten-line paragraph of Jefferson's and stretching it out into two or three pages of discussion—with no improvement over Jefferson's lines.

The book is not intended to cover the entire story of the early days of the capital. It gives but a faint echo of the long, fierce controversy in Congress—the real seat of authority. The contribution of other statesmen is not fully portrayed. This is especially true of Washington, whose towering prestige more than the bargaining of Jefferson and Hamilton brought the capital to the bank of the Potomac. Gaps occur in the record for the periods when Jefferson was out of the country or out of the government. The introduction refers to Jefferson's Vice Presidency, 1797-1801,

as one of the periods of his activity in establishing the capital, yet the volume has but little over seven pages on the seven years between 1793 and 1801.

This book will add considerably to a fuller understanding of Jefferson, even though no hitherto unknown facet is presented. The accumulation of difficulties in laying out the design of the city of Washington and constructing the public buildings was appalling: the unreconciled opposition in Congress and the resulting niggardly appropriations, insubordinate officials, bad tempers, incompetent architects whose plans led to delays, revisions, and unnecessary expense, scarcity of proper materials and efficient workmen, roofs with leaks that seemed to defy all repairs, dry-rotted timbers which by 1808 created an imminent danger that the Senate chamber and the President's house would fall in, stained ceilings, sinking floors, and a stream of petty grievances from workmen, merchants, and householders whose sense of modesty, if any, did not restrain them from laying their cases before the Secretary of State or the President of the United States.

In spite of all these obstacles, Jefferson pursued his momentous task with patience and diligence, with fairness and firmness, revealing a broad understanding of human nature, a wise and tactful procedure, and a proper degree of toleration of the frailties of his fellowman. The book will bring delight to every reader who admires character, ability, and integrity in the men who shape the destinies of the state.

GILBERT L. LYCAN.

JOHN B. STETSON UNIVERSITY,
DELAND, FLA.

THE PIONEER LAWYER AND JURIST IN MISSOURI. By William Francis English. (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri, 1947. Pp. 144. $1.50.)

This study embraces somewhat more than its title indicates, for it treats the history of law and courts as well as of lawyers and judges in the early stages of Missouri history. The discussion of legal history centers about two conflicts. The first of these occurred when American immigrants, pouring into Missouri soon after the Louisiana purchase, brought Anglo-American ideas of law that were at variance with the French and Spanish

legal traditions of the earlier settlers. Naturally, the victory lay with the flood tide of immigrants from the East.

The second conflict was chiefly over procedure. On the one hand, the frontier layman wanted legal decisions to reflect community opinion; and he wanted to destroy, and for a brief period he did destroy, all the subtleties and intricacies of common law pleading. Naturally, the better trained and more experienced of the lawyers and jurists strongly objected, though they had to accept a simplified code of procedure in civil cases in 1849. It is worth noting that this concession to frontier attitudes came after many years of tension. It was not written into Missouri law until Missouri society had lost many of its frontier characteristics.

In describing the characteristics and activities of pioneer lawyers and jurists in Missouri, Mr. English presents a wealth of detail about their eastern origins, their training or lack of it, their experiences while riding the circuit and in court, their economic and political accomplishments, and their promotion of education, newspapers, and other public enterprises. While somewhat more of generalization and of interpretation would have been welcome, we are grateful for the careful and extensive research of this study. The proofreading was carelessly done, and the index is inadequate.

CHARLES S. SYDNOR.

DUKE UNIVERSITY,
DURHAM, N. C.

WILSON: THE ROAD TO THE WHITE HOUSE. By Arthur S. Link. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947. Pp. 570. $5.00.)

This volume, the first in a proposed series, covers Wilson's heritage and early life; his experiences at Princeton; his election and governorship of New Jersey; and his election as President of the United States in 1912. Some readers, especially some of the Princeton alumni who were his students, may regret that more space was not given to Wilson, the teacher; and for those who have no interest in politics the work has little to offer. This is definitely a political biography. Other phases of life are ignored. Important persons in other fields are but pale skeletons among

the politicians who play the significant roles in the shaping of the country's destiny.

Dr. Link finds little in the early life of Wilson to indicate unusual ability. He did inherit from the South many of the prejudices which helped to make him a strong conservative at first and to prevent him from later becoming a thorough-going liberal. Wilson's life at Princeton, where he rose from professor to president of the University, was filled with school politics. The struggles over the preceptorial system, the quadrangle plan, and finally the location of the graduate school led him through popularity and disparagement. But out of these struggles came two important assets: national recognition and the ability to hold his own in a tough political battle.

The wide attention given to the Princeton incidents was a factor in George Harvey's decision to select Wilson as a Democratic candidate for President of the United States. As a stepping-stone to this he was run for governor of New Jersey. Assisted by James Smith, Democratic boss of New Jersey, and his henchmen, Wilson won the nomination, after which he broke with the Smith machine and built up his own party group, which included many liberals of the time.

Wilson's evolutionary change from conservatism to liberalism is one of the main themes of this study. Beginning as a strong conservative, which Professor Link attributes to a southern heritage, he so modified his ideas that he became the favored candidate of many liberals in the presidential election of 1912. In fact, he vacillated so much that his biographer has said, "Any evaluation of Woodrow Wilson's place in American history demands an exercise in reconciling a number of apparent contradictions."[1]

The author shatters some of the prevailing notions about Wilson. His campaigns were not won without the aid of the bosses, yet he retained his independence to the extent that he could honestly say at the end of the campaign, "Nobody owns me" (p. 527). And nothing "could be farther from the truth" than the statement that House was President-maker in 1910-11 (pp. 334-35). Although William Jennings Bryan's part in the Baltimore conven-

[1]Arthur S. Link, "The Enigma of Woodrow Wilson," *The American Mercury*, September, 1947.

tion is not to be entirely discredited, it should be recognized as only one of many contributing factors in the nomination of Wilson, who was indebted to many state bosses, newspaper men, and a host of followers of varying political views.

In the face of the penetrating evaluation generally employed in this study, it is surprising to find that circumstantial evidence has been used to quarrel with Wilson, because he failed to give credit to articles and editorials of the *Nation* for the idea that Cabinet members should have seats in Congress. The author concludes that Wilson derived his ideas and was probably prompted to write "Cabinet Government in the United States" from such readings. Although he has noted the effect of a southern heritage upon his attitude in other instances, here he completely ignores the probability that Wilson was influenced by that section of the Confederate Constitution which provided that Congress might "grant to the principal officer in each of the Executive Departments a seat upon the floor of either house, with the privilege of discussing any measure appertaining to his department."

Wilson: the Road to the White House is a meticulous, scholarly work and is markedly objective in viewpoint. Profitable use has been made of previously published writings and much new material has been added. The wide use of rare contemporary newspapers is especially praiseworthy. The style is lucid and vigorous, but not exceptional. This volume will undoubtedly find a warm welcome from all students of the life of Wilson. It will also serve as an excellent study in party politics.

ALICE B. KEITH.

MEREDITH COLLEGE,
RALEIGH, N. C.

TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHIVIST OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1946, The National Archives Publication 47-4. (Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1947. Pp. v, 99.)

This is more than an annual report to Congress. The author has given a resumé of the impact of the war upon the Archives and has reviewed the functions of the institution itself. A long introduction emphasizes the tremendous increase of records as a result of World War II. The main body of the *Report* deals with the work of the Archives under topic headings such as "Records

Administration," "Disposal of Records," "Accessioning of Records," "Preservation of Records," "Analysis and Description of Records," and "Reference Service." Additional information, including a list of record groups, is given in appendices.

Many pre-war records, received from agencies of the government, together with the 10,000,000 cubic feet from the war, have greatly enriched the stores of the Archives. The unprecedented expansion has, however, multiplied the problems of the archivists. These records must be protected from mold, mildew, insects, rodents, and thieves; and the disposal of useless records, in order to make useable materials available, calls for skilled workers. In spite of their enlarged duties, the archivists have been able to carry on most of the routine work, to give extensive war services at home and abroad, and to add some new methods and techniques to their own performances. Unfortunately, some important functions have of necessity been left undone and peace has brought new demands. Increased personnel and more storage space are imperative needs.

In this reviewer's opinion the *Report* may be read with profit by the average citizen as well as by the historical searcher. Unfortunately much of its potential value is lost because of the style of writing. Excessive wordiness, vagueness, and long complicated sentences serve to confuse the reader. Two examples will illustrate this weakness:

> Statutes prohibit the use of such records in any case to obtain data about particular persons or companies; elaborate statistical analyses were made in the course of operations and these will be preserved; certain bodies of statistical data were turned over to other agencies for even further exploitation; and, finally, their volume is so great that no future investigator could hope to make effective use of them unless he came around with a formidable grant and batteries of clerks and punch-card machines (p. 4).
>
> Authorization for scheduling, obtained in the Disposal Act of 1943, was a major step toward making disposal a tool for the long-range control of records, for schedules may propose the disposal, after a specified length of time, of records either in existence or yet to accumulate, that lack enduring value (p. 13).

A report should be marked by clarity and conciseness in writing. The Archivist's *Report* could be strengthened by centering the discussions of particular subjects under the topical headings designed for them.

ALICE B. KEITH.

MEREDITH COLLEGE,
RALEIGH, N. C.

HISTORICAL NEWS

On October 5-11 Goldsboro celebrated its centennial. A parade, public speaking, and a pageant, "A Century on Review," were the main features of the celebration. Mr. Henry Howard Eddy, Miss Frances Harmon, Miss Nell Hines, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Miss Manora Mewborn, and Miss Dorothy Reynolds of the State Department of Archives and History attended some of the features.

Rev. Andrew J. Howell, pastor emeritus of Pearsall Memorial Presbyterian Church and county historian of New Hanover, died on October 6. Mr. Howell was greatly interested in the history of the southeastern section of North Carolina.

On October 15 a movement for the restoration of the old St. John's Episcopal Church at Williamsboro, North Carolina, which was built in 1757, was launched by the leaders of the North Carolina Episcopal Diocese. Dr. Lawrence F. London, the historiographer of the diocese, addressed the organizational meeting launching the movement.

On October 18 Coble's Lutheran Church, near Julian, celebrated the 135th anniversary of the founding of the church. Dr. P. W. Monroe, president of the Lenoir-Rhyne College, made the principal address.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its regular fall meeting at Davidson College on the afternoon and evening of Saturday, October 25, 1947. Dr. W. P. Cumming of Davidson College read a paper on "Crucial Carolina Cartography." Dr. Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina, delivered the presidential address on "Joseph Seawell Jones, First Native Historian of North Carolina." Officers for the next year were elected as follows: Dr. Adelaide L. Fries, Winston-Salem, president; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, of the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, vice-president; and Dr. C. C. Pearson of Wake Forest College and Mrs. Hope Cham-

berlain, members of the council. Dr. Cecil Johnson of the University of North Carolina was reelected secretary-treasurer.

Professors Loren C. MacKinney, Fletcher M. Green, and Howard K. Beale of the history department of the University of North Carolina and Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History, attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Cleveland, Ohio, December 27, 28, and 29. Dr. Green read a paper, "Some Aspects of the Convict Lease System in the Southern States."

Mr. Frank W. Klingberg of the University of California at Los Angeles has accepted a position as assistant professor of history at the University of North Carolina for the year 1948-1949.

Dr. Howard K. Beale of the University of North Carolina has resigned, effective September 1, 1948, to accept a position as professor of history at the University of Wisconsin.

Dr. Cecil Johnson of the University of North Carolina will be at the University of New Mexico this summer as visiting professor of history.

Mr. William M. Geer of the University of North Carolina is on leave of absence from the history department to serve as research associate in the Institute for Research in Social Science, writing a biography of O. Max Gardner, former governor of North Carolina.

Mr. Manning C. Voorhis of the University of North Carolina has resigned from the position of assistant professor of history to return to Randolph-Macon College.

Dr. Wallace E. Caldwell of the University of North Carolina attended the American Institute of Archaeology which met in December, 1947, in New Haven, Conn.

Mr. Eugene W. Davis of the University of North Carolina, graduate student and candidate for the Ph.D. degree in 1948,

has accepted the position of instructor at Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

Mr. Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., graduate student of the University of North Carolina, has published an article entitled "Southern Congressional Leaders and the New Freedom, 1913-1917," in *The Journal of Southern History,* vol. XIII, no. 4, (November, 1947).

The Southern Historical Association held its thirteenth annual meeting in Savannah, Georgia, November 13, 14, and 15. Dr. Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College read a paper entitled "Zebulon B. Vance" at the session discussing the subject, "Three Southern Political Leaders." Dr. Philip M. Rice of the University of North Carolina read a paper entitled, "The Virginia Board of Public Works, 1816-1842," at the session which dealt with southern economic history. Dr. Fletcher M. Green of the University of North Carolina presided over the meeting in which was discussed "An Appraisal of the Ph.D. Training Program: Round Table Discussion." Dr. James T. Godfrey of the University of North Carolina appeared on the program dealing with "Modern Diplomacy; World Problems in the Twentieth Century." The subject of his paper was "The British Labor Party and Recent Foreign Policy." Dr. Howard K. Beale of the University of North Carolina led a discussion on the subject "Negro Disfranchisement Conventions of the 1890's." The following persons from North Carolina attended the meeting: Frontis W. Johnston, Davidson College; Robert W. Barnwell, Jr., Salem College; Alice B. Keith and Mrs. Lillian P. Wallace, Meredith College; Ruth Blackwelder, Lenoir-Rhyne College; Lawrence F. Brewster and Herbert H. Coleman, East Carolina Teachers College; Elizabeth Cometti, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina; Rosser H. Taylor, Western Carolina Teachers College; Paul H. Clyde, William B. Hamilton, Ernest W. Nelson, and Charles S. Sydnor, Duke University; Charles M. Brown, Charles F. Kolb, Stuart Noblin, and James W. Patton, North Carolina State College; Howard K. Beale, Cornelius O. Cathey, James P. Deavar, William M. Geer, James L. Godfrey, Fletcher M. Green, Cecil Johnson, Hugh T. Lefler, Lawrence F. London,

A. R. Newsome, Philip M. Rice, John L. Sanders, J. Carlyle Sitterson, James D. Smith, and Manning Voorhis of the University of North Carolina; W. D. Cotton of Mars Hill College; Christopher Crittenden, D. L. Corbitt, W. F. Burton, Henry H. Eddy, and Nell Hines of the State Department of Archives and History.

The State Literary and Historical Association held its forty-seventh annual session in Raleigh on December 1. The morning session consisted of the following papers: "North Carolina Short Stories," by Richard Walser of Raleigh; "The Valley of the Scots," by Malcolm Fowler of Lillington; "John Gray and Thomas Blount, Merchants, 1783-1800," by Alice B. Keith; and "Review of North Carolina Books and Authors of the Year," by Lodwick Hartley of Raleigh. After these papers were delivered the officers for the new year were elected. Dr. Alice Baldwin of Duke University, president; Mr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville, Dr. Guion G. Johnson of Chapel Hill, and Mr. James Larkin Pearson of Guilford College, vice-presidents; and Dr. Christopher Crittenden of Raleigh, secretary-treasurer. A luncheon meeting was held at the Woman's Club at which time Dr. Hardin Craig of Chapel Hill delivered an address entitled "The Discovery of Freedom." At the evening session the Mayflower Cup was awarded by Mr. Ralph B. Coit of Greensboro, governor of the Society of the Mayflower descendants in North Carolina, to Dr. Robert E. Coker of Chapel Hill for his book entitled "The Great Wide Sea," which had been adjudged the best book published by a resident North Carolinian during the year. Dr. Carlyle Campbell of Raleigh, president of the association, brought greetings and Dr. Julian P. Boyd, librarian of Princeton University, delivered the principal address entitled, "Thomas Jefferson and the Police State." Following this address a reception was held to members and guests of the association.

The Archaeological Society of North Carolina held its annual session in Raleigh on December 5. Dr. Sylvester Green of Durham read a paper entitled, "Possible Influence of the Society in North Carolina," and Mr. H. M. Doerschuk of Badin read a paper entitled, "Archaeological Investigations on the Yadkin River." At the business meeting the following officers were elected: Mr.

H. M. Doerschuk of Badin, president; Dr. I. Hardin Hughes of Raleigh, vice-president; Dr. Raymond Adams of Chapel Hill, secretary-treasurer; and Rev. Douglas L. Rights of Winston-Salem, editor.

The North Carolina Folk-Lore Society held its thirty-sixth annual session in Raleigh, December 5. The program consisted of the following: "South Mountain Folk," by B. E. Washburn of Rutherfordton; "Mountain Ballards and Dances," by Lamar Lunsford of Asheville; and "Indian Ceremonial Pictures and Mexican Folksongs from New Mexico," by Ralph S. Boggs of Chapel Hill. At the business meeting the following officers were elected for the coming year: Dr. Newman I. White of Durham, president; R. Richard Jente of Chapel Hill, Cratis D. Williams of Boone and B. E. Washburn of Rutherfordton, vice-presidents; and Dr. A. P. Hudson of Chapel Hill, secretary-treasurer.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians held its annual business meeting in Raleigh on December 5. Mr. Malcolm Fowler of Lillington was elected president succeeding Dr. D. T. Smithwick of Louisburg. Mr. Willis G. Briggs of Raleigh was elected vice-president and Mr. W. B. Covington of Rockingham was elected honorary president. Plans for continuing the county tours were discussed.

The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities held its seventh annual meeting in Raleigh, December 4. The program for the evening session was as follows: Mrs. Charles A. Cannon, president, brought greetings and Mr. Paul Green of Chapel Hill presented life membership certificates. Mrs. James A. Gray of Winston-Salem discussed the restoration of the Fourth House in old Salem by the North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames. Mrs. E. Dillard Reynolds of Winston-Salem told of the restoration of the Tavern by the Wachovia Historical Society. Dr. Adelaide L. Fries read a paper on "The Genealogy of Salem Lots." Dr. Howard E. Rondthaler spoke on the efforts to restore old Salem. Rev. Douglas L. Rights talked on "Our Goodly Heritage" and presided at the session.

At the business session the following officers were elected: Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord, president; Mrs. Inglis

Fletcher of Edenton, vice-president; and Mrs. Ernest A. Branch of Raleigh, secretary-treasurer. The district vice-presidents elected are as follows: Mrs. Sam Clarke of Edenton, first congressional district; Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington of Warrenton, second congressional district; Mrs. R. N. Duffy of New Bern, third congressional district; Mrs. Charles Lee Smith of Raleigh, fourth congressonal district; Mrs. Gordon Gray of Winston-Salem, fifth congressional district; Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro, sixth congressional district; Mrs. J. Walter Williamson of Wilmington, seventh congressional district; Mr. George H. Maurice of Eagle Springs, eighth congressional district; Mrs. Lela H. Spillman of Statesville, ninth congressional district; Miss Julia C. Robertson of Charlotte, tenth congressional district; Mr. Ralph Erskine of Tryon, eleventh congressional district; and Mrs. Robert T. Cecil of Asheville, twelfth congressional district.

The North Carolina State Art Society held its twenty-first annual session in Raleigh, December 3 and 4. Governor R. Gregg Cherry presided at the evening meeting and Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington, president of the society, brought greetings. Mr. Paul Green of Chapel Hill gave a lecture entitled "The Art of Living in North Carolina." Mr. William H. Deitrick of Raleigh read a paper on the paintings from the Knoedler Galleries of New York which were on display, for Mr. William F. Davidson vice-president of the Knoedler Galleries, who was unable to attend the meeting. Governor Cherry presented checks to the persons who had received recognition for their exhibits. These checks were designated as purchase awards and were made to the following persons: Mr. Ben F. Williams of Lumberton, $200 for an oil painting entitled "Geanie"; Mr. Earl Mueller of the Duke University faculty, $200 for an oil painting entitled "Mill End"; Mr. Claude Howell of Wilmington $200 for an oil painting entitled "Mending Nets"; Mrs. Jenny Rembert of Chapel Hill $200 for an oil painting entitled "Morass"; Mrs. Elizabeth Hamrick Mack of High Point, $100 for a water color painting entitled "Autumn"; and Mrs. Mary Leath Thomas of the University of Georgia, $100 for a water color painting entitled "Mountain Corn."

The regular business meeting of the Art Society was held on December 4, at which time Governor Cherry was reelected honorary president. Mrs. Arrington was reelected president. Miss Lucy Cherry Crisp of Raleigh was reelected executive secretary and art gallery director, and Mrs. James H. Cordon of Raleigh was reelected treasurer. The following vice-presidents were elected: Miss Katharine Morris of Raleigh for Eastern Carolina, Mr. John Allcott of Chapel Hill for Central Carolina, and Mrs. James H. Latham of Greensboro for Western Carolina. Reelected to membership on the executive committee were: Dr. Clarence Poe of Raleigh, chairman; Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord; Mr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville; and Mr. William H. Deitrick of Raleigh. Mr. Edwin Gill of Raleigh was elected a new member.

The following were elected to the board of directors: Mr. Edwin Gill of Raleigh; Mr. John Rembert of Chapel Hill; Mrs. Henry M. London of Raleigh; Mrs. Isabelle Brown Henderson of Raleigh; Dr. Clarence Poe of Raleigh; Mr. Earl Meuller of Durham; Mrs. J. H. B. Moore of Greenville; and Mr. William H. Deitrick of Raleigh.

Resolutions were passed expressing appreciation to the General Assembly for the contingent appropriation of $1,000,000 for the establishment of a State Art Museum in Raleigh and recommending the establishment of a local museum in every county in the state.

The *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (volume 7, 1808-1822), edited by Dr. Adelaide L. Fries, archivist of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, has just been published by the State Department of Archives and History. This volume is now available to libraries and to persons who are interested in this series and who will send their requests and a wrapping and mailing fee of 25 cents in coin or stamps to Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Head, Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.

For the purpose of encouraging research in the history of the South, the United Daughters of the Confederacy are offering the Mrs. Simon Baruch University Prize of $1,000 to be awarded

biennially. The competition is limited to undergraduate and graduate students of the universities and standard colleges in the United States and those who shall have been students in such institutions within the preceding three calendar years, and proof of eligibility must be submitted with the manuscript.

The award will be made for an unpublished monograph or essay of high merit in the field of southern history, preferably in or near the period of the Confederacy or bearing on the causes that led to the War Between the States. Any phase of life or policy may be treated. If no essay of high merit shall be submitted in any competition, the prize will not be awarded for the year.

Essays must be scholarly in form and must be based, partly at least, upon source materials and properly documented. A bibliography should be appended. It is expected that essays will comprise not less than 10,000 words. In making the award the committee will consider the effectiveness of research, originality of thought, accuracy of statement, and excellence of style. All essays must be in by May 1, 1948.

The prize will be paid in two installments of $500 each, the first at the time of the award, the second when the manuscript shall have been suitably printed. For further information write Mrs. I. B. McFarland, chairman, 25 Courtland Place, Houston 6, Texas.

Dr. Archibald Henderson of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill requests information concerning the location of two original letters written to Willie P. Mangum in 1844. These letters were published by Dr. Stephen B. Weeks in *Publications of the Southern History Association* July 1, 1906, pp. 228-323 and was written one by A. T. Davis, Nashville, December 3, 1844; the other by George L. Lowden, Charleston, S. C., December 16, 1844. Anyone knowing the location of these letters should write Dr. Henderson.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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SOME ASPECTS OF NEGRO LIFE IN NORTH CAROLINA DURING THE CIVIL WAR[1]

By B. H. NELSON

The Negro of North Carolina has been the subject of considerable study in recent years. Admirable studies have appeared on the ante-bellum period,[2] and some attention has been given to the post-Civil War period.[3] But no serious attempt has been made to study the Negro in North Carolina during the Civil War period. A complete record of the role which this state played in the Civil War and the problems which confronted her at home can never be constructed as long as the Negro population of the state is neglected.

Every aspect of life in North Carolina was disturbed by the Civil War. State finances, commodity-supply, and labor organization were completely disrupted. But more important to North Carolina, the Civil War threatened to undermine traditional legislative and social machinery, developed over a period of many decades, for the control of the Negro population of the state. Problems arose regarding "Negro control" during the first two years of the war which demanded immediate consideration. Union control of the coast and of some eastern counties after 1862 and rumors of abolitionist activity in the state made the problem even more serious.

In addition to considerations of controlling the Negro population, answered in part by the enactment of legislation and the

1 This is the third of a series of articles by the author on the subject "The Negro in the Confederacy, 1861-1865." The first article, "Legislative Control of the Southern Free Negro, 1861-1865," appeared in the *Catholic Historical Review*, XXXII (1946), 28-46, and the second, "Confederate Slave Impressment Legislation, 1861-1865," appeared in the *Journal of Negro History*, XXXI (1946), 392-410.

2 James B. Browning, "The Negro in Ante-Bellum North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XV (1938), 18-46; John Hope Franklin, "The Free Negro in the Economic Life of Ante-Bellum North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XIX (1942), 239-259, 359-375, and *The Free Negro in North Carolina*. The latter is a definitive study of the free Negro for the period 1790-1860.

3 James B. Browning, "The North Carolina Black Codes," *Journal of Negro History*, XV (1930, 461-473; Roland McConnell, "The Negro in North Carolina," unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1945.

organization of informal vigilance groups, a pressing need appeared to organize and utilize Negro labor in the best interests of the state and southern independence. Efforts to develop a workable policy in this respect resulted in hostility and antagonism between state officials and slaveowners on the one hand, and between North Carolina and the Confederate government on the other. While the materials necessary for the study of some phases of the subject are grossly inadequate, state, executive and legislative documents, municipal records, private collections of letters, and newspapers make it possible to throw light on some aspects of the story of the Negro in North Carolina during the war years, 1861-1865.

North Carolina differed in some significant respects from most of her sister slave states at the opening of the Civil War. Though her plantation system showed signs of transformation, if not disintegration, North Carolina ranked seventh in the size of her slave population and second in her free Negro population.[4] Moreover, a large proportion of the Negro population, slave and free, was concentrated in the northern and eastern counties, areas most susceptible to attack and capture by Union forces. When the state cast her lot with the Confederacy in May, 1861, citizens of these counties became alarmed for fear that the war would result in the collapse of the machinery of "Negro control."[5]

Prior to 1835 North Carolina had been regarded as unusually liberal in her treatment of the Negro population. Some effort had been made to liberalize and "humanize" the slave code and to encourage the education of Negroes; free Negroes were permitted to vote for members of the state legislature. But the liberal element in the state which sponsored these policies "was easily shunted aside by the always dominant blood-and-iron group."[6] Between 1835 and 1860 protests of white citizens, combined with a growing conviction that the state was threatened

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[4] *United States Census, Population, 1860,* pp. 594-595. Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, and Louisiana had larger slave populations, but North Carolina's free Negro population of 30,463 was exceeded only by that of Virginia.

[5] In 1860 the slave populations, all above 5,000, of Granville, Halifax, Franklin, Wake, New Hanover, Northampton, Craven, Robeson, Cumberland, Beaufort, Orange, and Wayne counties were the largest in the state. Counties with free Negro populations of 1,000 or more were Halifax, Craven, Pasquotank, Wake, Robeson, Hertford, and Granville. *United States Census, 1860,* pp. 349-350.

[6] Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts,* p. 60; Robert Trimble, *Slavery in the United States of America* (London, 1863), p. 6.

with a wave of slave insurrections, were sufficient to eliminate most traces of liberal treatment for the Negro. The revised constitution of 1835 eliminated the free Negro voter; manumission was made more difficult. Protests of white citizens regarding the dangers inherent in the practice of loosely regulated "colored traders" reveal a growing sentiment in favor of tightening the machinery of control even before the actual opening of hostilities.[7]

During the three years immediately preceding the Civil War, North Carolina, just as other slaveholding states, was markedly concerned and uneasy over the prospects of slave uprisings. Contemporary accounts lead one to the conclusion that this uneasiness was general rather than localized. Moreover, many persons were convinced that any uprisings that did occur would be the product of "evil disposed, envious, intermeddling incendiaries from the Northern States."[8] Governor John W. Ellis declared:

> Organized societies . . . have sent emissaries among us to incite insurrection and bloodshed. . . . But little more than a year ago [1859] an armed organization was deliberately planned and set on foot by political societies and men of high confidence at the North, for the purpose of heading and insurrection of slaves against their masters. . . .[9]

North Carolina newspapers were particularly vigilant in calling the attention of the citizenry to prevalent insurrectionary tendencies. One such account stated: "Persons from the North who made too free with the Negro population" or who talked of freedom and "the wrongness of negroes working for white men" were driven from the state.[10] Some newspapers carried accounts of rumored poisonings of white families and of free Negro resistance to "patrolmen." Such accounts as these had their

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[7] Franklin, "The Free Negro in the Economic Life of Ante-Bellum North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XIX (1942), 247.

[8] James Dinkin, "The Negroes as Slaves," Southern Historical Society, *Papers*, XXXV (1907), 60.

[9] Message to the Assembly, 1860, *Journal of the Senate, 1860-1861*, pp. 37-38.

[10] Editorial, Charlotte *Western Democrat*, March 24, 1857; also issues of January 6, February 17, 1857. The same newspaper on November 10, 1857, carried an account of the jailing of a white man for attempting to run off with some slaves. While the prisoner intimated that "others were connected with him in the business," there is no way of knowing whether the prisoner was a northerner aiding slaves to escape or a "slave-stealer," a profitable enterprise in some slaveholding areas.

effect upon the readers. An editor of one newspaper reported: "Judge Lynch is spoken of with more freedom and a nearer approach to commendation than was probably ever heard before in our community."[11] The consensus of opinion was that the laws which had been enacted and the punishments provided were inadequate; stronger, more drastic safeguards were demanded.

With the approach of hostilities, it was inevitable that fear of Negro insurrection, mounting since 1857, should result in consideration of the matter by the General Assembly. That body was urged to take some action to prevent imminent insurrection. "The negroes will know, too, that the war is waged on their account," warned one editor, "they [will] become restless and difficult to manage."[12] On December 5, 1860, Allen W. Wooton, a member of the house, called the attention of his colleagues to arms in his and other counties "in an exposed condition, standing about the Courthouse."[13] These, he urged, should be "taken care of" for fear that they fall into the hands of rebellious slaves and Abolitionists.

The General Assembly enacted legislation on February 13 and May 11, 1861, in an effort to combat the allegedly growing tendency of the slave population toward insurrectionary excesses. Incendiary publications were the targets of the earlier enactment. This measure stated: "Persons bringing into the state or publishing or causing to be circulated in the State any publication, the evident tendency wherof is to cause slaves to become discontent with the bondage in which they are held by their masters, and the laws regulating the same, and free negroes to be dissatisfied with their social status" were guilty of committing a felony.[14] Conviction carried with it a mandatory death penalty. A similar penalty was provided for attempts to incite rebellion. Conviction of the use of inflammatory language which "tended" to engender a rebellious spirit among slaves and free Negroes was made punishable by fine or imprisonment "at the discretion

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[11] Charlotte *Western Democrat*, May 12, 1857.

[12] Raleigh *North Carolina Standard*, February 5, 1861. Similar fears were present in Texas and Louisiana during 1860-1861. Fayetteville *Weekly Courier*, September 8, 1860; Frank Moore, *The Rebellion Record*, I, 84.

[13] Charlotte *North Carolina Whig*, December 25, 1860; also Aptheker, *Slave Revolts*, pp. 94, 340; Harvey Wish, "Slave Disloyalty under the Confederacy," *Journal of Negro History*, XXIII (1938), 435, 440.

[14] *Public Laws, 1860-1861*, pp. 39-41.

of the Court." The law of May 11, 1861, appears to have been enacted for the purpose of clarifying the earlier measure. It provided the death penalty for "advising or conspiring" with slaves to rebel "whether or not insurrection takes place."[15]

These enactments against insurrection were not entirely satisfactory to some state legislators. In the legislative session of 1862 efforts were made to put even stronger measures on the statute books. F. L. Sampson of Rockingham County called attention to alleged threats of slave revolts in that county. He urged the expediency of establishing a special police force for the protection of his constituents. The senate instructed the Joint Committee on Military Affairs to take the matter under consideration; but there is no record that such a police force was ever established under authority of the General Assembly.[16]

Late in 1864 popular fears of slave insurrection prompted the house to consider a final precautionary measure relating to threats of slave uprisings. This measure proposed the military exemption of all overseers on farms belonging to a female or minor when such overseers were the only white male adults on the farm. This proposal was defeated even with an amendment providing for the exemption of a single overseer on such farms. By 1864 scandalous exemptions in North Carolina, where exemptions exceeded those of any other Confederate state, had caused such a stir that no exemption measure stood much chance of enactment.[17]

North Carolina had enacted a series of laws by 1859 which, it was felt, would result in rigid control of the Negro population. This legislation applied to both the slave and the free Negro; it was designed to restrict the mobility of Negroes, to eliminate them from economic competition with the dependent classes of whites, and to establish safeguards against rebellious tendencies. Memorials from citizen groups and legislative resolutions fre-

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[15] *Public Laws, 1860-1861,* p. 108.

[16] *Journal of the Senate, 1862-1863,* p. 39. Little further consideration appears to have been given to the subject of "Negro insurrection" during the war. However, a popular fear remained to haunt many North Carolinians into the Reconstruction period. See letter from W. F. Leak of Rockingham, J. G. deR Hamilton, *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth,* II, 964.

[17] *Journal of the House, 1864,* p. 91. The Confederate Congress had already enacted the "twenty nigger law" exempting one overseer for every twenty slaves on farms where there were no other white male adults. Compare John Paris, "The Soldiers' History of the War," *Our Living and Our Dead,* III (1875), 583.

quently proposed even more rigid controls.[18] While few of these ever became law, they are indicative of a growing spirit of concern on the part of the white population of the state. These proposals seem to belie the conclusions of one student of the period who holds that the control legislation of 1859 "was as complete as the most fiery antagonists of the free Negro could have desired."[19]

The unmistakable drift toward disunion after November, 1860, caused North Carolina, as other southern states, to re-establish its legal controls and to bolster them with additional legislation in order that the "peculiar institution" might withstand the impact of war. The legislative session of 1860-1861 was especially productive in regard to legislation of this character. In preparation for the work at hand, a Joint Select Committee on Slaves and Free Persons of Color was appointed on January 7, 1861.[20]

As early as November 27, 1860, the senate considered a memorial from certain citizens of Mecklenburg, Iredell, and Cabarrus counties calling attention to the dangers inherent in loosely supervised trading with slaves. More stringent laws on the subject were offered as the best means of combatting these dangers. The following month two bills on the subject were introduced in the senate: the first recommended a licensing system as the best means of regulating this trade; the second proposed a change in the rules of evidence to make for easier indictments in instances of illicit trade with slaves.[21] The result of this action was a statute which provided that a written license or permit be required of all persons "to trade, or give, or sell to the slave."[22] A later enactment forbade slaves to trade in spirituous liquors.[23]

For many years prior to 1861 many North Carolinians had shown concern over the practice of permitting slaves to hire

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[18] Franklin, "The Free Negro in the Economic Life of Ante-Bellum North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XIX (1942), 247, 250-251; also Charlotte *North Carolina Whig*, February 8, 1859. These proposals urged the prohibition of trade with slaves, the hiring out of free Negroes in certain situations, and the prevention of emancipation by last will and testament.

[19] Cited in Franklin, *Free Negro in North Carolina*, p. 81.

[20] *Journal of the Senate, 1860-1861*, pp. 143-144. The committee was not re-established after the regular session of 1860-1861; after that time matters relating to free Negroes and slaves were referred to the old standing Committee on Propositions and Grievances.

[21] *Journal of the Senate, 1860-1861*, pp. 111, 248.

[22] *Public Laws, 1860-1861*, p. 86.

[23] *Journal of the House, 1862-1863*, p. 272.

themselves out. There was concern lest the practice, which permitted slaves to live in a "near free" status, make such slaves both difficult to manage and discontented with the legal status of a slave. Moreover, this practice made impossible that close observation and supervision which the perpetuation of the slave system demanded. Senator William K. Lane of Wayne County introduced a bill in December, 1860, declaring the practice of "self hire" unlawful,[24] but the General Assembly failed to enact legislation on the subject during the entire war period.

The failure of state action caused several municipalities, Charlotte and Hillsborough among them, to call upon local authorities for the enactment of measures to prevent the practice of permitting slaves to hire their time. These ordinances sought also to restrict the mobility of slaves. The Hillsborough ordinance of April 22, 1861, forbade slaveowners to permit slaves to come within the city limits between "dark and daylight in the week or on any hour on Sunday" without written permission.[25] Slaves found within the city without such permits were liable for arrest or imprisonment. The Charlotte ordinance was more specific and rigid than that of Hillsborough. Declaring that "no slave shall go at large as a free person exercising his or her discretion in the employment of their time," this ordinance forbade owners to permit slaves to control their time. A fine of $40 was imposed for each violation. "On conviction," the ordinance continued, "said slave or slaves shall be hired out to the highest bidder at public out-cry [auction] for the balance of the year."[26] The proceeds of such hire were earmarked "for the benefit of the Town." Slaveowners were likewise forbidden to allow slaves "to keep houses to him or herself as a free person," a common practice in some areas of the state. Conviction of permitting separate habitation in contravention of this ordinance was deemed a misdemeanor and was punishable by a fine of $50.

Control of the free Negro population was the subject of general discussion and commendation in North Carolina with the beginning of the Civil War. The free Negro population of the state, numbering slightly more than 30,000 in 1860, was largely a rural,

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[24] *Journal of the Senate, 1860-1861*, p. 85.
[25] Hillsborough *Recorder*, May 15, 1861.
[26] Charlotte *North Carolina Whig*, June 25, 1861.

isolated, and backward group. While a few free Negroes held landed property and slaves, the vast majority possessed no property and enjoyed a status of tolerant dependency which was sometimes less enviable than the slave status.[27] Tolerated in the state, the free Negro was the constant object of oppressive legislation and restrictive petitions and memorials from citizen groups. The free Negro was viewed as an unwanted person in a society which recognized slavery and freedom as the two proper conditions and which held that the former was the natural condition for Negroes. Moreover, free Negroes, enjoying an unnatural status, were regarded as dangerous, suspicious characters whose presence but increased the difficulties of maintaining the slave system.

Restrictive legislation placed on the statute books of slaveholding states during 1860-1861 was attributed to the activity of northern Abolitionists. It was held necessary to combat the assaults made upon the slave system by these incendiaries. One editor of a North Carolina newspaper declared:

> . . . abolitionism is reacting with crushing effect upon the negroes of the South . . . a determination is evinced to rid the states of a class who are now considered dangerous from their liability to be employed by designing men or agents for propagating insurrection. Thus, by the insane folly of abolitionism, the progress of freedom is arrested through the entire South, and a large class, embracing worthy people who have been liberated often at great pecuniary sacrifice on the part of the masters, are returned to a condition of servitude or driven from their homes. . . . [28]

Self-protection demanded repressive legislation though it worked a hardship upon the free Negro, "a naturally inoffensive people." And the object was set: enslavement or removal from the state.

An examination of legislation enacted in North Carolina during the Civil War which applied solely to the free Negro population reveals a threefold purpose: (1) to reduce the number of free Negroes in the state; (2) to eliminate possibilities of fre-

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[27] Franklin, "The Free Negro in the Economic Life of Ante-Bellum North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XIX (1942), 360, 362, 370; also *Free Negro in North Carolina*, pp. 6-7.

[28] Editorial, Raleigh *North Carolina Standard*, January 27, 1860. Compare Bernard H. Nelson, "Legislative Control of the Southern Free Negro, 1861-1865," *Catholic Historical Review*, XXXII (1946), 28-46, for a treatment of the problem in other Confederate states.

quent and close association between free Negroes and slaves; and (3) to keep free Negroes under constant observation and control. This intent, "to preserve the status quo," is attributed by one author to the fact that free Negroes in North Carolina were growing more discontented with their situation and thus constituted a threat to the control of the slave population concentrated in the eastern counties of the state. Preservation of North Carolina's peculiar civilization, he concludes, demanded either that this group be destroyed or that their life be made so miserable that any influence which free Negroes had upon slaves or on life within the state would be nullified.[29] These purposes were to be implemented through the adoption of legislative measures restricting emancipation, providing for the enslavement of certain classes of free Negroes, and imposing restrictions on mobility.

A proposal of 1859 prohibiting emancipation by last will and testament which failed of enactment was introduced a second time in the legislative session of 1860-1861. The threat of war removed barriers against enactment encountered by the earlier effort. This measure passed the house on December 8, 1860, and the senate a month later.[30] It provided that henceforth no slaves could be legally emancipated by last will and testament, deed, or conveyance "to take effect after the death of the testator." Instruments attempting to effect the same were declared null and void in so far as they attempted emancipation. In instances where emancipation of slaves was attempted in disregard of law, "the testator shall be deemed to have died intestate as to such slaves."[31]

Proposals were made during the first two years of the war by legislators and other public officials for the enslavement of free Negroes under legislative authority. Previous efforts had been made to effect a similar purpose; none proved successful.[32] The first legislative consideration of this subject during the Civil War appears to have been that resulting from a bill introduced by Senator Thomas J. Pitchford of Warren County on January

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[29] Franklin, "The Enslavement of Free Negroes in North Carolina," *Journal of Negro History*, XXIX (1944), 404, 427-428.
[30] Charlotte *North Carolina Whig*, February 8, 1859; *Journal of the House, 1860-1861*, p. 118; *Journal of the Senate, 1860-1861*, pp. 94, 107.
[31] *Public Laws, 1860-1861*, p. 69.
[32] Franklin, "The Enslavement of Free Negroes in North Carolina," *Journal of Negro History*, XXIX (1944), 406, 409; Charlotte *North Carolina Whig*, February 8, 1859.

21, 1861. He urged the enactment of a measure to permit free Negroes to select masters and become slaves.[33] The following day Senator Humphrey, whose bill of 1859 had failed of enactment, was encouraged to introduce a second bill. He stated:

> Whereas, several petitions from free persons of color are now before the General Assembly, praying that they may be permitted to select their masters and become slaves . . . the joint select Committee on slaves and free persons of color should be instructed to report a bill providing a general law upon the purpose.[34]

Throughout the session free Negroes continued to petition the Assembly for permission to assume the slave status. Perhaps the frequency of petitions of this sort is a reflection of the effectiveness of control legislation enacted in 1859 and of the subsequent depression of the free Negro population which followed.

Petitions for voluntary enslavement presented after January 30, 1861, when the proposal to frame a general enslavement law had been committed to the senate Judiciary committee, were tabled to await a report from this committee.[35] When the committee reported, it took the position that the General Assembly was without authority to enact a general enslavement law. "According to the decisions of our Supreme Court," said the chairman, "the Constitution recognizes free persons of color as citizens of the state and . . . the law must protect them in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property, except where they have forfeited the same for crime."[36] Free Negroes, in the opinion of the committee, could not be enslaved by legislative action "even by their own consent." Constitutional amendment must precede any legislative action on the subject. During the remainder of the session, Negro petitioners were told that the senate was without the power to grant the permission sought.

Numerous petitions and bills on the subject of enslavement legislation were presented to both houses of the General Assembly during the second extra session of 1861. Petitions of this character to the house of commons were particularly numerous;

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[33] *Journal of the Senate, 1860-1861,* p. 209.

[34] *Journal of the Senate, 1860-1861,* p. 216. Compare letter from John F. Dong of Edgecombe, J. G. deR. Hamilton, *Papers of Thomas Ruffin,* II, 614-617.

[35] See *Journal of the Senate, 1860-1861,* pp. 163, 180, 246, 428, for these petitions.

[36] *Journal of the Senate, 1860-1861,* p. 274. This adverse report failed to discourage either free Negro petitioners or whites who were interested in securing a general enslavement law. On February 15, 1861, the Joint Committee on Slaves and Free Persons of Color recommended passage of the bill. *Journal of the Senate, 1860-1861,* p. 367.

and on September 13 and 14 the house took favorable action on them.[37] But while the house appeared little disturbed over constitutional barriers against enslavement under legislative authority, the senate maintained its position that such action was unconstitutional. This body took adverse action on similar bills introduced in the session of 1862-1863.[38]

Failure to effect the enslavement of free Negroes under a general law led its advocates to make attempts to realize the same purpose in a slightly different manner. On February 3, 1863, Senator John Murell of Onslow recommended removal from the state of all free Negroes who had not "voluntarily" sold their services for a period of ninety-nine years by January 1, 1864.[39] The proposal was regarded as too stringent and was tabled.

North Carolina, unlike Arkansas, failed to enact a general enslavement law during the Civil War; and after 1863 efforts to accomplish this were very infrequent. But this appears not to have prevented many free Negroes from being depressed to the slave status. Free Negroes, arrested and convicted of violations of local ordinances or state statutes and unable to pay fines imposed by the court, were "hired out" to anyone who paid the fine. During the period of hire, such free Negroes were held under and controlled by regulations almost identical with those of the slave code. Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia also adopted this policy. This practice, in some measure, effected a type of involuntary enslavement without legislative sanction. Its prevalence is attested by newspaper advertisements for the return of Negro fugitives who "were once free, but [were] sold for jail fees."[40]

Efforts to establish effective controls for the free Negro population were made by the legislature of North Carolina even before she entered the southern Confederacy. For some time the press and public officials had warned against the dangers imminent in too close association between free Negroes and slaves. The ownership and control of slaves by free Negroes was held to be extremely dangerous. Free Negroes in North Carolina, as in other slave states, both owned and hired slaves. Though the number of slaves held by free Negroes in the state was never

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[37] *Journal of the House, 1861*, 2nd. Ex. Sess., pp. 53, 65, 129, 149.
[38] *Journal of the Senate, 1862-1863*, pp. 80, 307; also *Journal of the House, 1862-1863*, p. 281.
[39] *Journal of the Senate, 1862-1863*, pp. 52-53.
[40] Raleigh *State Journal*, June 5, 1861; Charlotte *North Carolina Whig*, June 25, 1861.

very large and tended to decrease toward 1861,[41] there were many alarmists who viewed this relationship between free Negroes and slaves as a dangerous one. They held that it bred dissatisfaction in the slave.

Both houses of the General Assembly late in 1860 considered measures to prevent the ownership and hire of slaves by free Negroes.[42] On February 3, 1861, a law was enacted for that purpose. It provided that:

> . . . No free negro or free person of color shall be permitted or allowed to buy, purchase or hire for any length of time, any slave or slaves, or to have any slave or slaves bound as apprentice or apprentices to him, her, or them, or in any otherwise to have the control, management or services of any slave or slaves.[43]

Violation of this statute was punishable by a fine of $100 for each offense. The law was not retroactive and did not affect free Negroes who had acquired ownership or control of slaves prior to its enactment.

Other legislation, designed to lessen the dangers which stemmed from the presence of a sizeable free Negro population, was enacted during the session of 1861. This included measures relating to treason and insurrection, the carriage of firearms, and mobility. After February 13, 1861, it was unlawful for any free Negro to "wear or carry about his person or keep in his house any shot-gun, musket, rifle, powder or shot."[44] A fine of $50 was the penalty imposed for the violation of this statute. Earlier laws empowering county courts to grant licenses to such persons to carry firearms were repealed. Three months later another statute was enacted which made the death penalty man-

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[41] Franklin, "The Free Negro in the Economic Life of Ante-Bellum North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XIX (1942), 373-374, places the number of free Negro slaveowners in 1860 at eight and the number of slaves held at twenty-five. He concludes that the motives for ownership included both economic self-advancement and benevolence. The Charlotte *Western Democrat*, September 8, 1857, recounts a rather unusual incident, the purchase of four free Negroes by a slave in Norfolk, Virginia. "A few days ago," it reports, "several free negroes were put up at auction . . . and sold to labor for a time sufficient for them to liquidate their taxes. Singular to relate, four of them were purchased by a slave, who felt quite proud of the distinction and made known the determination to get the full value of his money out of them or know the reason why."

[42] *Journal of the House, 1860-1861*, p. 607; *Journal of the Senate, 1860-1861*, p. 465.

[43] *Public Laws, 1860-1861*, p. 69. The employment of white workers by free Negroes had been forbidden in Louisiana in 1860. Louisiana, *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1860*, p. 22.

[44] *Public Laws, 1860-1861*, p. 68. Similar legislation was enacted in Georgia in 1860 and in South Carolina in 1861. The Georgia statute prohibited the purchase of "any weapon which might be used either in offense or defense." Georgia, *Acts of the General Assembly, 1860*, p. 56; South Carolina, *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1861, p. 21.

datory for free Negroes convicted of advising or conspiring with a slave to "rebel or make insurrection."[45]

Proposals made during the Civil War to restrict the mobility of free Negroes usually recommended a system of registration and licensing. One such proposal, made by Harrison M. Waugh of Surry in December, 1861, failed to pass the house.[46] According to state legislative documents, it appears that no state-wide system of registration under legislative authority was adopted.

In the absence of state action, local authorities acted on the subject. Three days before the Waugh proposal, the commissioners of Hillsborough empowered the local police to arrest free Negroes found on the streets without permits "except [on Sunday] going to and from church."[47] The Charlotte ordinance of June 25, 1861, providing for the registration of free Negroes, was more elaborate than that of Hillsborough. All free Negroes of the city were required to appear before the mayor before July 1, 1861, for registration. Upon presentation of evidence that they were "of a peaceful character and industrious habits" and the payment of a $1.00 fee, a certificate of registration was to be issued. The certificate was to contain the description, trade, and employment of the legal holder.[48] Free Negroes failing to register and subsequently found without said certificate were liable to fine, whipping, imprisonment, or hiring out "for a time not exceeding six months."

State and municipal enactments relating to the free Negro constitute a vital aspect of North Carolina's policy of rigid control of its Negro population during the war years. Proscriptions against intimate association between free Negroes and slaves and against carrying firearms were intended to eliminate threats of insurrection which, it was felt, would become more numerous after secession. Registration systems, adopted in those areas with large free Negro populations, would serve to discourage the entrance of "dangerous" persons from outside the state, would weed out dangerous ones within the state, and

[45] *Public Laws, 1859-1866*, p. 145.

[46] *Journal of the House, 1860-1861*, p. 176. Other measures recommending rigid free Negro legislation failed to pass the senate during this session. *Journal of the Senate, 1860-1861*, pp. 45, 100, 170, 367.

[47] Hillsborough *Recorder*, December 11, 1861.

[48] Charlotte *North Carolina Whig*, June 25, 1861. All of the discriminatory state enactments applying solely to slaves and free Negroes were ultimately repealed by the first Reconstruction legislature, March 10, 1866. *Public Laws, 1859-1866*, p. 104.

would permit constant observation of those free Negroes who remained. It would appear that restrictive legislation of this sort was one of the factors responsible for the increase in the number of free Negro petitions for enslavement during the Civil War. The condition under which this group lived after 1860 was less enviable than the slave status.

But with all this, there is some evidence that legislation and policies designed to restrict the movement of the Negro population were not entirely satisfactory and effective. An examination of North Carolina newspapers between 1860 and 1865 reveals an unusually large number of advertisements for runaway slaves and free Negroes under hire. This evidence leads one to conclude that there was a great deal of unauthorized movement of the Negro population despite efforts to prevent it. Such advertisements, not uncommon in the newspapers of the state during the ante-bellum period, tended to increase in number with the beginning of the Civil War. During 1862 and 1863 there was an unmistakable increase in the number of advertisements for "runaway Negroes," particularly in the newspapers of Raleigh, Charlotte, Fayetteville, and Wilmington.[49] The frequency with which slaves escaped resulted in consideration by the Assembly of measures to prevent it. Newspaper notices of runaway slaves being "taken up" or apprehended were not very numerous during this perod.[50]

No doubt much of this illicit movement can be attributed to dissatisfaction with the slave status; but the social disorganization which commonly accompanies warfare and the nearness of Union forces appear to have been equally important factors. Difficulties of travel failed to discourage escape; and rewards ranging from $100 to $500 failed to produce many captures. One advertiser for a runaway slave expressed the belief that the slave "will escape to the Yankees"; another said: "He [the escaped slave] no doubt is trying to make his way to the enemy."[51]

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[49] Wilmington *Daily Journal*, October 6, 1862; Raleigh *State Journal*, June 5, 1861; *Raleigh North Carolina Standard*, April 13, 1862, May 22, June 5, July 7, 1863; Charlotte *Daily Bulletin*, July 25, 1863, March 21, 1865; *Fayetteville Recorder*, February 16, 1863; *Hillsborough Recorder*, April 2, 16, 30, 1862.

[50] *Journal of the House, 1861*, 2nd. ex. sess., p. 50; *Journal of the Senate, 1861*, 2nd. ex. sess., p. 237. A typical notice in the Raleigh *State Journal*, June 5, 1861, read: "Taken up and committed to jail in Mecklenburg County—negro boy; the owner is notified to come forward, prove his property, pay charges and take him away."

[51] Raleigh *North Carolina Standard*, April 1, 15, 1863.

By 1862 much of the North Carolina coast had fallen into the hands of Union forces. Moreover, the Union army had ceased its earlier policy of returning escaped slaves to their masters. The threat of invasion of the eastern counties of the state caused slaveholders, who feared the capture or escape of their slaves, to remove their slaves to inland and southern counties. According to the report of David A. Barnes, military aide to the governor, on November 17, 1862, the removal of slaves from the eastern counties was necessary. He held that it was impossible to trust slaves to work near Union lines and observed that alarmed owners had already begun to remove their slaves from the danger of escape or capture.[52]

The escape of slaves so aroused popular sentiment that there appeared a demand for a policy to prevent it. Since the problem was a common one in many Confederate states, it came up for discussion at the Confederate Governors' Conference, attended by Governor Vance, on October 17, 1864. This group was convinced that abetting slave escapes was a weapon adopted by the Union to wage war. A formal statement of policy was issued which declared:

> Whereas, the public enemy having proclaimed the freedom of our slaves, are forcing into their armies the able-bodied portion thereof, the more effectively to wage their cruel and bloody war . . . it is the duty of all slaveowners immediately to remove their slaves able to bear arms; and when they shall fail to do so . . . it shall be made the duty of proper authorities to enforce the performance of this duty and to give such owners all necessary assistance as far as practicable.[53]

One pro-Union editor of a North Carolina newspaper charged that some slaves, reported escaped to the Yankees, had in reality been stolen from their masters by other slaveowners. "Many slaveowners," he declared, "do not mind stealing each other's negroes."[54]

In addition to control legislation, North Carolina enacted a series of measures for the utilization of the labor of its Negro population. State and Confederate conscription of white male adults left labor shortages, many of them in occupations from

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[52] Clement Dowd, *The Life of Zebulon B. Vance*, p. 76; Harvey Wish, "Slave Disloyalty Under the Confederacy," *Journal of Negro History*, XXIII (1938), 442.
[53] *Hillsborough Recorder*, November 2, 1864.
[54] New Bern *Daily Progress*, July 19, 1862.

which Negroes were excluded by law and custom. Moreover, a growing demand was felt for labor to be employed in connection with state defenses and fortifications.[55] North Carolina developed a conscious policy of organizing and utilizing the labor of its Negro population, slave and free, in the service of the state.

Late in 1862 the General Assembly enacted a measure empowering the governor to employ slaves between the ages of eighteen and forty-five in the construction of "fortifications and other works for the defense of the State."[56] According to the provisions of this act the total number of slaves to be employed was unlimited, but requisitions for slaves had to be apportioned equally among the slaveowners of a county. Immediately upon completion of the work for which said slaves had been levied, "they shall be returned forthwith to their respective owners." Owners of impressed slaves were to receive compensation of $15 per month for "ordinary hands" and $30 for slave mechanics. Slaveowners, who feared loss or capture of slaves employed by the state, found protection in a provision which promised compensation at "full value" where such losses were sustained. However, certification, through the testimony of "two disinterested witnesses," both as to the loss and the value of the slave, was required before compensation might be paid.[57] In 1863 the governor was authorized to accept the services of Cherokee Indians who volunteered for the defense of the state.[58]

Before the enactment of Confederate slave impressment legislation in 1863, Confederate officials sought the impressment of North Carolina slaves, under state authority, for work on strategic railroads. George W. Randolph, Secretary of War, communicated with Governor Vance for that purpose in November, 1862. Labor was needed for the completion of the Danville-Greensboro Railroad; if it could be secured under state impressment, builders of the road would not have to compete in the open market in hiring slaves. Governor Vance was requested to use his influence to secure such authorization from the General Assembly.

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[55] Charlotte *Daily Bulletin*, March 21, 23, 1865; Raleigh *State Journal*, June 5, 1861.
[56] *Public Laws, 1862-1863*, p. 24. Fayetteville *Observer*, 25, 1864.
[57] *Public Laws, 1862-1863*, p. 25.
[58] *Journal of the Senate, 1863*, p. 73.

While agreeing that the completion of the Danville-Greensboro Railroad was vital for Confederate defense, Governor Vance felt constrained to withhold recommendation that slaves in North Carolina be impressed for that purpose. Impressment of slaves, he felt, was both unwise and unnecessary. It was possible for the private contractors constructing the road "to obtain the necessary slave labor without the intervention of public authorities," he declared, "if they will offer fair and remunerative prices."[59] Moreover, slaveowners from the eastern counties had already begun taking their slaves out of employment and moving them to inland counties; these slaves were employable for the purpose in question. Since the railroad was a private rather than a public project, serious opposition would develop in the state if citizens were compelled to use their property in its construction.

Opposition to the North Carolina slave impressment act became evident soon after its enactment. Despite official assurances of compensation for slave losses sustained through the escape or capture of slaves employed by the state, owners were reluctant to surrender their slaves for state service. Slaveowners criticized the reluctance of state officials to employ free Negro labor. One example of opposition was observed in Robeson County in December, 1862. This county, with a free Negro population of 1,462, was called upon to furnish one-fourth of its male slave population for employment on state defenses. Slaveowners opposed this levy; they complained that it was unfair to impress their slaves when there was "an unusually large number of free persons of color not subject to militia duty."[60] Many were convinced that free Negro labor should be employed and that slave property should be impressed only as a last resort.

A resolution embodying this conviction passed the legislature in 1862. It required that requisitions for labor, under either state or Confederate authority, must first draw upon the free Negro population. Only when a sufficient number of free Negro laborers could not be obtained should slave impressments be resorted to.[61] The failure of the sheriff to follow this procedure

[59] Dowd, *Zebulon B. Vance*, pp. 76-78.
[60] *Public Laws, 1862-1863*, p. 48.
[61] *Public Laws, 1862-1863*, p. 49.

was made punishable by a fine of $500. One year later the house made an unsuccessful effort to enact a measure that would require the substitution of free Negro labor for slave labor on all state fortifications.[62]

Other opposition to state impressment legislation was engendered by the frequent retention of slaves beyond the period for which they were originally impressed. In one such instance slaves were impressed under authority of Governor Vance in October, 1864, for a two-month period; four months later they had not been released. The General Assembly protested against such retention without the owners' consent and demanded the immediate return of the slaves to their owners.[63]

North Carolinians were even more strongly opposed to Confederate slave impressments. Perhaps this was inevitable as the enthusiasm which characterized the early months of the war declined and rifts appeared between state and Confederate authorities over conscription, exemptions, and taxes.[64] In addition to the same complaints which had been registered against state impressment policies, Confederate authorities were charged with ill-treatment of slaves, unequal apportionment among the states, and illegal impressments. The General Assembly, by joint resolution in December, 1864, registered a protest against the manner in which slave property of North Carolina citizens was treated.[65] It was alleged that impressed slaves were poorly fed and sheltered and that they were overcrowded. Governor Vance was instructed to communicate with President Davis and register a formal protest in the matter.[66] The extent of the antagonism which accompanied the impressment controversy is suggested by the fact that in 1863 Governor Vance had refused to furnish slaves requested by Confederate authorities because he felt that the citizens of North Carolina had already made sufficient sacrifices in this respect.[67]

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[62] *Journal of the House, 1862-1863*, p. 105.
[63] *Public Laws, 1864-1865*, p. 35.
[64] See Message to General Assembly, November 23, 1863, *Executive and Legislative Documents, 1863-1864*, Doc. 1, p. 7.
[65] *Official Records of the Rebellion*, ser. IV, vol. III, p. 994.
[66] *Journal of the Senate, 1864*, p. 148; *Public Laws, 1864-1865*, p. 73,
[67] *Official Records*, ser. IV, vol. II, p. 385-386. Governor Vance carried on a large correspondence with Confederate officials in protest against unfair treatment of the citizens of North Carolina. *Executive and Legislative Documents, 1864-1865*, Doc. 1, p. 46; *1865-1866*, Doc. 1, p. 13; Richard E. Yates, *Zebulon B. Vance as War Governor of North Carolina, 1862-1865*, pp. 15-17.

During the first year and a half of the war, North Carolina was reluctant to utilize free Negro labor in work connected with state defense. All efforts to accomplish this in 1861 and 1862 failed.[68] This policy was changed in 1863 and legislation was enacted for the impressment of free Negroes for employment on fortifications. Under the terms of this enactment, all free Negroes between the ages of eighteen and fifty were liable for impressment. Such persons were compelled to submit to examination and enrollment in their respective counties; they were called into service as the situation demanded.[69] It appears that the first enrollments under this act took place in April and May, 1864.

An increased demand for Negro labor in North Carolina is reflected in the numerous newspaper advertisements for Negro laborers, particularly for slaves, between 1861 and 1865. Railroad companies appear to have been the most persistent advertisers for slave laborers. The Western North Carolina Railroad advertised for the hire of "100 able-bodied negroes" in December, 1861. Three months later the same railroad was in the market for the hire of fifty slaves. During 1863 both the Chatham and the Piedmont railroads were in urgent need of Negro laborers. These two roads advertised for a total of 800 slave laborers during the year, and the Western Carolina & Rockingham Railroad near Rockingham advertised for 25.[70] Negro laborers sought by these roads were to be employed in construction and maintenance and as station hands. Occasionally Negroes were employed by some railroads as engineers despite popular sentiment to the contrary. One newspaper, reporting that a Negro slave had been killed by an engine on the North Carolina Railroad in July, 1862, stated: "The jury of inquest should censure the company for employing negro engineers."[71]

Despite assurances for the protection and care of slave property, these railroads encountered difficulty in obtaining the slave laborers sought. The advertisement of the Chatham Railroad carried the following assurance: "The line runs through a

[68] *Journal of the Senate, 1861*, 1st ex. sess., p. 38; *1862-1863;* p. 695; *Journal of the House, 1862-1863*, p. 227. North Carolina lagged behind Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia, and South Carolina in this respect. Nelson, "Legislative Control of the Southern Free Negro, 1861-1865," *Catholic Historical Review*, XXXII (1946), 43-44.

[69] Raleigh *Daily Confederate*, April 19, 21, 30, 1864.

[70] Raleigh *State Journal*, January 1, 1862; New Bern *Progress*, March 22, 1862; *Fayetteville Observer*, February 16, 1863; Raleigh *North Carolina Standard*, January 21, 1863.

[71] Charlotte *North Carolina Whig*, July 8, 1862.

healthy country, on a high ridge, and all hands employed on the road will be well fed and cared for."[72] The W. C. & R. Railroad emphasized the fact that its line was "safe from the enemy and healthy";[73] the Piedmont Railroad assured liberal wages and good care of all slaves employed.[74] If the length of time that these advertisements ran is considered an index, these assurances failed to impress owners of employable slaves. Each of the above demands for slaves was unfulfilled after a period of five weeks; one of the advertisements ran for more than five months. Perhaps some of the reluctance of slaveowners to hire slaves to railroad companies was due to charges sometimes levied that such slaves were not properly supervised.[75]

Among the other advertisers for the hire of slaves were local public utilities companies, building contractors, and farmers. One contractor advertised for the hire of twelve Negro carpenters (slaves) to be employed in Orange County, "one of the healthiest and safest portions of the Confederacy."[76] One farmer sought thirty to forty slaves; another advertised for twelve slaves to chop wood.[77] There is evidence that an increasing number of Negro laborers were employed as mechanics, a loosely defined type of employment, and in the state salt works. In 1864 Jonathan Worth, later governor of North Carolina, suggested that Negro laborers be used to replace white workers in the salt works who were suspected of being in correspondence with the enemy.[78]

The length of time which advertisements for the hire of slaves ran and the infrequency with which owners advertised slaves for hire leads one to conclude that slaveowners were as reluctant to hire their slaves to private employers as they were to surrender them to state authorities under legislative authority. According to one account, it was virtually impossible to hire slave labor in Randolph County after the middle of 1863,[79] and conditions

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[72] *Fayetteville Observer*, February 16, 1863.
[73] *Fayetteville Observer*, February 16, 1863.
[74] Raleigh *North Carolina Standard*, June 21, 1863.
[75] See *Journal of the House, 1864*, pp. 89-90. In this instance Representative Dargon cited instances of depredations of slaves employed by the Cheraw and Coalfield Railroad.
[76] Raleigh *Daily Confederate*, October 5, 1864.
[77] *Hillsborough Recorder*, December 24, 1862; Charlotte *Daily Bulletin*, February 25, 1866. The latter advertisement ran for more than two weeks.
[78] Letter to William A. Graham, June 8, 1864, Hamilton, *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, I, 310; also *Public Laws, 1862-1863*, p. 49.
[79] Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 329.

tended to grow worse during the remaining two years of the war.[80]

While war fears and governmental impressments seriously affected the volume of available slave labor, the increasing cost of such labor appears to have accentuated the wartime labor problem in North Carolina. Sharp increases in the cost of the hire of slaves were noted as the war progessed. It is reported that in 1864 the amount in some areas of North Carolina ranged from $100 to $300. At Salisbury in January, 1865, the hire of field hands (men) ranged from $500 to $1,200, that of mechanics from $1,000 to $2,400, and that of women "without incumbrances" from $300 to $1,000.[81] All these were exorbitant prices as compared with those of 1860. An observer at Wilson on "hiring day," January 19, 1865, reported:

> Yesterday was hiring day, but too little was done in that way to establish any hiring rates for servants; and upon inquiring we can find no data upon which to base quotations. We suppose they will settle down in a day or two, and parties can come to an understanding . . . for hiring prices we heard talk of anything from 500 to 2,000 [dollars].[82]

Prospective purchasers of slave hires complained of the prices asked. Some estimated that when the cost of food, clothing, and the government tax on slaves hired was added to the cost of hire, it would amount to more than $1,200 for the hire of a prime hand for a year.

Government policies, in the opinion of some employers, were responsible for the excessive cost of slave labor. The high rates paid by the state government forced employers to pay at least the same rate. In August, 1864, the government rate, as fixed by the Board of Commissioners of Appraisement, was $1.75 per day or $45 per month with rations furnished by the government.[83] One critic of these rates sarcastically observed that

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[80] One of the infrequent offers of slaves for hire listed fifty to sixty slaves "for hire to someone living in a healthy part of the country." *Hillsborough Recorder*, December 9, 1863. See also Raleigh *Daily Confederate*, October 5, 1864.

[81] Beaufort *Old North State*, January 21, 1865, quoting the *Columbia Watchman*. One must keep in mind that all of these transactions were carried on in depreciating Confederate currency; thus prices reflect the depreciation of this currency as well as rising labor costs.

[82] Beaufort *Old North State*, January 21, 1865, quoting the Wilson *Carolinian*, January 20, 1865.

[83] Raleigh *Daily Confederate*, August 3, 1864. In New Bern under Union control, a more definite effort was made to control the price of Negro labor. Employers were forbidden to contract for the labor of Negroes at a price in excess of the government rate. New Bern *North Carolina Times*, April 13, 1864.

soldiers who protected slave property were paid only $132 a year, while the government paid owners three times as much for the labor of their slaves.[84]

The difficulty and the extravagant cost of hiring slaves led some employers, urgently in need of labor, to seek to buy slaves. The Lockville Mining and Maufacturing Company advertised for the purchase of "Thirty Good Negroes" in August, 1864; and Thomas J. Person sought "one hundred likely Negroes" between the ages of ten and sixteen.[85] Other employers advertised for smaller numbers.

Late in 1864, however, when the cost of hiring slaves was approaching the maximum, it appears that few slaves were offered for sale. Sometimes a few were offered in the settlement of an estate. Thus sixteen slaves were offered for sale from the estate of John Harden of Alamance and a few were offered from estates in Fayetteville in 1864.[86] So infrequent were notices of slaves for sale that a slaveowner of Charlotte who offered thirty slaves for sale in March, 1865, thought it wise to state: "They are not offered for sale as a consequence of faults but simply because the owner lives where he cannot employ them to profit."[87] Either as a result of the high prices asked or the restriction of sales in families, these slaves remained on the market for more than seven weeks. By 1865 prices up to $5,600 were reported for slaves.[88]

An issue which involved the Negro in North Carolina between 1861 and 1865, though in a passive sort of way, was that of state revenues. As state finances became disrupted by war demands, North Carolina turned to taxes on slavery and its incidents as a means of securing additonal revenues. The poll tax offered one possibility. This tax, placed at thirty cents in 1835 on whites between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five and on Negroes between the ages of twelve and fifty, was increased to eighty cents in 1859. The wartime revenue bill of 1863 increased

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[84] Raleigh *North Carolina Standard*, January 6, 1864.
[85] Raleigh *Daily Confederate*, August 9, 1864.
[86] Raleigh *North Carolina Standard*, October 21, 1860; *Fayetteville Observer*, January 18, 1864.
[87] Charlotte *Daily Bulletin*, March 3, 1865. By January, 1865, sale prices of $4,500 for field hands and $4,600 for common house servants were reported from Charleston, South Carolina. Beaufort *Old North State*, January 21, 1865, quoting Charleston *Bulletin*.
[88] Beaufort *Old North State*, January 21, 1865.

this tax to $1.20.[89] According to the comptroller's report, $178,200 was paid in poll taxes in 1860-1861. This includes 158,658 slave polls amounting to $131,924. The following year slave polls contributed $257,860 to the state treasury; and under the law of 1863 and the $1.20 poll tax, slave polls amounted to $357,790.[90] These figures suggest the large contributions which slave polls made to the revenues of the state during the war period.[91]

Non-slaveholding classes in North Carolina agitated for an ad valorem tax on slave property as a means of increasing state revenues and distributing the tax burden equitably among all classes. This agitation, beginning in 1859, reached its climax in 1863. The poorer classes contended that the failure to tax slave property according to value offered advantages to the slaveholding class and resulted in serious economic competition to their group as the result of large-scale employment of slave labor. Newspapers friendly to the slaveowning class ran frequent editorials in an effort to quiet this agitation. One of these stated:

> Slaves not only do not conflict with the interests of the poor white man, but they are the source of benefit to them in a multitude of ways . . . . We tax slaves to maintain the poor man, who are from affliction or misfortune unable to maintain themselves, while no slave is ever permitted to enter the poor house of the State.[92]

Other benefits enjoyed by poor whites which were "conferred by the slave population" were public asylums and schools. An increase in taxes, this editorial warned, would tend to drive slaveholding out of the state and with it would disappear many of the benefits enjoyed by poor whites.

The problem was considered by the General Assembly during the session of 1860-1861, but no bill was enacted. After a great

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[89] John W. Ellis, *Speech before the Democratic State Convention*, March 9, 1860, p. 32; *Public Laws, 1859-1866*, p. 116.

[90] *Executive and Legislative Documents, 1861-1862*, Doc. 8, p. 206; *1862-1863*, Doc. 7, p. 192; *1864-1865*, Doc. 7, p. 209.

[91] Disabled and insane slaves were exempted from this tax, but the total number so exempted was small. The census of 1860 lists only 358 slaves in the entire state in this category as compared to 1,102 whites. Of this number, sixty-three slaves were listed as insane, 106 as deaf and dumb, and 159 as blind. *United States Census, 1860*, pp. 630-633.

[92] Fayetteville *Weekly Courier*, May 26, 1860.

deal of legislative maneuvering,[93] a slave tax law was passed in February, 1863.[94] It provided for the taxing of slave property according to its value. This tax yielded $642,796.83 during the fiscal year 1863-1864 and $622,130.28 during the next fiscal year.[95] Other tax legislation relating to slavery or its incidents included a measure imposing a tax on "negro trading" of five per cent of the purchase value of slaves. As the number of slaves held tended to decline after 1863, this tax lost much of its significance.[96]

The legislation and policies adopted by North Carolina during the Civil War which concerned the Negro reveal a conscious purpose to bolster and strengthen the controls deemed essential for the perpetuation of the slave system. Poor whites, legislators, and slaveholders combined to mould a popular sentiment to support such policies. The press was particularly active in this respect. As a result, nearly every aspect of Negro life was controlled or supervised by either official or extra-legal means. While the "Negro policies" of North Carolina were less oppressive than those of some other Confederate states, especially Georgia, they were stringent enough to cause the depression of many free Negroes down into the slave group and to prevent any active slave movement during the war.

The value of the Negro population in both the defense and economic life of the state is attested by the widespread interest manifest in such problems as impressment, labor, and public revenues as they concerned this segment of the population. Though North Carolinians, as other Confederates, steadfastly opposed efforts to arm the slave for combat service,[97] they supported efforts to expand the occupational area of Negroes under wartime pressures. A large-scale employment of Negro labor resulted on state defenses and fortifications and in an increased number of skilled and semi-skilled occupations. Negro labor was one of the factors which prevented a complete collapse of economic life in North Carolina during the Civil War.

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[93] *Journal of the Senate, 1860-1861*, pp. 29-34; 299; 403; *1861*, 2nd. ex. sess., pp. 159-60; *1862-1863*, p. 426. See *Executive and Legislative Documents, 1862-1863*, Doc. 1, pp. 9-10.

[94] *Public Laws, 1859-1866*, p. 97.

[95] *Executive and Legislative Documents, 1864-1865*, Doc. 7, pp. 209, 214; *1865-1866*, Doc. 7, p. 182.

[96] *Public Laws, 1859-1866*, p. 58; *1864-1865*, p. 40. See also Charlotte *Western Democrat*, February 10, 1857.

[97] Editorial, Raleigh *Weekly Standard*, February 18, 1863; *Journal of the Senate, 1864-1865*, p. 34; Beaufort *Old North State*, January 14, 1865.

REACTIONS IN NORTH CAROLINA TO JACKSON'S BANKING POLICY, 1829-1832

By ELIZABETH STONE HOYT

"It is maintained by some that the bank is a means of executing the constitutional power 'to coin money, and regulate the value thereof. . . . If the bank be established for that purpose, with a charter unalterable without its consent, Congress have parted with their power for a term of years, during which the constitution is a dead letter. It is neither necessary nor proper to transfer its legislative power to such a bank, and therefore unconstitutional."[1] Thus Andrew Jackson dramatically took his stand against the re-chartering of the United States Bank in his veto message to Congress in July, 1832.

Before making this statement, however, Jackson in his first three annual messages to Congress had called the United States Bank question to the attention of Congress and the American people. He reminded them in his first annual message that the United States Bank's charter would expire in 1836, stated that "It must be admitted by all, that it has failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency," and went on to suggest a vague substitute for that particular bank.[2] The next year he enlarged his idea into a definite plan for a hybrid affair combining a bank with an independent treasury system.[3] In 1831, however, his message barely touched on the subject.[4] Business interests became jittery at the thought of a change in the United States Bank; discussions arose throughout the country;[5] and the price of the stock of the bank fluctuated with the sternness or mildness of the President's utterances. After the President's first message to Congress the price of the bank stock fell from $126 to $116 per share in New York.[6] In anticipation of Jackson's second attack on the bank the stock fell from $134¼ to $126 in New York a few days before the message,

[1] *Executive Documents*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, vol. VI, doc. no. 300, p. 10.
[2] United States *House Journal*, 21 Cong., 1 sess., 1829-1830, pp. 27-28.
[3] *House Journal*, 21 Cong., 2 sess., 1830-1831, p. 33.
[4] *House Journal*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, p. 21.
[5] Ralph C. H. Catterall, *The Second Bank of the United States* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1903), pp. 174, 194-214.
[6] *New York Evening Post*, quoted in *North Carolina Free Press* (Tarborough, N. C.), May 28, 1830.

and after the speech it fell to $123 in Philadelphia.[7] Because Jackson touched so lightly on the controversial subject in his third message the banking interests were encouraged to think that his hostility was lessening, and as a result bank stock rose two per cent in New York and Philadelphia in January, 1832.[8] The United States Bank itself precipitated the banking crisis when Nicholas Biddle, the president of the bank, had a friend in each house of Congress introduce a bill for re-chartering the bank on January 9, 1832.[9] Thus the bank question was brought into the open, and in Congress and in the nation at large the wrangling started which later was climaxed by Jackson's veto message on July 10. In the West debtors wanting cheap money, in the East local banking interests, some wanting cheap money and some wanting hard money, and finally champions of the Jeffersonian tradition wanting hard money—all these alligned themselves against re-chartering the bank.[10] On the other hand, some of the banking interests, the moneyed people, and the commercial groups pressed re-chartering.[11] Within the Congressional walls heated debates burst forth with all varieties of opinions expressed.[12] Memorials poured in both for and against re-chartering the bank.[13]

Only two memorials, both pro-bank, were sent to Congress from North Carolina. Presented on March 12 was the memorial for the renewal of the charter sent by the president and directors of the Bank of New Bern.[14] After expressing appreciation for the favorable benefits of the United States Bank in North Carolina, the memorial claimed "that a refusal to renew its charter may not only injuriously affect the public confidence, but will lunge again upon the country the evils of a depreciated and discredited currency, of wild speculation, extensive indebtedness,

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[7] *North Carolina Free Press*, December 21, 1830.
[8] *North Carolina Free Press*, January 3, 1832.
[9] United States *Senate Journal*, 22, Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, p. 65; *House Journal*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, pp. 165, 166.
[10] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1945), p. 79.
[11] Schlesinger, *The Age of Jackson*, pp. 92, 93; Catterall, *The Second Bank*, p. 224.
[12] United States *Senate Register of Debates*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, vol. VIII, part I, *passim;* United States *House Register of Debates*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, vol. VIII, parts II and III, *passim.*
[13] *Senate Journal*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, *passim; House Journal*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, *passim.*
[14] *Senate Journal*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, *passim; House Journal*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, *passim.*

and general inattention to the faith of engagements."[15] Nicholas Biddle's cooperative attitude toward the state banking interests perhaps accounted for this.[16] On March 19, 1832, Willie P. Mangum, Senator from North Carolina, introduced in the Senate a memorial sent by "a large number of the inhabitants of Granville County" requesting the renewal of the bank charter.[17] After a thorough airing of the disputatious subject in the national legislature, on June 11 by a vote of 28 to 20 the Senate passed the bill,[18] which was followed by a confirmation in the House of Representatives on July 3, by a vote of 107 to 85.[19]

The climax came with the President's veto message which cleverly omitted his hard money views, and appealed to the emotions of the masses in his reasons for this action against the bank. Among the points which he stressed especially was the fact that it was a monopoly enjoying "an exclusive privilege of banking, under the authority of the General Government."[20] He sought to line up Americans against foreigners and the rich against the poor by stressing that "more than a fourth part of the stock is held by foreigners, and the residue is held by a few hundred of our own citizens chiefly the richest class."[21] He urged that the distress which would follow the closing of the bank and the calling in of loans would be the fault of the bank "and it would furnish a reason against renewing a power which has been so obviously abused."[22] He was against the United States Bank giving the state banks special concessions "because it does not measure out equal justice to the high and the low, the rich and the poor."[23] He hinted at evils and abuses of the bank by saying, "An investigation unwillingly conceded, and so restricted in time as necessarily to make it incomplete and unsatisfactory, discloses enough to excite suspicion and alarm."[24] He sought to disprove the constitutionality of the bank.[25]

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[15] New Bern Bank Memorial to Congress, March 1, 1832, William Gaston MSS., in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina library.

[16] Nicholas Biddle to (John R. London ?), January 7, 1829, Charles Fisher MSS., in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina library. In this letter Biddle showed that he had put much thought on planning a way by which the Bank could make a million dollar loan to the proposed new state banking system.

[17] *Senate Journal*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, p. 190.

[18] *Senate Register of Debates*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, vol. VIII, part I, 1073.

[19] *House Journal*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, pp. 1074-1075.

[20] *Executive Document*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, vol. VI, doc. no. 300, p. 1.

[21] *Executive Document*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, vol. VI, doc. no. 300, p. 2.

[22] *Executive Document*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, vol. VI, doc. no. 300, p. 3.

[23] *Executive Document*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, vol. VI, doc. no. 300, p. 3.

[24] *Executive Document*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, vol. VI, doc. no. 300, p. 12.

[25] *Executive Document*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, vol. VI, doc. no. 300, pp. 8-10.

Despite the fact that the United States Bank question was one of the outstanding problems of Jackson's administration, little attempt has been made to study the reactions to the question in the various states. This study will attempt to appraise North Carolina's reactions to the bank war. In the ante-bellum period North Carolina never was particularly forward in any great movement, but was rather slow to react to any question of national interest.[26] It is not surprising therefore, that the state didn't get too wrought up over the banking discussion. Then, too, North Carolina was an agricultural state. In 1833 she had "less commerce and fewer important towns than any of her Atlantic sisters.[27] Out of a total population of 753,419 in 1840, agricultural pursuits employed 217,095, as against 18,437 employed otherwise. The economic group next in importance was that of the manufacturing and trades, employing 14,322; and commercial activities included only 1,734.[28] The tobacco farms were largely in the Piedmont region in the counties bordering Virginia; cotton plantations were in the eastern part of the state and in the southern Piedmont region; in the northeastern counties corn and wheat were grown partly on large plantations; in the western part of the state livestock and grain were raised on smaller farms; rice was produced near the coast in New Hanover and Brunswick counties. Up the Cape Fear River from Wilmington to Fayetteville there was commerce.[29] Moreover, there were no large towns in the state in which large moneyed interests could accumulate. Wilmington, at that time the largest town, could boast a population of only 4,744. Fayetteville, a commercial center and seat of the North Carolina branch of the United States Bank, had only 4,285. New Bern, a coastal town, was next largest with a population of 3,690. The capital, Raleigh, had a mere 2,244.[30] Truly, there were only miniature cities in North Carolina during the Jackson era. By and large North Carolinians were small farmers. When the panic of 1837 swept

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[26] Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), pp. 36-39.
[27] *The Star* (Raleigh, N. C.), December 20, 1833, quoted in Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, p. 23.
[28] *Compendium of the Sixth Census of the United States, 1840*, pp. 42-43. (Hereafter cited as *Sixth Census, 1840.*)
[29] Sixth Census, 1840, pp. 174-181; Johnston, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, pp. 5-7, 53.
[30] *Sixth Census, 1840*, p. 42.

the country the *Fayetteville Observer* noted with too much assurance the "great mass of our population . . . cannot be reduced to bankruptcy by a money pressure. They are beyond its influence."[31]

With the economic status of the North Carolinians in mind, one does not wonder that the press did not get very excited as the United States Bank's re-chartering question began to simmer, boil, and bubble over in the years 1829-1832. In the heat of the discussion, in May, 1832, a pro-bank Charlotte paper, which had printed the anti-bank majority report of the committee investigating the bank, asserted that it had intended to print the counter reports but found "too much of our paper would be taken up by the reports to the exclusion of more interesting matter to a large majority of our readers."[32] Likewise, in other North Carolina papers very little space and very few editorials were devoted to the bank discussion.

On the whole arguments used against re-chartering the bank in the North Carolina press and by individuals were those used by Jackson in his veto message. The *Western Carolinian* in 1831 stated that the bank was unconstitutional.[33] An editorial in the *North Carolina Journal* after the veto was in the same vein.[34] The editor of the *North Carolina Free Press,* after the veto message, encouraged the people to think of the bank as "a combination of wealthy speculators and aspiring politicians, who, under the specious garb of 'the American System' have of late continued to make 'the richer and the potent more powerful,' at the expense of the industrious and hard working portion of the community."[35]

Also, certain prominent individuals used these arguments. Nathaniel Macon, a distinguished North Carolinian who at that time had recently retired from national politics, wrote: "Every law which grants *privileges* to certain persons, is against the principles of equality and freedom."[36] P. P. Barbour, a Virginian whom many North Carolinians supported as vice-presi-

[31] Quoted in Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina,* p. 65.
[32] *Miners' and Farmers' Journal* (Charlotte, N. C.), April 14, 1832, May 29, 1832.
[33] *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury, N. C.), July 11, 1832.
[34] *North Carolina Journal,* July 25, 1832.
[35] *North Carolina Free Press,* August 7, 1832.
[36] N. Macon to T. H. Benton, March 7, 1831, printed in a St. Louis paper, quoted in a *North Carolina Free Press,* July 5, 1831.

dential candidate in 1832, was quoted in the *North Carolina Free Press* as objecting to the money power concentrated in the hands of a few and also to the bank as being very unconstitutional.[37] Jesse Speight, a Congressman from North Carolina, in debate in Congress disparagingly called the United States Bank "the Mammouth Bank."[38]

Some of those supporting the anti-bank policy in the state were, like Jackson, hard money advocates. Nathaniel Macon said in 1826: ". . . most if not all of our evils originate in the paper system."[39] Later he asserted that the banking people tried to convince the public "that *paper* is money, in fact better than money."[40] John Branch, a Congressman from North Carolina and a former member of Jackson's Cabinet,[41] thought that the framers of the Constitution intended "that the currency of the United States should have been metalic."[42] One Carolina paper ventured: "It will be a happy time for North Carolina, when honest, bold faced coin shall take the place of ragged and dirty paper, blotted with hieroglyphics, which one-fourth of our population do not understand."[43] The *Western Carolinian* taunted McDuffie, a friend of the United States Bank in Congress, for trying to prove by the use of logic that currency was coin. McDuffie had said: "Coin is currency; paper is currency; therefore, paper is coin"; and the editor approved of the ridiculing answer made to this: "A watermelon is food, roasted fowl is food; therefore a roasted fowl is a watermelon."[44] The editor of the Tarborough paper agreed with this position: ". . . solid capital silver and gold but no *rag money*—no slips of dirty paper."[45] That at least a majority of the state lawmakers in 1831 were hard money boosters was demonstrated by a law enacted by the General Assembly in that year which was to prevent

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[37] *North Carolina Free Press*, October 9, 1832.
[38] *North Carolina Free Press*, April 10, 1832.
[39] N. Macon to Bartlett Yancey, December 24, 1826, quoted in Edwin Mood Wilson, "The Congressional Career of Nathaniel Macon" and "Letters of Macon and Willie P. Mangum with notes by Kemp P. Battle" *James Sprunt Historical Monographs*, no. 2, pp. 89-90.
[40] N. Macon to T. H. Benton, March 7, 1831, printed in a St. Louis paper, quoted in *North Carolina Free Press*, July 5, 1831.
[41] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington: United States Printing Office, 1928), p. 729. (Hereafter cited as *Biographical Directory.*)
[42] John Branch to George B. Outlaw and others, May 31, 1831, printed in *Halifax Advocate*, quoted in *Western Carolinian*, June 20, 1831.
[43] *Oxford Examiner*, quoted in *North Carolina Free Press*, March 18, 1831.
[44] *Southern Review*, quoted and discussed in *Western Carolinian*, January 9, 1832.
[45] *National Observer*, quoted in *North Carolina Free Press*, July 5, 1831.

the circulation in North Carolina after July 4, 1832, of any out-of-state bank notes under $5.[46]

Furthermore, the heyday of gold mining in the western part of the state helped to contribute to the popularity of the hard money cause.[47] An appreciable amount of gold used for coinage was mined in North Carolina. In 1830 she contributed the gold for $204,000 worth of United States coins.[48] The United States branch bank at Fayetteville in that year received $30,863 in gold bars from the state mines.[49] The next year $294,000 of the $714,270 of the United States money coined from gold was supplied by North Carolina.[50] This brought a clamor for a branch of the United States Mint to be established in the gold mining region. In the early part of 1830, Samuel P. Carson from Burke County introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives to appoint a committee to study the possibility of establishing a mint in Western North Carolina, but it failed to pass.[51] In April he wrote to Charles Fisher, a state legislator,[52] indicating his continued interest in the matter.[53] Gideon Glenn of Franklin County introduced resolutions in the state legislature in December of that year in regard to the selling of gold mining land "for the purpose of augmenting the circulating medium of the state "and, also, to memorialize Congress on the necessity and propriety of establishing a branch of the United States' mint in the State."[54]

Thus North Carolina had expressed her hard money views before Andrew Jackson made a public issue of the fact that he was a sound money man in connection with the banking discussion. There is strong ground for believing this to have been his chief reason for vetoing the re-chartering of the United States Bank;[55] therefore, North Carolina was in full agreement with Jackson on the bank and hard money.

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[46] N. C. *Senate Journal*, 1830-1831, pp. 107-108; N. C. *House of Commons Journal*, 1830-1831, p. 276.
[47] Fletcher Melvin Green, "Gold Mining: A Forgotten Industry of Ante-Bellum North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XIV (April, 1937), 152-155.
[48] *Farmers' and Miners' Journal*, February 1, 1832.
[49] *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore, Md.), vol. II, 4th Series (March 20, 1830), 69.
[50] *Farmers' and Miners' Journal*, February 1, 1832.
[51] *The Yadkin and Catawba Journal* (Salisbury, N. C.), January 5, 1830.
[52] John H. Wheeler, *Reminicences and Memories of North Carolina and Eminent North Carolinians* (Columbus: Columbus Printing Work), 1884, p. 403.
[53] Samuel P. Carson to Charles Fisher, April 30, 1830, Charles Fisher MSS.
[54] N. C. *Journal of the House of Commons*, 1830-1831, p. 204.
[55] Schlesinger, *The Age of Jackson*, p. 90.

Apparently, the initial anti-bank action taken in the lower house of Congress after Jackson's first message to Congress was in the form of a series of resolutions introduced by Robert Potter, a rip-roaring, dare-devil Congressman from North Carolina who was an aggressive Old Hickory champion and anti-bank man.[56] Potter's resolution maintained that the bank was unconstitutional, "that the paper money or banking system, generally is in its tendency ruinous to the interests of labor and dangerous to the liberties of the people," and that therefore Congress should not renew the charter of the bank. This was apparently merely a feeler, and he moved that the resolutions be laid on the table.[57]

Most of the Old North State's representatives and Senators in Congress in 1832 voted "no" on the issue,[58] and in this they merely expressed the views of a predominately agricultural state. The few who favored the bank were swayed by personal or economic interests. In the Senate Bedford Brown and Willie P. Mangum both voted against the re-charter of the United States Bank. Brown, a planter from Caswell County,[59] a tobacco and corn area, voted the interests of his locality. Willie P. Mangum's vote was, however, paradoxical. Although voting against the re-charter, he definitely favored it. He belonged to the wealthy group whose economic stakes were identical with the banking interests.[60] Mangum expressed himself very clearly on his stand for the bank soon after the re-charter measure was introduced in the Senate. "I regard the continuance of that institution as of almost indispensable necessity," he wrote a friend.[61] Later he voted for a Senate resolution to censure President Jackson for his action toward the bank,[62] and later he stated publicly in the Senate that he would vote against expunging the resolution from the Senate records.[63] Mangum asserted that he was not a hard money man and scorned Jackson for attempting to

[56] Robert Watson, "Robert Potter: Tar Heel and Texan Daredevil," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXIX (April, 1930), 142-150-151.
[57] U. S. *House of Representatives Register of Debates*, 21 Cong., 1 sess., 1829-1830, vol. VI, part II, pp. 921-922.
[58] *House of Representatives Register of Debates*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, vol. VIII, part III, p. 3852; U. S., *Senate Register of Debates*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, vol. VIII, part I, p. 1073.
[59] *Biographical Directory*, p. 744.
[60] Penelope McDuffie, *Chapters in the Life of Willie Person Mangum* (Reprinted from Trinity College Historical Society Historical Papers, series XV, 1925), p. 22.
[61] Willie P. Mangum to William Gaston, January 19, 1832, Gaston MSS.
[62] United States *Senate Register of Debates*, 23 Cong., 1 sess., 1833-1832, vol. X, part I, p. 1187.
[63] *U. S. Senate Register of Debates*, 23 Cong., 2 sess., 1833-1832, vol. XI, part I, p. 722.

cover his mistakes about the bank with the "new idea" (hard money).[64] That Mangum voted against the re-charter despite such views attests the strong North Carolina opposition to that institution's continuance.

In the House of Representatives all the North Carolinians except four opposed re-chartering the bank.[65] In this opposition economic influences can be discerned. Samuel P. Carson of Burke County, a section largely agricultural with some manufacturing and mining,[66] naturally opposed the bank. Moreover, he personally was interested in agricultural pursuits. Although his vote was not registered on the bill he was lined up with the opposition.[67] A North Carolina paper of July 17 stated that Carson was absent when the vote was taken.[68] In the next election he lost his seat in Congress but this was due to his favoring nullification, which was not in harmony with the viewpoint of his constituents, and not on account of the bank issue.[69] Henry W. Conner of Lincoln County, whose district was similar in its economic background to Carson's, was a planter whose interests coincided with that of his section[70] in his negative vote. Chatham County was the home of Abraham Rencher, a lawyer with farming interests[71] in a farming area,[72] who was against the bank. Still another agriculturist in the opposition camp was Micajah T. Hawkins[73] from the tobacco region of Warren County.[74] An incongruous vote was cast by the representative from the Seventh Congressional District, Laughlin Bethune. He lived near the commercial center of Fayetteville, which was the home of the North Carolina branch of the United States Bank. A plantation owner,[75] he personally opposed the bank; nevertheless, this placed him out of harmony with his constituents and in the next congressional election he lost his seat to

[64] Notes on Bank, 1834, pp. 40-41, W. A. and W. P. Mangum, MSS. in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina library.
[65] United States House of Representatives *Register of Debates*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, vol. VIII, part III, p. 3852.
[66] *Sixth Census, 1840*, pp. 42-43.
[67] United States House of Representatives *Register of Debates*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1831-1832, vol. VIII, part II, pp. 1509, 1525. T. H. Benton *Thirty Years' View* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1854), I, 240.
[68] *North Carolina Free Press*, July 17, 1832.
[69] *Biographical Directory*, p. 791.
[70] *Biographical Directory*, p. 841; *Sixth Census, 1840*, pp. 42-43.
[71] *Biographical Directory*, pp. 1453-1454.
[72] *Sixth Census, 1840*, pp. 42-43.
[73] *Biographical Directory*, p. 1077.
[74] *Sixth Census, 1840*, pp. 176-177.
[75] *Biographical Directory*, p. 697.

Deberry, a pro-bank man, who though a farmer was interested also in the cotton and flour-mill business.[76] The *Fayetteville Observer* pointed this out after the election: "we take great pleasure in stating that the member-elect is in favor of the U. S. Bank and Mr. Clay's Land Bill."[77] Jesse Speight, a lawyer from Greene County, voted in line with the farming interests of his district instead of with the New Bern commercial interests.[78] Another lawyer, James I. McKay,[79] voted with the agricultural interests of his southeastern district which no doubt diluted the power of the commercial group.[80] From the agricultural region of Halifax,[81] ex-Secretary of the Navy John Branch, a lawyer, mirrored the farmer's viewpoint in his vote although personally he was embittered against Jackson.[82] Although he was not a candidate for re-election, the next time his district elected another man with an agricultural bent, J. A. Bynum.[83] Thomas H. Hall, farmer-doctor of Edgecombe County,[84] which, also, was predominately agricultural[85] voted not to re-charter the bank.

The four North Carolinian pro-bank votes in the House of Representatives have a certain economic tinge. William Biddle Shepard, a son of wealthy parents, was an outstanding lawyer and holder of large properties in Elizabeth City. Even more significant, he was a first cousin of Nicholas Biddle,[86] he had received a loan by the United States Bank of $5,000 about the time of the bank discussion,[87] and Biddle had assured him that it was not necessary to pay the debt at any particular time.[88] Thus we account for his pro-bank vote. Lewis Williams lived in the extreme western part of the state in the mountainous region where it would be natural to take the debtor attitude toward the bank, but surprisingly he cast his vote for it. This seems to

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[76] *Biographical Directory*, p. 893.
[77] *Fayetteville Observer*, quoted in *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, August 20, 1833.
[78] *Biographical Directory*, p. 1553; *Sixth Census, 1840*, pp. 42-43.
[79] *Biographical Directory*, p. 1265.
[80] *Sixth Census, 1840*, pp. 42-43.
[81] *Sixth Census, 1840*, pp. 42-43.
[82] *Biographical Directory*, p. 729; Marquis James, *Andrew Jackson, A Portrait of a President* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1937), p. 273.
[83] *Biographical Directory*, p. 722.
[84] *Biographical Directory*, p. 1048.
[85] *Sixth Census, 1840*, pp. 42-43.
[86] Samuel A. Ashe (ed.), *Biographical History of North Carolina* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen Publisher, 1908), VII, 421-423.
[87] *Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle*, Appendix I, 359.
[88] Nicholas Biddle to W. B. Shepard, February 28, 1834, Biddle Papers. Quoted in *Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle*, p. 361, note p. 551.

have been the outgrowth of a strong personal resentment against Jackson of some years standing. John Williams, Lewis Williams' brother, received a questionable political deal by Jackson which undoubtedly irked the family.[89] This is further substantiated by Mangum's observation that "Our friend Lewis Williams goes in deep enough. The thought you know, of Gen. Jackson is to him gall and bitterness."[90] Williams' vote was entirely a matter of personal animosity. The vote of Daniel L. Barringer is not so easily explained. He was from Raleigh,[91] however, and could have been influenced by the anti-Jackson propaganda projected by the *Raleigh Register,* which was bound closely to the *National Intelligencer,*[92] the anti-Jackson paper in Washington. Whether he personally had moneyed interests has not been ascertained but he had relatives with manufacturing interests in Cabarrus County.[93] No particular significance appears to attach to Augustine H. Shepperd's pro-bank vote. He was a representative from Stokes County, an agricultural region,[94] and later he moved to Salem and lived on an estate, "Good Spring."[95]

The North Carolina legislature was assuredly pro-Jackson and must have been anti-bank, too; at least it passed resolutions which wholeheartedly recommended Jackson's re-election in 1832: "Resolved, that this General Assembly, speaking as they believe, the feelings and opinions of a large majority of the people of this State, do approve of the administration of General Andrew Jackson, President of the United States . . . and believing the best interests of the union will be preserved and promoted by his re-election, do recommend him to the people of these United States."[96]

Of course, this did not paint the whole picture. There were leaders in state politics who were pro-bank men. William Gaston, president of the New Bern branch of the State Bank and

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[89] Nicholas Biddle to W. B. Shepard, February 28, 1834, pp. 60-61; "William was a brother of Jackson's implacable enemy, ex-Senator John Williams of Tennessee," Biddle Papers, quoted in *Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle,* note p. 548; *Biographical Directory,* p. 1707.

[90] W. P. Mangum to Bartlett Yancey, January 15, 1826, Wilson "The Congressional Career of Nathaniel Macon" and letters of Nathaniel Macon—annotated by Kemp P. Battle, *James Sprunt Historical Monographs,* no. 2, p. 109.

[91] *Biographical Directory,* p. 674.

[92] Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina* (Chicago, Lewis Publishing Co., 1941) I, 492-493. II, 658.

[93] *Biographical Directory,* p. 674. James Lewis Moore and Thomas Heron Wingate, *Cabarrus Reborn* (Kannapolis: Kannapolis Publishing Co., 1940), p. 42.

[94] *Sixth Census, 1840,* pp. 42-43.

[95] *Biographical Directory,* p. 1517.

[96] *North Carolina Laws,* 1831-1832, p. 199.

a member of the state legislature,[97] came out completely in favor of the renewal of the United States Bank in a letter to W. P. Mangum in which he agreed with him exactly on the bank question: "I *know* that nothing but this institution could have cured the . . . money disease in N°. C^a. and have a full conviction that if it be not upheld a state of things must ere long arise more extensively dangerous than what we have heretofore witnessed."[98] Still another political leader in the state at the time was William H. Hinton,, who was a Jackson man until the bank veto, which he thought was a "national calamity," and he refused to be an elector on the Jackson ticket."[99] A branch of the United States Bank was requested by two different towns in the state. Charlotte, in the mining district, put in a request in January, 1832,[100] and Oxford a little later in the year pleaded for one.[101] The pro-bank case, moreover, was promoted in anti-Jackson meetings during the 1832 campaign, so that there was evidently some adherence to that side in the state.[102]

Turning from those minor pro-bank expressions we can see remaining truly an overwhelming majority for Jackson as revealed by the presidential vote in November of 1832 which stood 24,862 for Jackson against only 4,563 for Clay. Penetrating further, we find that all the counties in the state except Guilford gave a majority of their votes for Jackson.[103] Not only did the Bank veto not alarm the majority of the people of agricultural North Carolina; it pleased them.

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[97] Memorial to Congress by Directors of Bank of Newbern, President, William Gaston, March 1, 1832, William Gaston MSS; Wheeler, *Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina and Eminent North Carolinians*, p. 137; T. Burgwyn to Robert Donaldson, December 7, 1831, William Gaston MSS.

[98] William Gaston to W. P. Mangum, January 23, 1832, William Gaston MSS (copy of letter).

[99] William R. Hinton to Col. William Polk, July 18, 1832, *Raleigh Register*, July 27, 1832. Quoted in *Niles' Register*, XLII (August 4, 1832), 406-407.

[100] *North Carolina Free Press*, January 31, 1832.

[101] *Raleigh Register*. Quoted in *North Carolina Free Press*, March 20, 1832.

[102] *Greensboro Patriot*, August 22, 1832; *Raleigh Register*, September 7, 1832. F. H. Thurman (?) to William Gaston, September 1, 1832, Gaston MSS.

[103] *North Carolina Free Press*, November 27, 1832.

LETTERS FROM HUGH LUCKEY, RALEIGH HATTER, 1843

Edited by D. L. Corbitt

On January 29, 1843, Hugh Luckey arrived in Raleigh to begin the business of manufacturing hats. He probably came from Norfolk, Virginia, opened his business on Fayetteville Street, and ordered a rather substantial bill of goods from his friend, William Reid, Market Square, Norfolk. He also inserted an advertisement in a local paper, visited some of the Presbyterian families in Raleigh, and joined the Temperance Society. Just how long Hugh Luckey remained in Raleigh is uncertain. He did not advertise any after February 6, 1844. Shortly after this date merchants from Petersburg, Virginia, began to insert advertisements in Raleigh papers in an effort to sell hats to the merchants of Raleigh. Francis Major, Webb and Justiss, Eckles and Bolt, and Carpenter, Anderson and Company were some of the persons and firms so advertising.

Hugh Luckey evidently made and sold men's hats and caps exclusively. In his advertisements were the pictures of men's hats. Mrs. Prendergast and Mrs. Ramsay carried advertisements of ladies' hats during the same period. Mrs. Prendergast characterized her business as a "Straw Bonnet Establishment." The advertisements of both carried pictures of ladies hats.

Not long after Luckey began his business, he began to purchase wool, skins, and furs. In order to expand his business, he purchased a wagon and team and visited the nearby county seats during the terms of court in order to buy wool, skins, and furs and to sell hats and caps. According to his letters he was by this means increasing his income considerably. There is nothing in his letters suggesting that he was thinking of selling his business. It is possible that his lack of success caused him to move to some other town. It seems that he was always behind in his remittances for hats, caps, and materials.

These letters are taken from miscellaneous papers from the Wake County courthouse and have been reproduced here as nearly as possible as they were written. They give some inter-

esting information about Raleigh and the people who lived in that town more than one hundred years ago.

Raleigh February 2nd 1843

Mr Wm Reid Esq

Der Sir i arrived safe in this place on sunday afternoon[1] and i am very much pleased with the place. i have succeeded in getting a small store with a back room to it on the main street Fayetteville St in the very centre of business for 125$ per year i called to see Mr McPheeters[2] Family they were all well I have been engaged with Mr Mc in visiting his friends I have been introduced to Mr. Lacy[3] the pastor of the church[4] here and the elders of the church and to a number of the merchants they all give me great encouragement and promise to afford me every facility in their power to ensure me success the place contains about three thousand inhabitants[5] and the country round this place is very good the land is good and the people in general wealthy there is no hatter nearer than Fayetteville 60 miles and no regular hat store in this place a great number send to Petersburgh to get hats for themselves i have been in a number of stores and the stock of hats at present is very small and a great deal of it unfashionable i think that a number of the merchants may be induced to give up the business of selling hats in fact a number of the merchants told me that hats were a drag that they could not keep them in order i do not believe that there is a hatters iron in Raleigh and i think that i will get plenty of hat to iron over i have made arrangements with Messrs McIlwane, Bromley & Co Commission Merchants Petersburgh to settle the freight for goods from City Point to Raleigh you will mark the Boxes if you please to their care the following is a summary of what I will want

12 yds Mole skin
12 W S Nap

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[1] January 29, 1843.

[2] Rev. William McPheeters, September 28, 1778-November 7, 1842, was a native of Virginia. He came to Raleigh in May, 1810, to teach in the Raleigh Academy. During his early residence he served as pastor for the city, holding community services in the State House. In 1816 he became pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, and served in that capacity until 1830. He taught school in Fayetteville, 1836-1837, and in 1840 was elected president of Davidson College, but declined the presidency due to poor health. Even though William McPheeters was dead when Hugh Luckey came to Raleigh, his family lived there. His son, Samuel Brown McPheeters, had graduated from the University of North Carolina and was studying law in Raleigh under Charles Manly. Late in August, 1843, he entered the Seminary at Princeton University. John S. Grasty, *Memoir of Reverend Samuel B. McPheeters, D.D.*, p. 26 ff.; *One Hundred Twenty-Fifth Anniversary First Presbyterian Church, Raleigh, North Carolina*, p. 3.

[3] Reverend Drury Lacy, 1802-1884, was a native of Virginia. He was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Raleigh, 1837-1855. He was president of Davidson College 1855-1860, and an army chaplain during the Civil War. After the war he returned to Raleigh where he taught school. Cornelia Rebekah Shaw, *Davidson College*, pp. 71, 81, 97, 111.

[4] The First Presbyterian Church. The congregation of this church was organized about 1807. Reverend William McPheeters became the first pastor in 1816 and the first building was dedicated February 7, 1818. The present building was erected in 1899. Moses N. Amis, *Historical Raleigh with Sketches of Wake County and its Important Towns*, p. 102.

[5] In 1840 there were 2,240 inhabitants in Raleigh.

1 Peice A G or Common Plush
6 yds Drab A G plush
3 Round Crown Blocks 6 ¼ 6 ½ 6 ¾
2 Cases White Russia Hats
12 White Russia Do For orders in the rough
12 Blk Russia 6 ¼ in the rough
24 Do Fashionable Do
200 Silk tips
2 ps lace
6 ps White Bending
6 " " Banding
5 lb White Glue
½ Ream of Brown Wrapping paper
2 Boxes fash Coney[6]
50 Best Northern Shells

I suppose you will think i am ordering very largely but i have prepared this estimate with Care And i do not suppose that i shall want any more of or some time if i should i hope that these will be paid for as it is my intention to remit you by mail every twenty dollars or more that i can get hold of i have orders for five fash Russia Hats now and i have now got every thing ready to go to work you will please fill the order as soon as possible and direct as above My wife is well and joins with me in wishing yourself personally and your family all the prosperity and hapiness that you so richly deserve Give my love to Mr Emerson Mr McPhail to the Journeyman and to all enquiring friends to Mr & Mrs Childs also

P S I have joined the temperance society[7] here they meet every Monday night and i am going to have King Alcohol tied here. the cause is flourishing the society numbers nearly six hundred

No more at present from yours till death

Hugh Luckey

Raleigh Feb 8th 1843

Mr Wm Reid

Dr sir i send you the enclosed and wish it was not more last saturday it rained the whole day and i did not take in any thing i forgot to mention to you that i wanted one dozen mens Cloth caps as i have had call for three or four as the third week in this month is Court

[6] Spelled Coney and Cony. The hyrax or daman, a small Old World mammal or pika of the western United States. It resembles the rabbit.

[7] Temperance societies began organizing in North Carolina about 1822. This was an expression of the general movement for humanitarian reform which was sweeping the nation at the time. Some of the societies combined features of libraries and library societies with the new vogue for moral reform. At first most of the North Carolina societies were afflicted with the American Temperance Society, and by 1830 there were thirty-one societies in the state. After some time North Carolina drifted away from the American Society and became affiliated with its own state society. **Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina A Social History*, p. 168 ff.**

Week there will be a large concourse of people from all the surrounding country as the court[8] is held but four times a year if you could let me have two Cases of low Crown Common Blk Russia hats i think that i could sell them i think that i will be able to let you have one hundred dollars per month easily as i do not pay out money for scarcely any thing i can very easily trade for what few things i want a gentleman here wishes me to get him three Cochineal Red Skivers[9] and will pay me a liberal advance on the cost of them if you can conveniently get them for me i shall be glad i continue to receive every encouragement from the people here and i expect that i shall do a very good business here this spring
Please send me two white Skivers
Give my love to all the Journeymen and to all enquiring friends accept for yourself personally and your family all the good feelings that gratitude can bestow No more at present from yours till death

Hugh Luckey

Raleigh Feby 22nd 1843

Mr, William Reid
Norfolk Va

Dear Sir.

Your letter of the fifteenth was received and my goods that you sent will be here to morrow the 23d i send you fifty dollars in this letter Please send the balance of the goods that i ordered as soon as possible I find that Cashimeur Hats sell well here i brought but eleven with me and have sold seven if you could send me six Cassimeres in the rough i would be very glad and if you could let me have one Case of pretty good Blk Russia Hats five inch deep i could sell them i think directly as i have had several calls for them i have not any work scarcely to do at present nor will not have much to do until i receive the plush I continue to receive every encouragement here and if i can supply the market the merchants will have to abandon the business of selling hats Several merchants have told me that they would not order any hats this spring as they did not think that they would be justified i am very sorry to hear that business continues so dull in Norfolk and hope that it may soon get better i may as well mention that if you have a good supply of glazed Caps you would please send me one dozen as they would sell readily for seventy five cents will you also please send me a temperance song book the latest edition such as is sung by your choir there is a pretty temperance paper pub-

[8] The court of pleas and quarter sessions was held in Raleigh, February 20, May 15, August 21, and November 20, 1843. This court was the administrative branch of the county government as well as a body exercising limited judicial authority.

[9] Skiver is a leather made from the outside portion, or grain side of split sheepskin, generally chrome-tanned, and used for hat linings, pocketbooks, and book bindings.

lished here the plain dealer[10] it contains sixteen pages and is published in quarto form i will send you the second number next week if any of the temperance people in Norfolk wishes to subscribe for it you can send their names to the editor Mr Stringer it is published twice a month the terms are one dollar a year Succeeding in this place is no longer an experiment i am bound to succeed i had struck off one hundred hand bills similar to my advertisement[11] and have sent them them through all the surrounding country the people here have some sense they say that a hatter was long wanted in Raleigh and they will support me i hear that you went to farmville to see Lockwood i hope that you succeeded in your mission when i get started a little better i hope that i shall be able to send you money faster every exertions on my part shall be used to succeed Please give my love to your lady and family And may every happiness attend you in this life and the next is the fervent prayer of your sincere freind

Hugh Luckey

P S Please give my best wishes to Mr. McPhail to all the Journeyman and to all enquiring friends HL

Raleigh March 20th 1843

Mr William Reid

Dear freind i take the present opportunity to address you a few lines Owing to a difficulty between the Norfolk Steam Boats and the City Point Rail Road i did not receive my goods until the thirteenth of this month the goods were detained at City Point unknown to the merchants and they had to pay storage and drayage for them amounting to one dollar and a half they inform me that the best way to send goods in future will be to send them by the Baltimore Boat that touches

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[10] An advertising in a local paper at the beginning of the publication of the *Plain Dealer* stated that the *Temperance Union* was to be discontinued, and that the North Carolina State Temperance Society had requested William Stringer to begin immediately the publication of a temperance organ. It also stated that the *Plain Dealer* was privately owned, but that the subscriber had undertaken it "with the hope and reasonable expectation that the friends of Temperance throughout the state will lend their aid, in carrying out the benevolent views of the State Temperance Society in the promulgation of Washingtonian principles. . . ." The *Plain Dealer* was to be published twice a month at $1.00 per year. *The Raleigh Star and North Carolina Gazette*, Feb. 8, 1843.

[11] RALEIGH HAT MANUFACTORY. Hugh Luckey, Hat and Cap Manufacturer, respectfully informs the citizens of Raleigh, and the neighbors generally, that he has established himself permanently in this city, for the purpose of carrying on the above business in all its branches. Hats will be kept constantly on hand, or manufactured to order, of every quality, price and fashion, such as Beaver, Russian, Silk, Cassimer, &c., Panama, Leghorn and Straw hats cleaned and pressed, to look equal to new. Customers' hats pressed *gratis*.

H. L. has taken the Shop on Fayetteville Street, next door to Mr. White's Shoe Store, recently occupied by Dr. Jeffreys, where he invites the public to call before purchasing elsewhere. *He is determined not to be undersold*, and is perfectly willing that his Hats should be compared with those from the Northern Factories, either as to their substantial quality, or fashionable shape. All that he asks is a fair trial. *The Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, Feb. 3, 1843.

Dr. Jeffreys mentioned in this advertisement was Dr. Jacob Hunter Jeffreys, October 1, 1810-April 10, 1845. He attended the University of North Carolina and graduated in medicine from the University of Pennsylvania. He was a member of the Raleigh Guards and the City Council. *The North Carolina Standard*, April 16, 1845; *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina*, p. 317; and genealogical information and diploma in the possession of Mrs. Mary Jeffreys Rogers, Neuse, North Carolina.

at Norfolk it will be cheaper and more expeditious goods sent that way will reach here in four or five days after being shipped i will send you by thursday fifty dollars and would have been able to have sent you before but for the circumstance i have alluded to and the weather being so very stormy and disagreeable that some bespoke hats that i have got the persons have not called for them i received one low crown Coney hat in the Box of White Russias at 33$ i wish you to send me as soon as possible 6 fash Blk Russias in the rough and five or six low crown white Russia Do as i have two or three Bespoke that they wish me to have made Please send me if you have them on hand two dozen very common Palmetto Hats

Mr John Wilson is going to Norfolk about the 8th of April and i will send you all the money that i can raise by that time the Superior Court[12] sets here the 3rd of April if you can send what i ordered so that i can get them by that time i shall be glad as i will then have a full assortment do not think that i have forgotten you i send you this by Mr Downes who has kindly consented to give it to you for me he is a great freind of temperance and has delivered a very able lecture in the town hall this evening he has some beautiful engravings that he wishes to dispose of any service that you can render to him will be very warmly appreciated by yours

Give my love to your family and may every blessing attend you is the fervent prayer of yours till death

Hugh Luckey

Freind McPhail i was very sorry to hear from you that times were so dull in Norfolk i hope that when this reaches you that they will be better we have had i think the most disagreeable weather in this country for this season of the year that i have ever experienced i was glad to hear from you that Chas Johnson and his Lady were added to the church i hope that it is but the commencement of a great revival in the church If you will not think it to much trouble you will please Call on Mr. Cassels and ask him if he will be so good as to forward me a Certificate by mail you informed me that you had taken the Benefit of the Bankrupt Law i hope that an opening may soon present itself to you that you may be enabled to raise yourself once more to that position in society that you are entitled to any service that i can perform for you or any information that i can give you will be cheerfully done Give my best wishes to all the Journeymen to Mr Childs and his wife and accept them for yourself and family No more at present from yours to command

Hugh Luckey

[12] Wake County was in the Third Circuit which was composed of Edgecombe, Franklin, Halifax, Johnston, Martin, Nash, Northampton, Pitt, Wake, and Warren counties. Court was held twice a year in the several counties in the district. D. L. Corbitt, "Judicial Districts of North Carolina, 1746-1934," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XII (Jan., 1935), 55.

Raleigh March 27th 1843

Mr William Reid
Norfolk Va

Dear sir i will certainly send you as much as i can raise by Mr John Wilson who leaves here on the tenth of April the weather here has been very bad continued rain and snow so that trade has been remarkably dull in consequence as i stated in the letter i sent you by Mr Downes owing to a difficulty between the City Point Rail Road and the Norfolk Steamboats i did not receive the goods that you send me until the thirteenth of march and then i had to pay storage and drayage at City Point Messieures Mc and Co informs me that the Boat that stops at Norfolk from Baltimore will be the Best as goods shipped in that way will reach here without any detention and cheaper than in the other method you will please in future send them in that way Please inform me if there is any news in Norfolk Remember me to all the Tours to McPhail and to all inquiring friends Accept for yourself and family my warmest regard and that you may prosper in this world beyond your calculations and meet with that reward in the next that remains for the people of god is the earnest wish of yours till death

Hugh Luckey

Mr Charles Dewey[13] Cashier of the State Bank informed me this morning that this is the best way to send money as any of the Banks in Norfolk will cash it directly i earnesly hope that no accident will occur in future to delay any remmitance i may make to you i anticipate when the weather breaks up a little i may be able to do more business the Superior Court is held here on the third of April i expect to do some business then i sent you a paper with my advertisement in and i will send you papers occasionally when there is any thing interesting in them tell McPhail to please attend to that business for me that i requested him

Hugh Luckey

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[13] "Death of Charles Dewey, Esq. With profound sorrow we are called upon to announce the death of this memorable and beloved citizen which took place at his residence in this city on yesterday afternoon at 5:30 o'clock. The infirmities of age have warned us for some time that his earthly pilgrimage was drawing to a close, but we were not without hope that his valuable life would be spared yet awhile for the further usefulness so characteristic of his past career.

"Mr. Dewey was a native of Newbern, N. C., where has was born on the 28th of November, 1798. He commenced services in the Newbern branch of the old State Bank of North Carolina in 1820. In 1826 he was made cashier of the branch in Fayetteville from whence he was transferred to the northern branch in this city. He has been in the banking business continuously since that date. The name of Charles Dewey is a synonym throughout the State of North Carolina, and the country at large, for honesty and efficiency. No man stood higher in the esteem of his fellow citizens. As a father, husband, and friend he was affectionate, loving and true. As a Christian, he was ever consistent and devoted. With Mr. Dewey has passed away another of our gentlemen of the older school. 'One by one' they are gathered in, leaving the impress only of their many golden qualities to posterity. He leaves a widow and four children." Editorial in *Evening Visitor*, (Raleigh, N. C.) October 21, 1880.

Raleigh April 14th 1843

Mr William Reid
Norfolk Va

Dear sir i send you this draft and would have sent it some days ago but expected that you would write me in acknowledging the receipt of a draft i sent you on the twenty seventh of March of sixty dollars in my letter of that date i wrote you for 6 White Russias in the rough and six fashionables Russias you will please send me also 6 fash Cassimeres in the rough and six low Crown Blk Russias also if you have them 6 fine Nutrias in the rough
Please send me 4 Peices fine Blk Banding
6 Do — Binding
5 peices Common 6 Peices — Common Binding
Banding 3 Blk Skivers 1 White Do
1 Piece of Lace

Freind Reid there is a Bark Shop[14] here in Raleigh with every convenience Colouring Kettle Blocks and so forth it belongs to a hatter here he is liked very much in town and can make a splendid Coon hat the people here go in for those kinds of hats i have employed him to make them as i can sell them very readily for five dollars in fact any thing that has my name in the top i can sell for Better i have about twenty of the Coon hats made and i intend to colour them as soon as possible to enable me to do this i wish you to send me ten or twelve lb of extract and five or six lb of verdigris the copperas i can get here as cheap as you have it there will you please give me some information about colouring cleaning and stiffening i should like to have a supply of these kind of hats at all events before May Court as no doubt there will be a number of people here then as there is two negroes[15] going to be hung on the nineteenth of May in reference to a stock of summer hats i do not think that i shall want any or very few, if you think it necessary you may send me a few but the lighter the stock the Better as th[ere] is an immense competition in that line every person in Business sells them and they sell them very low i do not think i shall make any thing by them no how I think that i shall be able to send you one hundred dollars by the Nineteenth of may if not before i think that i bid fair to do a good business here in the fall i hope that by the end of this year i may be enabled to square up accounts with you as i have not yet had a fair chance owing to the difficulties that i have

[14] Tanning shop.

[15] "Two Negroes, George and Harriet [Durham], convicted of the crime of murder at the last term [February 7, 1843] of our Superior Court and were executed on Friday the 19 instant. There was a very large crowd in attendance, as we learn. The Negroes were very patient and acknowledged the justice of their sentence. The cause of the crime was rum. There have been four brought to an untimely end by the destructive use of intemperance." *The Standard*, Raleigh, May 24, 1843; Minutes of Wake County Superior Court, Spring Term, 1843.

before mentioned Please fill this order as soon as you can and send me some Bow Strings Remember me to your lady and family to McPhail and all the journeyman, and to all enquiring freinds accept for yourself personally my sincere wishes for your prosperity and happiness No more at present from yours

till death

Hugh Luckey

N B Please give me a receipt for the two drafts

Raleigh May 25th 1843

Mr Wm Reid
Norfolk
Va

Dear Freind i am sorry that i have not been able to send you a draft previous to this date times here at present are very dull Mr Alfreind the only person who keeps an assortment of hats is selling off at and under cost as he intends to close business and leave Raleigh in August next so that i hope that i shall have a better opportunity in the fall to do business and the fashion changing has also been against me some the fashion this spring i believe commenced with ¼ Taper it has now i believe got to be straight i believe that i will have to get a set with a spinner and Brim Broad the latest that I have seen and i think the handsomest shape is this 6¾ across the side of the tip and 7 inches the other way 6⅞ in the same proportion and so on for the balance as that proportion makes it appear exactly straight without the least taper respecting manufacturing i am determined to have nothing to do with as i do not understand it and it is trouble without any advantage respecting summer hats as the season is getting rather advanced i do not know that i would be justified in ordering any more probably if i had a few of the kind that you sent me at four dollars per dozen say about two or three dozen if i had them soon i might sell them say in about two or three weeks at farthest from this date as i have failed in performing my promises i will not make you any more but as soon as i possibly can i will forward you more money i see no reason as yet for being discouraged with my blocks i will have to get a few hats to finish on them say 6 Cassimere 5 fash Russ and 6 Fine Nutria please send me also 6 Blk Russia 6¼ Deep i have some mole and S N Silk that i have not worked up yet i have a good stock of hats on hand yet as my business has been altogether cash and no credit at all there is no difficulty i believe in getting goods i recd the goods that you sent me the latter part of april & the goods that you sent me on the 19th of May this day i intend to finish of but a few of the hats that you sent me some of them will perhaps do for large sizes of the present fashion except when ordered i still expect that i will do a good business this fall and winter and in

a short period do a good part of the business of this place every exertion shall be made on my part to do it economy prudence and industry shall not be wanting the bill that i owe you is large but i still think that i will be able to square up by the first of January 1844 my business may not perhaps be very good until towards the fall but i hope that with industry and prudence i shall be able to clear expenses if so i shall then commence the fall campaign without serious opposition Give my love to the Tours and to McPhail and may god in his infinite mercy crown you with temporal blessings here and eternal blessings in the world to come Give my love to your family to your inestimable lady and to all inquiring friends i remain yours

Hugh Luckey

N B No increase yet in the family
Respecting Travis Flannegan he does not live in Raleigh he was here March Court and is a worthless fellow he was fined for selling rum without license and for gambling if there is any chanse of getting it i will get it he lives 40 miles from Raleigh

H L

Raleigh June 16th 1843

Mr. William Reid
Norfolk Va

Dear Freind i acknowledge the receipt of the bill of the 12th and was sorry that the Blocks were not mentioned trade here at present is very dull for causes that i have previous mentioned and not having fashionable blocks makes it much more so as the stores have fashionable hats my dear freind please forward the blocks immediately or as soon as possible as i have five or six orders for hats on them i lose sales by not having them the shape that i wrote to you about was this you know the height for 8 ¾ size 6 ¾ across the tip and 7 inch the length of the tip 6 ⅞ size 6 ⅞ across the tip and 7 ⅛ length and the other sizes in proportion dear sir you cannot imagine what a loss i am at for want of them my dear friend i am very sorry that trade is so dull in Norfolk i will try and send you fifty dollars next week and i am very sorry that i cannot do more but i must try and do as well as i can we live in trying times i hope that they will not last much longer Give my love to McPhail to all the Jones and to all enquiring freinds

Accept for yourself personally and your family my heartfelt wishes and prayers for your success in life

I remain yours with respect

Hugh Luckey

Mr William Reid
Norfolk Va

Raleigh August 23 1843

Dear Sir i suppose you must have thought that i had forgot you business this summer has been very dull but i have a very good prospect this fall and winter Mr Henry Raymond fur merchant of New York informed me on the twenty ninth of July by letter that he would buy all the fur skins that i could procure and pay me the highest New York price for them in Raleigh as i can collect them i expect to collect a large quantity this season as i have made arrangements with several tobbacco and ten pedlars to purchase all they can get for me in the lower counties and they tell me that they would prefer wool hats for the skins they collect to cash i can sell almost any quantity of wool hats that i can have made for $1.25 to $1.50 and by the dozen $12 i am now commencing to have them made i will inform you what they cost me i have purchased about 400 Lamb Skins this summer and they will cut about 400 lb of wool make about 800 Wool hats they have cost me in trade from 15 to 25 lbs per skin after the wool is of i can sell the pelt for 8 lbs i have engaged three wool hatters at $15 per month to turn me of 54 Wool hats per week you can form an estimate of what the first cost will be of the hats one of the hatters has the shop and tools have estimated the cost of the hats at 40 lbs per hat the hands are to find themselves for the above amount that they receive i have got a horse and wagon and intend to attend the courts for the purpose of selling hats and procuring furs i intend to commence about the middle of next month and from that time i will send you large remittances as large as possible i am not in the least discouraged i have got through this summer and Mr Alfreind the person that kept hats is nearly sold out he leaves Raleigh the middle of next month My dear Sir i am ashamed but i could do no better what i owe you as i said before i feel confident that i will be able to settle the whole by the 1st of January the New York Prices for Mink is 20 to 55 average 37½

Do Raccoon 12 to 26 average—19
Otter $20 to $500 - - 3.

I give for mink 6 to 10 lbs Raccoon Do others $1.00 to 2.00
other furs at any price i chose to give in trade
6 Fine Blk Russ fash 3 Blk Skivers 1 White do
6 do - 6¼ Deep 12 pieces of stringing
6 White Brush 6¼ deep if you have them 1 Case Coney 6 deep
50 Shells fine 50 do Northern 1 piece S N Plush
1 piece Common plush 200 Silk tips with my name
6 Fine Nutria 6 Fine Cassimere 1 doz mens Cloth Caps
1 lb of white glue
6 pieces Fine Banding
6 do Finding

6 do Common Banding
6 - - Binding
1 doz do Glazed tops
2 doz glazed Caps
2 doz Hair seal Caps
2 doz Sellett Caps

My reason for ordering so much is this in Peddling i will sell hats and dispose of a great number and of course you see that the stock must be somewhat larger i feel confident of being able to clear two thousand dollars this season clear of all expenses i have not made an over estimate will you please inform me how cheap the coarse coney and russia hats can be made in the rough by you the freight makes them come clear in the box finished
My wife arrived safe this day if you can fill this order very soon i shall be extremely obliged to you and the remittances will begin to come fast after i get started fairly Give my love to your family to the journeyman and accept for yourself my heartfelt wishes for your prosperity here and hereafter i remain yours

Hugh Luckey

Mr. William Reid Raleigh Sept 26th 1843
Norfolk Va Dear sir i send you the enclosed will send you more often and larger next month trade at present is dull farmers very busy saving fodder but next week is Court week when business will be good from that time i have sent a waggon to Johnson Court this week and intend keeping a waggon attending Courts continually from this time henceforth so that i shall be more flush of money hereafter than i have been and of course i shall be enabled to sell a large quantity of goods i must beg of you to indulge me with a small assortment of Caps say 6 or 8 doz assorted 2 doz Common Muskrat Caps 2 doz assorted finer say seal but not very fine also ½ doz Nutria ½ fine Cassimeres ½ doz Blk Russia 6 ¼ deep 2 doz mens Cloth Caps assorted 1 doz Boys do 2 doz Mens Hair Seal 2 doz Boys do 1 doz Seallett Common Mens 1 doz Boys do these will comprise a good assortment i would not order so large But the season has now arrived when i will do a good business if you could send me ten lbs of extract i would be obliged to you for i color a good many articles for people here and extract makes a more permanent color than logwood all that can be done i will do and send you money as fast as i possibly can i forgot to mention please send me ½ doz fash Blk Russ and if you have coarse Blk Russ 1 doz and do White 1 doz 2 doz Low Crown Coney i shall be enabled to run of some hats of that kind this fall and winter

Give my love to the Jones and to your family and may all the blessings and comforts of this life attend you and happiness in the next is the fervent prayers of yours with L. P. Fidelity. Hugh Luckey

Raleigh 1 Dec 1843

Mr Wm Reid

Norfolk Va Dr. Freind i have been waiting for some time to receive the goods that you sent me on the eighteenth October i have wrote about them and have not heard any thing of them yet when i hear from them i will let you know it has been a very great loss to me not receiving them before this time i cannot tell how much i have been devoting my attention to wool hats not having many fur hats my assortment being so much Broken i have been doing the best i can i have been procuring fur skins and have considerable number at present but nothing to what i will have as the fur season is just commencing i have not got many rabbit skins as yet but no dowbt i shall have a great many this winter and spring in relation to the fur Business i am afraid that one cent a skin is not quite enough for the rabbit as to get them i will have to give that and the other furs if you will give the New York market price you shall have them as many as i can procure and that will be a great number Mr Wilson will be in Norfolk in a week or two and can give you any information that you may want in reference to me you must not get uneasy for i assure you that no exertions will be spared on my part and if i had recd the goods i would have been enabled to have sent you money long ago but waiting from day to day and hearing nothing from them but my dear Sir if I am not much mistaken you shall hear from me on the fifteenth and i shall make you a larger remittance and from this time if no accident happens me my arrangements for procuring fur skins are about as complete as you can form any idea of i have two wagons running one of which i run myself and i just arrived from Smithfield this day my hands as i have told you previously turn me of 6 doz wool hats per week and i sell them of about as fast as they make them at $100 to 125 about five hats the sale is not so rapid but i expect to commence trading abroad with them in a week or two as i have got a good assort[men]t of silk hats on hand i am very sorry that busines[s] is so dull in Norfolk extremely so and i shall do my best for you and send you all i can you shall hear from me as often as possible i have everything fixed here as well as i can and business in Raleigh is about as dull as it well can be but i do not depend upon Raleigh at all i do a better Business out of Raleigh than i do in it i have wrote for Jas Fox to come here and i expect him daily to take charge here while i am away so that i can travel this winter through the lower part of the state and in the adjoining counties i should like for you to fill the Balance of the order as

soon as possible but i have been so dilatory perhaps it would be best for you not if you do not feel perfectly secure do not let whatever come i shall always look upon you as my best friend and if it is ever in my power to assist you in any manner i shall cheerfully do it Mr Wilson will tell you the kind of Business i am doing No more at present from yours in Love Purity and Fidelity

Hugh Luckey

PAPERS FROM THE FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, RALEIGH, DECEMBER 5, 1947

INTRODUCTION

By Mrs. Ernest A. Branch

The forty-seventh annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association was held at the Sir Walter Hotel in Raleigh, Friday, December 5, 1947.[1] Meeting concurrently with the Association were the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society, the North Carolina State Art Society, the Archaeological Society of North Carolina, the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Symphony Society, and the North Carolina Society of County Historians. At the morning session of the Literary and Historical Association Mr. Richard Walser of State College read a paper, "North Carolina Short Stories"; Mr. Malcolm Fowler of Lillington, gave a talk, "The Valley of the Scots"; Dr. Alice B. Keith of Meredith College read a paper entitled "John Gray and Thomas Blount, Merchants, 1783-1800"; and Dr. Lodwick Hartley of State College presented a review of North Carolina books and authors of the year.

At the evening session, with Governor R. Gregg Cherry presiding, Mr. Ralph B. Coit of Greensboro, governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina, announced that the annual Mayflower Cup award had been made to Dr. Robert E. Coker of Chapel Hill for his book, *This Great and Wide Sea.* Dr. Carlyle Campbell of Raleigh, president of the Association, then welcomed the members and guests, and the session was brought to a close by an address by Dr. Julian P. Boyd of Princeton University, "Thomas Jefferson and the Police State."

The papers of Mr. Walser, Dr. Keith, Dr. Hartley, and Dr. Boyd are printed below. The first three of these relate specifically to North Carolina and the fourth, while having no direct connection with the state, is nevertheless published since it was the principal address of the meeting.

[1] For further information regarding this session, see the *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXV, (January, 1948,) pp. 136-139.

JOHN GRAY AND THOMAS BLOUNT, MERCHANTS, 1783-1800

By Alice Barnwell Keith

One of the most neglected periods of North Carolina history is that from 1783 to 1812. Aside from a very few political studies and some county histories, the field is almost barren. This neglect is particularly striking in the writings on trade and shipping. Few, if any, groups were in a position to exert a greater influence on their time than were the merchants. They had an important part in setting the standards of living and in channeling the course of political affairs; and they had the financial means to shape cultural patterns of the time. The merchant's account book is indeed the Domesday Book among the sources of history. Few merchants had a larger share in determining the course of North Carolina from 1783 to 1800 than did John Gray and Thomas Blount, Merchants, and fortunately they have left thousands of letters and papers of their time to tell the story of their experiences.

Thomas Blount, who according to family history was descended from Sir Walter Blount of Sodington, Worcestershire, England, is believed to have settled in North Carolina on the Pamlico River about 1673. Jacob Blount, the grandson of Thomas "through his sons gave its name its prestige in the southern states. . . ."[1] Jacob lived in Blount Hall on Little Contentnea Creek, where he became a successful business man, owning thousands of acres of land and numbers of slaves.[2] He also promoted his own sons' interest in the mercantile business when, in August, 1761, he together with Richard Blackledge bought a store on the forks of the Tar River, where later was to be founded the present town of Washington, North Carolina.[3]

John Gray Blount, a son of Jacob, took over the management of this business after the Revolution. He with his brothers, William and Thomas, organized the firm, John Gray and Thomas

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[1] Zella Armstrong, *Notable Southern Families* (Chattanooga, 1918), I, 34.
[2] Legislative Papers (State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh), Tax Lists, 1786-1790.
[3] Jacob Blount's Daybook, John Gray Blount Papers (State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh).

Blount, Merchants, in 1783.[4] The association of the brothers was very successful. Their mutual respect and warm affection for each other enabled them to act upon the suggestions of any one of them with unusual harmony.

William was the best known of the three. He held many public offices, both local and national. He served as paymaster during the Revolution; was a delegate to the Congress under the Articles of Confederation; and was a member of the state convention of North Carolina, 1789. He was governor of the Territory South of the River Ohio, and was elected United States Senator from the newly formed state of Tennessee. Thomas also held local offices and served as a member of Congress for almost eleven years between 1793 and the year of his death, 1812. John Gray was a strong political influence in North Carolina and had many friends who valued his opinion in national government, but he did not seek high office. He was the moving spirit behind the Blounts' business, which was soon to become one of the most important in North Carolina.[5]

William and Thomas were able to make profitable contacts and to transact much business for the firm while attending their public offices. William's fertile brain was particularly alert for new ideas and broader opportunities for their organization until his removal to Tennessee, after which he was less interested in the North Carolina business.

John Gray and Thomas Blount, Merchants, conducted a wide scope of business. They carried on a local trade, both wholesale and retail in character; a coastal trade extending from Rhode Island to Georgia; and a foreign trade including the West Indies and Europe. On the side they developed a number of small industries, including sawmills, grist mills, a nailory, a tannery, fisheries, cotton gins, tar distilleries, and warehouse storage.[6]

Washington, North Carolina, the home of John Gray Blount, was the center of the business. The main store was located there and was under his personal direction. Another large store

[4] William Blount to John Gray Blount, Piney Grove, August 21, 1783. John Gray Blount Papers. Piney Grove, near Greenville, North Carolina, was the home of William Blount.

[5] Alice B. Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers in Business and Politics, 1783-1812," *Research in Progress, The University of North Carolina Record* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, October, 1940), pp. 116-117; Alice B. Keith, ed., "Letters from James Cole Mountflorence to members of the Blount Family . . . ," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XIV (1937), 251-253.

[6] Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers."

at Tarborough was under the management of Thomas Blount.[7] The Blounts were also associated with John Wallace in running a store and tavern on Shell Island, near Ocracoke Inlet. In 1793 they improved this structure, which they called Shell Castle.[8] The inlet is described as "the only channel to the ocean, except for very small vessels, from the entire region of Albemarle, Currituck, and Pamlico sounds and their tributaries."[9] Since this was true, most of the shipping in this part of the state passed near Shell Castle, the Blount and Wallace supply store.

Washington was a busy little port in the 1780's. According to William Attmore, a visitor from Philadelphia in 1787, there were "sometimes lying there 20 sail of sea Vessels," and we may be sure that there was an equal or greater number of flats which were used on the inland waters. These flats, which would carry from sixty to seventy hogsheads of tobacco, were the chief means of transporting local produce to the market or ports as well as to convey the imported goods to the big purchasers.[10] John Gray and Thomas each had a large and a small flat. In 1789 John Gray gave as his reason for lateness in attending the house of commons, the illness of slaves and the fact that he had two vessels of his own on hand and two foreign vessels which he was trying to get off.[11]

In the fall of 1783 the firm made plans to extend their trade to northern ports. Thomas Blount was sent to New York and to Philadelphia to see what could be done. A cargo of goods was sent to him in Philadelphia for his disposal. He concluded that this city would serve them better than New York, and he also made three other discoveries: credit was very difficult to obtain in Philadelphia; a vessel timed to arrive with other vessels from North Carolina would suffer from a glutted market and resulting low prices; and poorly prepared products were likely to fail to pass the Philadelphia inspectors. He opened three hogsheads of tobacco out of his cargo and only one was accepted

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[7] Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers."

[8] Jonathan Price, "A Description of Occacock Inlet Adorned with a Map by Jonathan Price," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, III (1926), 624-628. John Wallace was often called "Governor."

[9] Charles Christopher Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789* (New Haven, 1936), p. 4.

[10] Lida Tunstall Rodman, ed., "The Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, xvii, 28.

[11] Legislative Papers, Dec. 11-22, 1789.

by these strict officers. The net profit of the cargo was less than half the price of goods purchased for the return voyage, but this was partly due to his success in obtaining some credit, which had been applied to purchases for his firm. Contacts had been made and valuable information obtained.[12] Before the end of the 1780's John Gray and Thomas Blount, Merchants, were carrying on an extensive coastwise trade. They sent vessels of their own or in combination with other shippers and merchants to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, and Charleston.[13]

The coastal trade aided them in supplying their own stores and in serving many other North Carolina merchants for whom they imported goods as well as marketing their surpluses. Benjamin Atkinson of Bensborough in Pitt County; Amos Johnson of Town Creek, southeast of Tarborough; and Benjamin Coakley of Princeton, south of the Meherrin River in Hertford County, were three of their most important customers. Others included John G. L. Schenck and Edward Hall of Tarborough; Spier and Stewart of Spiers Landing; Will Polk of Raleigh; and Grover Wright of Greenville.[14]

Extant correspondence for 1794 indicates the time and energy required to serve an active customer like Benjamin Atkinson of Bensborough. In January Atkinson asked the Blounts for a vessel to carry naval stores to Norfolk; in February he was urging them to get his invoice on their vessel for Liverpool; in April he wanted a shipment made to Baltimore; in May he assured them he wanted one half or at least one-third of the space in the Blount's new vessel (the *Tuley*) and assured them that he would give freight to a vessel to Holland if they thought the imminence of war between England and the United States made this desirable; in June he was sending naval stores and pork to go aboard the *Russell* and requesting that a cargo be directed to a merchant in Norfolk; in August over a thousand barrels of naval stores were sent to go on the *Tuley,* which was loading for

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[12] Thomas Blount [to John Gray Blount], Philadelphia, Sept. 9, 23, 1783, John Gray Blount Papers.

[13] Bath Customs Report, July 26, 1784, to October 17, 1789 (State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh); John Williamson to John Gray Blount, April 6, 1793, John Gray Blount Papers. John Williamson was a brother of Dr. Hugh Williamson of North Carolina. James Barr to John Gray Blount, Ocracoke Bar, June 26, 1787, John Gray Blount Papers.

[14] Alice B. Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers in Business and Politics, 1783-1812" (unpublished doctoral dissertation for the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1940), pp. 134-139. Copy in University of North Carolina library.

Europe; by September he and Amos Johnson were preparing a shipment for the West Indies and another for Philadelphia; in November he and Johnson were sending more products to be forwarded to Norfolk; and in December he wanted the first vessel available to send naval stores to Norfolk.[15]

The Blounts not only had the business of arranging for the shipments, but Atkinson often asked that they cooper his naval stores, see to the loading and unloading of his flats, and store products left over from loading a vessel or those which were being collected for a shipment.

Will Polk of Raleigh asked the Blounts to send him "30 gallons of Old Jamaica rum 50 W of coffee 50 W of loaf sugar 2 W of best Imperial Tea ½ doz quart Decanters best double Flint 2 doz ½ pint tumblers 2 doz glasses"; and he preferred that the glasses be of cut glass.[16]

In March, 1795, Benjamin Coakley gave them an order for "Three Hundred Bushels Coarse Salt, Turks Island or Coarser[,] one Hh^{d}. good Molasses if it does not exceed Six Shillings Paper Money P Gallon, twenty thousand eight penny Nails, Sixteen thousand Ten penny Nails, four or five peices ¾ or ⅞ Linen from one Shilling to Eighteen pence Sterling, two Bolts Oznaburg [osnaburg, a cloth imported from Europe and used for making clothing for slaves], one Box pipes, two Dozen Weeding Hoes, two Rheams paper one of midling fine and one of Coarse, three packs of Common Pins, three [or] four Dozen Pocket Hand-Kerchiefs, one Keg Powder with Shot in proportion. . . ." He expected to pay for these articles with corn and tobacco and left the selection and prices in general to the Blounts.[17]

One shipment which the Blounts received from Philadelphia included one ton of iron, one ton of nail rod, one half ton of spike iron, 500 W of steel, a chair and harness, twenty barrels of bread, water colors, India ink and rubber, and proportional dividers.[18]

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[15] Ben[jamin] Atkinson to John G[ray] Blount, Bensborough, Jan. 4; Ben[jamin] Atkinson to Benjamin Blackledge [Bensborough], Jan. 5; Ben [jamin] Atkinson to John G[ray] Blount, Bensborough, Feb. 16; April 7, 10; May 28; June 2, 9, 11, 20, 26; July 24; Aug. 14; Sept. 2; Oct. 1; Nov. 16; and Dec. 11, 1794.

[16] Will Polk to John Gray Blount, Raleigh, Sept. 14, 1799, John Gray Blount Papers.

[17] Ben[jamin] Coakley to John Gray Blount, Princeton, March 17, 1795, John Gray Blount Papers.

[18] Tho[mas] Blount to John G[ray] Blount, Philadelphia, April 10, 1795, John Gray Blount Papers.

The increase of trade made it desirable for John Gray and Thomas Blount, Merchants, to become shippers also. They purchased or had built numerous flats, sloops, and schooners, and several brigantines.[19] Some of these they owned outright while others were held in joint ownership. The smaller sloops and schooners were employed in local and West Indian trade, while the larger brigs, particularly the *Russell,* the *Ann,* the *Tuley,* and perhaps the *Grampus,* were used in West Indian and European shipping. The *Tuley* was named for Henry Tuley of North Carolina, who built a number of vessels for the Blounts.[20]

The shipping business was soon under way. In March, 1792, a Baltimore firm wanted to charter one of the Blounts' brigs to send to Ireland;[21] Oliver Smith of Greenville wanted to charter a vessel for Norfolk;[22] Grover Wright was sending turpentine and pitch to be coopered to send on the Blounts' vessel to New York;[23] an acknoweldgement of goods sent on a sloop to Boston was made;[24] the *Russell* was in Europe;[25] and James Webster, a captain often employed by the Blounts, reported a difficult but successful passage over the Swash and the bar.[26]

The sandbars made it extremely difficult for seagoing vessels to enter or to go out through Ocracoke inlet; and once over few of those entering dared risk passage over the swash, which lay between them and many of the inland towns, including Washington. Vessels were often grounded here for two or more days, delays which were both expensive and dangerous.[27]

To aid the vessels to make the passage over the sandbars, the Blounts and Wallace supplied several small vessels called *lighters* which took part of the load from the larger vessels, thus lightening it, after which the vessels could pass with greater ease. Shell Castle on Shell Island served as a base for these lighters.[28]

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[19] Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers" (dissertation), chap. IV, part I. See Crittenden, *Commerce of North Carolina,* for descriptions of different types of vessels.
[20] Henry Tuley to John Gray Blount, Pongo (North Carolina), Dec. 1793; March 23, 1796, John Gray Blount Papers.
[21] J. McKim, Jun. to John Gray Blount, Baltimore, March 4, 1792, John Gray Blount Papers.
[22] Oliver Smith to John G[ray] Blount, [Greenville], March 14, 1792, John Gray Blount Papers.
[23] G[rover] Wright to John G[ray] Blount, Greenville, March 14, 1792, John Gray Blount Papers.
[24] Thomas Russell to Hugh Williamson, Boston, March 15, 1792, John Gray Blount Papers.
[25] John Smith to John Gray Blount, Cadiz, March 15, 1792, John Gray Blount Papers.
[26] James Webster to J[ohn] G[ray] Blount, March 31, 1792, John Gray Blount Papers.
[27] William Gorham to John G[ray] Blount, Brig Tuley, May 16, [1795], John Gray Blount Papers.

This business served to augment the firm's income as well as to aid the public in navigation.

The West Indian trade was fully as important as was the coastal and extended to the Danish, Dutch, French, and British islands. The French had seven ports open to foreign trade as early as 1784, and in 1790 Fulwar Skipwith, a friend of the Blounts, was appointed to the consulate of the French Windward islands.[29] The Dutch and the Danish islands also had free ports and the Blounts carried on trade with them. The British had passed a series of orders in 1783 which were designed to exclude the American vessels from the British islands. These restrictions were largely ineffectual for two reasons: the determination of the American shippers to trade with the islanders and the eagerness of the West Indians to aid them, which resulted in large-scale smuggling; and the permission given by the British government for the governors or the commanding officers to open the ports in times of emergencies. The emergencies occurred so frequently that there was hardly a time from the late 1700's until 1800 when some English ports were not open to American shippers.[30] Thus both illegal and legal trading were carried on. The Blounts apparently engaged in both. One of their Jamaican correspondents inquired in March, 1787, why they didn't get a European captain, as an American was so easily distinguished that it was really "running a risk."[31] In April following, another correspondent from a Jamaican port wrote,

> Be assured as your Brother Jacob Blount is on the spot he shall be made acquainted with every matter, and we will do, as he wishes for your interest, particularly—respecting a British Register & ca.. thus much to inform you we shall comply with every request of your brother who we consider a prudint careful man, as also Capt Williams who is Worthy of trust But where the Capt of the Schooner Polly came from we are at a loss to guess—a plan was fram'd by the Custom house and us to bring his cargo to Kingston under French colours, he was made acquainted with every Circumstance, and came into Port Royal [Jamaica], where he was boarded by Men of War, he was asked from whence he came, he said Domingo, he then was asked for his papers

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[28] Price, "A Description of Occacoke . . . ," pp. 624-628.

[29] Carl L. Lodke, *France and the Colonial Question* (New York, 1932), pp. 31, 64, 66; Fulwar Skipwith to John Gray and Thomas Blount, Merchants, Richmond, July 14, 1790, John Gray Blount Papers.

and he shew'd them his American papers. She [the vessel] was instantly seized by the Flag Ship afterward by the Customhouse, which gave us no little trouble to get through the whole of their difficultys, however by our Close application [and] a small expense We surmounted the whole & sent him to an Out Post, where he delivered his Cargo Safe, rec[d]. his money & Sailed [.] more of this by your Brig.[32]

But, as stated previously, not all trade was by smuggling. Hurricanes, slave revolts, and crop failures all brought the emergencies needed for the British officers to open the ports to American shippers, and the Blounts' friends in the islands were quick to inform them when shipping had been legalized within a certain port.[33]

The reports of the supercargoes show a variety of products in the West Indian shipping. Tobacco; scantlings, boards, staves; beans, peas, rice, pork, bacon, lard, butter, and fish were all mentioned in the sale of a single cargo.[34] This was a fairly typical shipment, with the exception of the omission of corn and naval stores, which were usually included. The American vessels on their return usually carried sugar, cotton, coffee, rum, salt, and sometimes such delicacies as limes and a "parcel of Turtle."[35] The most highly prized return was cash, which was extremely rare; rum and salt were next in value. The rum was almost as good as cash because of its ready sale; and salt was valued because of its extensive use as a preservative and as ballast for the return voyage.

The high peak of the Blounts' trade with the West Indies was from 1794 to 1796. England and France were at war, and this gave a good opportunity for a neutral nation to make profit in shipping. Reports for a single day told John Gray Blount that the brig *Tuley* had arrived at the bar; the *Beaver* reached Washington with a cargo of dry goods; the *Russell* was on a voyage;

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[30] Alice B. Keith, "Relaxations in the British Restrictions on the American Trade with the British West Indies, 1783-1802," *The Journal of Modern History*, March, 1948.

[31] William Duncan to John Gray Blount, Oracabessa [Jamaica], March 17, 1787, John Gray Blount Papers.

[32] Tyler & Mumford to John Gray & Thomas Blount, Kingston, April 10, 1784, John Gray Blount Papers. Captains could change the nationality of their vessels by the payment of a five dollar fee. Thomas Williams to John [Gray] Blount, Guadeloupe, Aug. 12, 1784, John Gray Blount Papers.

[33] Tyler & Mumford to John Gray & Thomas Blount, Kingston, Nov. 20, 1784.

[34] Cox Coart to John Gray Blount, Gustavia, St. Bartholomew, Sept. 27, 1793, John Gray Blount Papers.

[35] J. W. G. Prescott to John Gray Blount, Kingston, July 4, 1795, John Gray Blount Papers.

and the *Regulator* was at the bar waiting for salt.[36] Since this does not by far include all of the Blounts' vessels, it may be assumed that the report is incomplete. The great gaps in the customs records and the private papers for this period prevent any supplementary completion.[37]

During the time of their extensive trade with the West Indies, the Blounts were also interested in European commerce. After the formal organization of John Gray and Thomas Blount, Merchants, Thomas Blount was sent to Europe to investigate trading conditions and to make contacts with the British merchants. In the spring of 1785 he wrote John Gray from Bristol: "You would be amazed to hear of the villany of the merchants in America—even the great Robert Morris has made no remittance . . . I must now inform you that I cannot obtain credit and believe me it is without vanity I say, our House has as good reputation as an American house can have . . . American merchants are laughed at & aspersed by all others & so odious is the Character of an American that I am ashamed almost to confess myself one."[38] A few weeks later he again complained: "The villainous Conduct of some Americans (I may say most of them) who came over immediately after the conclusion of the war & got largely into business here, has conspired with the general want of punctuality in the Merchants of our Country, to fix on the whole Nation a stigma of Dishonesty which Time itself will scarcely be able to obliterate--."[39] These were not the only problems for the small pioneer shippers of the new republic. Insurance was expensive and difficult to obtain. As late as 1790 William Murdock of London, a friend of Thomas Blount's, was frank to say: "the vessels and owners of your State in genl. does not stand high at Lloyd's & above all yr. navigation is exceedingly disliked [.]"[40] These difficulties hampered and retarded the Blounts but the pleasing personality of Thomas, the hard-driving efficiency of John Gray, and the political astuteness of William, together with fortuitous circumstances, made a combi-

[36] J. W. G. Prescott to [John Gray Blount], Washington, Nov. 10, 1795, John Gray Blount Papers.
[37] The British West Indian governors' papers give reports of shipping, but they do not list the names of the owners of the vessels.
[38] Thomas Blount to John Gray Blount, Bristol, Sept. 5, 1785, John Gray Blount Papers.
[39] Thomas Blount to John Gray, Bristol, Sept. 26, 1785, John Gray Blount Papers.
[40] W[illia]m Murdock to J[ohn] G[ray] and Tho[ma]s Blount, London, Aug. 27, 1790, John Gray Blount Papers.

nation hard to defeat and a fair degree of trade was soon inaugurated.

The *Russell* was sent over in the summer of 1790.[41] After this it made numerous voyages and the brigs *Ann* and *Tuley,* and probably the *Grampus,* were also used extensively in European trade. The vessels were sent with their own cargoes; in company with other merchants; loaded for some of their big customers; or leased to northern merchants and shippers.[42] The indifference of the European merchants towards North Carolina shippers changed with the 1790's; consequently, the Blounts began to receive letters from England, Ireland, and Spain encouraging them to send their cargoes to those countries.[43]

Increased opportunities and higher profits were accompanied with greater obstacles and risks. During the war between England and France the American vessels suffered from seizures by both England and France. Even during the Adams administration, when the United States built a navy to protect its shippers, the southern states seem to have profited less from the new convoy system than the northern and middle areas did.[44] This was due to the smallness of the vessels of the southerners and possibly to sectionalism in politics. The Blounts were unfortunate victims of the policy of seizure. Three of their largest vessels were reported taken by French privateers—the *Russell* in 1797 and the *Tuley* and *Grampus* in 1799.[45] With these losses and the death of William Blount in March, 1800, the character of the firm changed a great deal. Although it continued merchandising and coastal shipping, much of the zest which had characterized the war years of the 1790's had passed and other interests began to take away some of the energy of the trading spirit.

The extensive business of the Blounts made it necessary for them to maintain a large labor force. Each of them had his own

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[41] W[illia]m Murdock to J[ohn] G[ray] and Tho[ma]s Blount, London, Aug. 27, 1790.

[42] William Lake to John Gray Blount, Liverpool, June 20, July 5, 1793 and Sept. 4, 1795; William Gorham to John Gray and Thomas Blount, Liverpool, July 31, 1795.

[43] W[illia]m Charles Lake to J[ohn] G[ray] and Tho[ma]s Blount, Liverpool, Dec. 11, 1794; Edward Forbes to J[ohn] G[ray] and Tho[ma]s Blount, Dublin, Sept. 6, 1790; and Dominick Terry and Co. to John Gray Blount, Cadiz, March 19, 1792, John Gray Blount Papers.

[44] See Captain Dudley Knox, ed., *Naval Documents Related to the Quasi-war between the United States and France* (Washington, 1935-1938).

[45] *State Gazette of North Carolina* (Edenton), Feb. 16, 1797; G[rover] Wright [Postmaster, Greenville, North Carolina] to John G[ray] Blount, New York, July 22, 1799; W[illia]m Fisher, Jr. to John Gray Blount, Newport, April 8, 1799; A[aron] Burr to Grove[r] Wright, New York, July 21, 1799, John Gray Blount Papers.

personal slaves which were used whenever desirable. Some older experienced men worked for or with them, such as John Wallace and his sons at Shell Castle, or Charles Gerard and William Williams, who took over at Tarborough when Thomas Blount was attending Congress. But they also had a number of wards and semi-apprentices. The extent to which the Blounts were sought as employers of apprentices and guardians of these young men is a fine testimony from their contemporaries who respected and trusted them. Men and women from all walks of life were eager to place their youngsters in their care. Some of the young fellows were heirs to considerable estates, and were doubtless seeking preparation for their own business careers; others, less fortunate financially, were learning a trade. All in all they constituted a large number. Among them were young Abner Nash; Cox Coart; Francis Hall, a young law student; young Edward Bryan; Abishai Thomas, who later became the financial agent to settle North Carolina's war claims with the federal government; Augustus Harvey, a son of Colonel Miles Harvey of Perquimans County; the younger sons of Jacob Blount —Willie, Jacob, and Sharpe; Benjamin Blackledge, a younger brother of Richard Blackledge of Washington, North Carolina; and Thomas Blount's particular charges—Lewis Irwin, William Williams, and Billy Orr.[46] Business men, women, and ship captains sought to enter boys in this quasi-nautical school which the Blounts maintained.

Their labor arrangement seems to have been generally satisfactory. No criticism of the employers has been found. The boys appear to have been very happy while there and some of them said so in no uncertain terms. One wrote: "Indeed, I leave your House with as much concern as I should my fathers; such are the sentiments of attachment and Gratitude that your goodness has produced in me. . . ."[47] Another declared: "I never wish to live happier than I have been with you. You are the only person I will [ask] for advice if you will give. . . ."[48] They, in their turn, seem to have given the employers little diffi-

[46] Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers" (dissertation), pp. 98, 101.
[47] B. Cousins to John Gray Blount, Washington [North Carolina], Feb. 22, 1797, John Gray Blount Papers.
[48] Augustus Harvey to John Gray Blount, Dec. 31, 1783, John Gray Blount Papers.

culty. There was one exception, however; young Abner Nash, whose father had asked that William Blount be the guardian of his son until the boy became twenty-one, was a bit obstreperous and William told John Gray that he was sending Abner Nash to live with him because John Gray's manner would "awe him."[49]

The Blounts were big business men of their day, with many of the faults of their kind but also with many of their virtues. They were hated with bitterness by some of their business and political rivals, but they had many friends who gave them intense loyalty. They would go far to help those in need; but when Americans, bitterly resentful of what they considered an unfair and punitive restrictive policy of trade with the West Indies, turned to smuggling, the Blounts were among them. Their tasks were not easy. Their navigators struggled through the sandbars of their own coasts and through the frozen rivers of the north, and combatted the tropical climate and pirate-infested seas of the south. Their vessels were often too small for their burdens, their pilots limited in training, and their goods too crude for the sophisticated markets. Yet they surmounted these difficulties with a fair degree of success and through it all they aided their associates and gave pioneer service to American commerce.

If a study of this very interesting episode in early American history has any value, aside from local interest, which should never be discredited, it is along these lines: first, North Carolina shippers had a fair proportion of the commerce which historians have usually attributed to New Englanders alone; second, trade with the West Indies was extensive during this period; and third, legalized trade with the British West Indies did exist in spite of the general policy of restriction, and, in the opinion of this writer, was as large as, if not larger than, the illicit trade.

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[49] A copy of Governor Nash's will, Dec. 12, 1786, Frank Nash Papers, 1775-1797 (State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh); and William Blount to John Gray Blount, New Bern, Feb. 8, 1788, John Gray Blount Papers.

NORTH CAROLINA SHORT STORIES

By Richard Walser

Scant attention has ever been paid the short story writers of North Carolina; yet only cursory investigation reveals that hardly any other group has given so full a literary interpretation to this state. For almost a hundred years the authors of short fiction have been eyeing with penetration the citizens of this state and the modes of living here, and with an unsuspected artistry they have used their observations as the background for their short stories. Up to the present time, however, no student has surveyed the accomplishments of these writers; and a revered state, while honoring its devotees in myriad ways, has failed to pin its badge of honor on the artists who have thus portrayed its glories to a reading world.

The short story, perhaps more than any other type of literature, has a public which is incalculable. The dramatist can estimate the number of persons who see his plays; the novelist or poet can determine rather accurately, from the number of his books sold, how many readers he may safely be said to have. The short story writer who publishes in periodicals, on the other hand, has far less chance of accuracy in calculating his public. But one can believe, surely, that a short story appearing in the *Saturday Evening Post* will have ten times the number of readers as will the novel of moderate popularity published by a New York firm.

Now this question of readers is important, particularly as it affects North Carolina if and when it is the setting of the action or furnishes the characters of the plot. It is important because the reader in Seattle or Bangor gets an impression of the state from his reading, good or bad as it may be. And the impression he received is in the nature of publicity, and thus the state and the more particular locality are, in some cases, very much concerned.

For example, in August 1947, James Street, the Chapel Hill resident, had a short story, "Symphony in Siler City," in *Good Housekeeping,* a widely read monthly. It was a competently written story and probably gave our reader in Seattle an impression that North Carolina was a state which, even if comfortably backwoodsy, could have a symphonic concert booked for one of

its smaller towns. Mr. Street, in his second paragraph, wrote concerning one of his characters: "Johnnie J. Thistlewaite is just the greatest timpani player in American music, a kettledrum man from Siler City, North Carolina, where, he insists, live more left-handed golfers and timpani artists than any other place." I can imagine that Siler City citizens were amazed to read of these new honors so unexpectedly come to their town. Later in the story Mr. Street has his first-person narrator call the members of the Siler City Hometown Day Committee, who had invited the symphony to play there, the appellation "yokels"; and shortly thereafter the narrator comments: "I still don't know why towns are built so far back in the sticks as Siler City, or what people do in such places except get born and die." All this, appearing in a national periodical, "riled" the editor of the Siler City newspaper, who considered these sentences "brickbats" and wanted to "know what Street has against Siler City that he would take out his wrath in a yarn that could just as well have been set in Ohio or Mississippi." Alas, it *was* set in North Carolina! Mr. Street retaliated with complimentary remarks about Siler City and an insistence on the fact that the first-person narrator who had made the derogatory statements was a "heel." The *News and Observer,* editorializing on this controversy of bad tempers between editor and author, summed up the situation with this comment on Siler City: "How much more lively in devotion or defamation it seems now!" The argument had reached the first page of newspapers; and Siler City, in the broil of its first literary prominence, was the lone victor.

Even without front-page prominence, short stories lend importance to any locality. If Georgia suffers from an Erskine Caldwell, North Carolina may in the same fashion gain from an O. Henry. Surely, this state has been fortunate in the short story writers who have portrayed it.

The first of these distinguished writers seems to have been Harden E. Taliaferro (1818-1875), who went by the pseudonym of "Skitt." In 1859 Harper published *Fisher's River,* a series of twenty-three sketches, most of them concerning Surry County. After an absence of twenty years, Taliaferro had returned to his native Surry about 1857, and the result was this collection of

"tall tales" about real Carolinians. Most of their days were taken up with fishing, hunting, fighting, praying, loving, working, and politicking. The stories are in the lusty vernacular of the inhabitants. There is nothing little here; everything is drawn on a full scale. Memorable is Uncle Davy Lane, who kills so many pigeons from a tree that when the boughs lighten, his horse, tied to the tree, is lifted into the air.

Christian Reid of Salisbury, in those years following the Civil War, gave dignified publicity to "The Land of the Sky," her own name for our North Carolina mountains, not only in her novels but in her many short stories as well. These sylvan romances were widely read, and many visitors came from far distances to see the beauty of those hills about which she had so devotedly written.

How consistently the mountains have attracted our authors! In spite of the fact that O. Henry spent the first eighteen years of his life in Greensboro, the only two of his stories which are definitely set in North Carolina have the mountains for their locales. "The Blackjack Bargainer" tells of a feud in the town of Bethel. As O. Henry writes, "Bethel rested upon the foothills of the Blue Ridge. Above it the mountains were piled to the sky. Far below it the turbid Catawba gleamed yellow along its disconsolate valley." Again in "Let Me Feel Your Pulse," he turned to the mountains; in this, his only autobiographical story, he tells of the man who found health in the majestic hills when no physician could cure his malady.

Thomas Wolfe, our one indisputable literary genius (and *genius* is a word which must be cautiously used), wrote of the mountains, too. In his short stories we find the townspeople of Altamont and Libya Hill, both Asheville, of course, and his mountaineer kin, the Joyners and Pentlands, his mother's folks. The Carolina mountain character and the Carolina mountain lingo has never been more faithfully and affectionately captured than in his short story, "The Web of Earth."

All these foregoing are native writers. Those who have come here from other states have likewise been attracted by the picturesque grandeur of the scenery and, more than that, by the integral character of the inhabitants. Olive Tilford Dargan of

Kentucky wrote an entire volume of stories, *From My Highest Hill,* about the mountaineers whom she loved because they were honest and genuine beyond the belief of our modern complex society. Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, the noted novelist, came up from Florida for a vacation in the mountains, was struck by the complete individuality of the hill people, and turning from her interest in the Florida scene, painted those people in moving stories.

The Carolina Piedmont, also, has received its ample share of attention from short story writers. The varied life of this foothills country has been richly interpreted by all those artists who have been attracted to it. Wilbur Daniel Steele, born in Greensboro, spent most of his years elsewhere, but returned to Chapel Hill to reside in 1930 and 1931. While there he wrote "Town Drunk," a long short story and one of the most deeply affecting studies ever made of the North Carolina scene. It traces the seething industrial, educational, religious, and intellectual struggle in this state during its fight for national recognition—and also the tense tragedy of one who lost his life and character, but not his soul, in the fight. It is truly a noble story by one of America's foremost writers; and yet in 1946 it was not included in a so-called representative collection of *The Best Short Stories of Wilbur Daniel Steele.*

Marion Sims of Charlotte and Frances Gray Patton of Durham have directed attention to our North Carolina cities in many stories published in the widely circulated magazines. They have written the same type of appealing stories which Margaret Busbee Shipp of Raleigh did a generation before them. From Winston-Salem, Pierson Ricks, whose excellent novel *The Hunter's Horn* appeared recently, has for many years been contributing stories to the national periodicals. The writers' colony in Chapel Hill is well known; besides James Street and Paul Green, there are Noel Houston and Phillips Russell, both of whom have depicted the Tar Heel scene with perspicuity and good-natured satire. Down in Southern Pines are a host of writers who came to the Sandhills for the climate and remained to compose stories of the countryside and the people. Struthers and Katharine Newlin Burt have gathered about them a group who have brought fame to this section of our state. Almet Jenks, Hugh MacNair

Kahler, Ernest M. Poate, Clements and Katharine Ball Ripley, and Ruth Burr Sanborn deserve the admiration of all Carolinians for the tenderness and ability with which they have written about the peach country.

One Southern Pines name stands out, however, from all the others. It is true that his great-great-grandfather settled in North Carolina when he came from England and that his grandfather had a large estate in North Carolina, but James Boyd was a Pennsylvanian and thirty years old before he came here to live. Nevertheless, few writers have given their hearts to any state as James Boyd gave his to North Carolina. In his novels, *Drums* and *Marching On,* as well as in such short stories as "Old Pines," "Bloodhound," and "Civic Crisis," James Boyd speaks out in the simple and powerful tones of one who loves the soil and respects the people who live on it. Thomas Wolfe, Paul Green, James Boyd—these three must surely, at the present time, constitute our literary triumvirate. And yet I regret to report that James Boyd's short stories have never been collected, that they lie even now in the yellowing magazine files of our university libraries. Assuredly, North Carolina has yet to pay its debt to James Boyd.

Of the country along the Atlantic Seaboard, perhaps Paul Green is our most noted writer. Primarily a dramatist, he is a novelist, an essayist, and a short story writer as well. Most of his tales concern the Negroes and the white share-croppers, types among whom he grew up in Harnett County. Ranging from ludicrous comedy to frenzied tragedy, these beautiful, lucid stories have appeared in two volumes, *Wide Fields* (1928) and *Salvation on a String* (1946).

William Polk of Warrenton, now associate editor of the Greensboro *Daily News,* at one time was the only city mayor in America who was also a professional short story writer. Like Paul Green, he writes of the tenant farmer, both white and black, but he can also compose vivid satires on the country gentry as well as on the small-town provincials.

Bernice Kelly Harris, the noted novelist, has published several stories with an eastern Carolina backdrop. The farming people are her principal interest. In *Portulaca* (1941) Mrs. Harris included three short stories which illustrate her splendid proficiency as well as her ability to create diversified characters and

situations of more than one general type. Joseph Mitchell of Fairmont has published in *The New Yorker* many humorous sketches of the tobacco country. The best of them later appeared in *McSorley's Wonderful Saloon* (1943), the work of a really fine talent.

Charles W. Chesnutt deserves special mention for his delightful folk-tales in *The Conjure Woman* (1899). In them is pictured the kindly old slave, good-humored and likable, but also shy enough to make his short stories pay practical dividends. These seven tales, told from the viewpoint of the white man who has respect and toleration for the picturesque "darkey," were written by a Negro who lived his formative years in Fayetteville and wrote profusely of the Cape Fear River country. Chesnutt, is generally conceded to be the first Negro writer to use the short story as a serious medium of expression.

Now let us move to the extreme east. The coast of North Carolina has not received the fictional treatment from short story writers which it deserves. There have been quite a few isolated stories of Manteo, Kitty Hawk, Cape Lookout, and Diamond Shoals; but no one writer has taken this area as his peculiar territory for presentation in the short story. A half century ago Sara Beaumont Kennedy of Tennessee wrote a number of historical stories of New Bern and Ocracoke, in which Blackbeard and Governor Tryon stalked the boards; but as these pieces were never gathered together in a volume, they are now difficult to locate in the old magazines. There is yet to arrive that writer who will focus attention on the dramatic lives of our sea-going Carolinians.

And so we come to the end of this speedy survey of short story writers in North Carolina. Though much of the rich material has been utilized, there still remain copious veins of untapped gold ore. It needs only the artist's perception and strength and competence to transmute it into stories of opulent brilliance. We Tar Heels have indeed been lucky in our literary interpreters through the medium of the short story. They have meant much to us and the future interpreters will mean even more; but they need the appreciative encouragement from such organizations as the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, and this inspiration we must find some way to give them.

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKS AND AUTHORS FOR 1946-47: A REVIEW

By Lodwick Hartley

Reading for the Mayflower Cup contest is like taking a conducted tour through intellectual North Carolina. During the past year twenty-six books have been published by twenty-five North Carolinians. The subject matter of these publications covers a wide range, including the fields of fiction, poetry, biography, literary criticism, history, sociology, oceanography, politics and government, religion, and education. Although it has not been an extraordinarily rich year for North Carolina letters, it has been a year in which several works of unusual merit have been produced.

The quantity and the quality of the output are cause for pride enough. If there is anything at all disappointing about the booklist for the year, it is the small number of works representing outstanding new literary talent. The major contributions to the list are the products of the state's best established writers and scholars, most of whom have published widely and some of whom have been awarded the Mayflower Cup in previous years. In general, creative writing has been less in evidence than work involving research and assimilation.

In the field of creative writing, five North Carolinians have produced works of fiction: four novels and one volume of short stories and novelettes. Two of the novels are romantic historical novels, reflecting the vogue for fictionized history that has swept the country for the past five or six years. The other two works employ the contemporary scene. One is a novel for children.

In *Toil of the Brave* Mrs. Inglis Fletcher continues her series of colorful and exciting novels depicting the Albemarle district during the colonial period and the Revolution. Though Mrs. Fletcher is not a native of the state, she belongs to it by ancestry and by choice. Few native North Carolinians, aside from the professional historians, know so much about the history of the state as she does; and no one has done so much as she has done to give to the colonial history of North Carolina the kind of glamor that heretofore has been attributed almost solely to the

colonial history of South Carolina and Virginia. From Mrs. Fletcher's pages the Edenton of colonial days (called by her "Queen Anne's Town") emerges as bright a jewel as Charles Town or Williamsburg. The author depicts its lively, clever women, its well-educated and well-bred men, its fine old estates, the graciousness of its life. Since she is a good storyteller, she adds the excitement of adventure. She is unblushingly a romanticist, but she bolsters her fictional material with painstaking historical research. This fourth novel of her series has a time-setting in the period after Washington's bitter winter at Valley Forge when the fortunes of the Americans were at a low ebb, when the war was ominously moving southward, and when cabals and conspiracies were forming against Washington. In North Carolina families were divided against themselves. There was rioting in Queen Anne's Town, and British agents were attempting to foment an uprising among the slaves. Against such an exciting backdrop Mrs. Fletcher's lively characters move.

Like Mrs. Fletcher, Mrs. Katherine Newlin Burt (long a winter resident of Southern Pines) is a veteran novelist. Her most recent novel, *Close Pursuit*, is one of a long series of her successes in fiction. Unlike Mrs. Fletcher, she becomes something of an apostate and writes a story of colonial Williamsburg. The result is a romance of superior order, filled with color and action. The story of the English governess who falls in love with the son of a Virginia planter is told with the craftsmanship that has distinguished most of her stories perennially popular in the women's magazines.

Mrs. Marian Sims of Charlotte has also won a wide audience in magazines. With the exception of one historical novel, her work has been contemporary in setting. Her sixth novel, *Storm Before Daybreak,* is realistic fiction with a very timely theme. The hero of the story, an ex-Marine, returns from the war to find the once familiar world of his home town hardly recognizable. His friends are gone, his mother is dead, and in his house he finds the wife and baby of a worthless brother who has deserted them. This potentially dramatic situation Mrs. Sims develops skillfully into a study of post-war readjustment. She knows how to tell a story, her style is straightforward and

strong, and her picture of life in a contemporary North Carolina city is accurate both in detail and in implication.

Salvation on a String is a collection of short stories and short novels, old and new, by North Carolina's most distinguished dramatist, Paul Green. The setting is Little Bethel and the surrounding farms in eastern North Carolina, and the characters are the same warmly portrayed natives who have made Mr. Green's folk dramas internationally famous. In his stories as in his plays one finds a rich harvest of materials and moods: tragedy and comedy, stark realism and tender romance, poetry and prose. No other artist has so perfectly understood the North Carolina rural scene or has understood better the yeoman farmer and the Negro sharecropper. And few North Carolina writers have achieved the fierce indignation for social injustice and the lofty tenderness for human suffering that Mr. Green reveals in everything that he writes. Mr. Green has long been successful in prose fiction, though his fame as a dramatist has tended to obscure the fact. The present volume should be proof enough of his talented versatility.

The final work of fiction is *River Treasure*, a novel for children by Mrs. Mebane Holoman Burgwyn of Woodland. The story of an orphan Negro boy, his dog, and a buried treasure is told with feeling and charm. The setting is the fertile region of eastern North Carolina known as the Occoneechee Neck; and the Roanoke River plays an important role in the action. Mrs. Burgwyn demonstrates admirable skill in handling local color details and in maintaining suspense. The unusually fine illustrations by Ralph Ray, another North Carolinian, make the book one of the most attractive juvenile books of the year.

Of the two poets included in the list for this year, Miss Lucy Cherry Crisp (now secretary of the North Carolina Art Society) has for some years been known in eastern North Carolina for her interest both in art and in letters. *Brief Testament* is her second volume. As the title suggests, her verse is lyrical. Her poetic materials are found mainly in the small things of life that mirror the joys and problems of living. To quote from one of her reviewers, she cries out "in her song for strength and courage and the acceptance of things as they are." Miss Crisp has

a delicate sensitivity to moods, as well as a trained ear for melody. Moreover, she can write with admirable simplicity and economy.

The author of the second volume of poetry, *Dr. Johnson's Waterfall,* reveals a new and brilliant talent for light verse easily comparable with that of any other poet now writing in the same vein. For several years Mrs. Helen Bevington, the wife of a professor of English literature at Duke University, has been delighting the readers of *The Atlantic Monthly* and *The New Yorker* with her witty verses. The present volume collects her best work. Many of the poems are concerned with the humors of literature and literary characters. Some give the poet's reactions to being a Yankee faculty wife in a Southern university. Another group provides poems of observations on people and customs, and a final group is composed of personal lyrics. Mrs. Bevington writes with ease, incisiveness, and compactness; her wit is rapier-like; and her sense of timing is often exquisite. What she says about the English poets in a few lines should be the envy of every maker of epigrams from Ben Jonson to F. P. Adams and Dorothy Parker. Witness the following:

> Wordsworth had a natural daughter
> Far away from Derwentwater,
> But nature poems he could make
> Better at an English lake.
>
> The poet kissed by Jenny once,
> Leigh Hunt had seven little Hunts
> Whose mother's name was Marianne.
> He was a sentimental man.

In the field of autobiography Mr. Josephus Daniels contributes *Shirt Sleeve Diplomat,* the fifth volume of a monumental work that promises to be North Carolina's most considerable contribution to American autobiography. In his own rare way Mr. Daniels tells the story of his ambassadorship to Mexico in the stirring and critical years in which that neighbor to the south was undergoing a sweeping social revolution involving the Catholic Church and American oil interests. The book is full of dramatic incidents and anecdotes. At the same time it is sound

reporting. One leaves the volume with the feeling that one has been given an inside view of the "Good Neighbor Policy" of which Mr. Daniels has become a shining symbol.

Tempestuous Petticoat is a delightful combination of biography and autobiography in which Miss Clare Leighton, one of the foremost wood engravers of our time, now a resident of Durham, records her English childhood and the indelible impression made on her by her mother, Marie Connor Leighton, a writer of popular serial novels. Rarely has a daughter created a more candid or a more fascinating portrait of a mother. The comparison of Miss Leighton's study of her mother with Clarence Day's book on his father is inevitable. Although the books represent somewhat different approaches to the same sort of material, they both present amusingly eccentric people who reflect an era. Miss Leighton's book is rich in detail and in humor.

The third entry under biography and autobiography is an unusual volume by the late Upton Gwynn Wilson, *My Thirty-Three Years in Bed.* When the author was serving as a youthful railroad division superintendent, he was shot by a drink-crazed Negro cook whom he had discharged from a track gang. Doomed to lifelong invalidism on account of an injury to his spinal cord, he made a valiant fight not only to support himself but also to live usefully and significantly. From his bed he operated a complicated farm, organized a large magazine subscription agency, and wrote steadily for a Winston-Salem newspaper. His posthumous volume is a spirited and touching record of his gallant fight. Though it was designated primarily to give courage to the physically handicapped (especially those who have returned maimed from World War II), it is void of sentimentality and cheap optimism. Moreover, it is written with such vigor and skill that its appeal may easily be considerably wider than the audience for which it was written.

During the year two handsomely printed studies in literary criticism by a former graduate student at Duke University and by an English professor at the same institution have been issued by the University of North Carolina Press. The first, *The Satiric and the Didactic in Ben Jonson's Comedy* by Helena Watts Baum, is a competent study of Shakespeare's greatest

contemporary with the object of demonstrating that too much emphasis has been placed on his moralizing and didacticism. Mrs. Baum points out that Jonson, like George Bernard Shaw of our own time, designed his plays (as Shaw put it) "to induce, not voluptuous reverie but intellectual interest, not romantic rhapsody but humane concern." At the same time, Jonson's literary theory permitted as much emphasis on the aesthetic as on the didactic; and even when he was moralizing he was concerned not so much with the narrow rules of conduct as with stupidity and ignorance.

The second study in literary criticism is *On the Composition of Paradise Lost* by Professor Allan H. Gilbert. So flawless is the structure of Milton's great epic, argues Professor Gilbert, that the reader is not conscious of the rearrangement, the patching and the adaptation of material that went on in the creative process before the poem reached its final form. Through an examination of inconsistencies in the poem, Professor Gilbert has arrived at an order of precedence of the various parts that gives a new conception of the way in which *Paradise Lost* came into being. He also erects an intricate argument to support a theory that Milton adapted to the purpose of his epic previously written and now lost tragedies on the Fall of Man and on Adam's banishment. The book is a mature, ingenious, and provocative study by one of our most distinguished Milton scholars. Though all its conclusions may not be acceptable to every scholar in the field, it is a major contribution to studies in English literature.

Of the seven historical studies only two are written by professional historians. Though in some of the studies there may be instances in which a critic could wish that more scientific methods of research had been used, the fact that most of them were written *con amore* does not detract from their considerable contribution to their fields. The variety is noteworthy. The studies include a monograph on a region and the industry that gives it significance, a history of Indians in North Carolina, a county history, a history of prohibition in the state, a history of printing in the state, and the histories of two major North Carolina educational institutions.

In *Ducktown Back in Raht's Time* Mr. R. E. Barclay has written an absorbing regional story of the Great Copper Basin in

southeastern Tennessee and of the development of the copper industry there. As an official in the large copper company whose history has been that of the area, Mr. Barclay brings to his narrative a warm personal interest and a wealth of facts and insights that one less closely connected with the industry could not have had. He combines the historical and the sociological approach with success, and he gives his story vivid human interest by focussing much of his attention on Julius Eckhard Raht, a fabulous emigrant from Germany who rose from the humble position of a captain in the copper mine to virtual control of the Basin and to the distinction of being "the richest man in Tennessee."

The Reverend Douglas L. Rights of Winston-Salem has had a lifetime interest in Indian history and lore. *The American Indian in North Carolina* is the fine harvest of that interest. Here for the first time between the boards of a single book is a comprehensive survey of Indian history and life in North Carolina. Mr. Rights has read widely and has made a thorough study of the region in which the most significant events in his study took place. He has digested succinctly most of the previous research, he has quoted at length from the most important early travel accounts dealing with Indians, and he has added information of his own. Although he may not have said the final word on Indian history in North Carolina, he has written an entertaining and illuminating book.

Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton, the author of *The Story of Henderson County,* has also devoted many years of study to her subject. As a result she has been able to produce a record of her own county that will be a worthy addition to county histories of the state. With full detail she traces the story of Henderson County from the Cherokee occupation to the present day, giving attention to its social, economic, and cultural development. Whether she is telling the story of Flat Rock as a glamorous resort region before the War Between the States or the story of modern Hendersonville, her narrative holds interest.

The History of Printing in North Carolina by Dr. George W. Paschal, like the Reverend Mr. Rights' book on Indian history, attempts for the first time to tell in one volume the story of an

important aspect of North Carolina history—the story of printing and the printing industry in the state up to the present day. It has an unusual approach in that it takes as its central subject one of the state's oldest and most important printing firms, relating to it the general history of the state and particularly the history of the printing industry. For the lay reader the book will provide a stimulating and valuable survey. To the scholar it will be welcomed as a highly desirable supplement to studies in the history of North Carolina printing done in the past by S. B. Weeks, C. C. Crittenden, Douglas C. McMurtrie, Miss Mary Lindsay Thornton, and others.

Professor Daniel Jay Whitener of Appalachian State Teachers College has written a thorough-going and competent study called *Prohibition in North Carolina, 1715-1945,* the first comprehensive work on prohibition in the state. The study begins early enough to analyze in detail the forces that give rise to the temperance movement before the Civil War; and it demonstrates how from the turn of the century North Carolina political activity has been influenced by state prohibition and the movement to repeal prohibition.

Two of the books classified under history are on the borderline between autobiographical and historical writing. They are the work of two widely known college presidents who tell in an informal style the stories of the institutions with which they were long connected. In *Memories of Davidson College* Dr. Walter L. Lingle records his memories of the growth and development of the distinguished Presbyterian school for men as he knew it as student, as trustee, and finally as president. In *A Romance of Education* the late Dr. Samuel Bryant Turrentine does the same service for Greensboro College, the "first college for women chartered by the Methodist Church" in America. Both of these works will be of greatest value to the alumni and alumnae of these institutions. At the same time they make considerable contributions to the history of education in North Carolina.

In the field of politics and government, Jonathan Daniels has contributed *Frontier on the Potomac,* in which he resumes the report on America that he began most auspiciously with *A South-*

erner Discovers the South and that he very successfully continued in *A Southerner Discovers New England* and in *Tarheels.* Speaking in journalistic terms, one may call his latest book a "human interest story" on American government. Mr. Daniels has resolved the abstraction that we call the government of the United States into the thousands of people from cabinet members to filing clerks who make Washington a vast ant hill. The reader is given an exciting tour behind the Washington scenes into senatorial committee meetings, into "unofficial" conferences in hotel rooms, to stiff state dinners, to cocktail parties where the big-wigs lose their dignity and austerity. The portraits are vivid and the observations are acute. The whole is as brisk, as informal, and withal as revealing a treatise on government as one could wish. It should be required reading not only for all bureaucrats but also for all critics of bureaucracy.

North Carolina's most eminent sociologist, Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University in Chapel Hill, has contributed two books of the three in sociology published this year by North Carolinians: *Understanding Society* and *The Way of the South.* The first is a study in dynamic sociology designed for the specialist rather than for the general reader. It represents scholarship of the first order in its field, and it provides rich scholarly apparatus. The second book, patently designed for the general reader, combines Dr. Odum's talents both as a sociologist and as a literary artist. If anybody else had attempted a regional study written in part in a kind of Whitmanesque verse, the results might have been too ghastly to contemplate. Fortunately, Dr. Odum is an old hand at doing the original. As a result, he is able to give sociological details a fresh kind of expression. Instead of speaking of "natural resources," he names mountains and rivers, birds and minerals, flowers and field crops. Instead of speaking abstractly about "folk" and "culture" he portrays people that he has known and describes the life that they live. He deals with many significant problems: the people and their ways, work, wealth and poverty, race relations, caste and class, conflicting regional attitudes. His stated purpose is threefold: to discover what is unique about the South and why it is unique; to discover how the South is like the rest of America; and to

determine what can be done to enable the South to take its best place in the framework of the nation. Though Dr. Odum is an adverse critic on many occasions, he always brings understanding along with his criticism. The book is not bedside reading for an unreconstructed rebel. On the other hand, it will make good reading for the intelligent and thoughtful Southerner who would like to see developed in the South the best elements of our native and national cultures.

North Carolina Today by S. H. Hobbs, Jr., and Marjorie Bond is another product of sociological studies at Chapel Hill. The book contains sections on natural wealth, on patterns of the state's agriculture and industry, and on our institutional wealth, together with a concluding section of the place of the state in the world today. Designed for high school reading, it is organized and written with outstanding competence.

The volume in the field of oceanography, *This Great Wide Sea,* is the work of Professor R. E. Coker, another eminent member of the faculty in Chapel Hill. The conception of all the oceans of the world as a great watery unit is as profoundly provocative as it should be obvious. In his scholarly survey of oceanography Professor Coker has shown the complicated interrelationship of the oceans and has traced their influence on the physical world and on man as a social and economic being. Not only the surface phenomena of the sea but the vast areas and the teeming life beneath the sea are the subject of inquiry—

> The sea-blooms and the oozy woods which wear
> The sapless foliage of the ocean.

The dynamic mechanism of the seas with the vital interchanges of energy between sea, land, and atmosphere, the chemistry and physics of the ocean, the zoology of the seas are all part of the story. Aside from giving evidence of profound learning and careful scholarship, the book is lucidly and entertainingly written.

Holidays and Holy Days by Professor Hersey Everett Spence of the Duke School of Religion is a collection of religious pageants and dramatic church services most of which have been presented with success in the Duke University Chapel. The work is motivated by a desire "to recapture the arts for Christian service"

and is postulated on the theory that modern Protestantism can make use of drama, pageantry, and music to forward its great purpose. Though the spirit remains Protestant throughout, the idea is in part a return to the efforts of the medieval Church to make the liturgy impressive and vivid. Christmas and Easter plays and pageants form the bulk of the volume, but material is provided for unusual services throughout much of the church year.

The final book on the list, *Graduate Work in the South,* is a scholarly work in the field of education by Mrs. Mary Bynum Pierson, wife of the Dean of the Graduate School in Chapel Hill. This able monograph makes a comprehensive study of the beginnings and the development of graduate study in the South. It achieves a thorough-going analysis of facilities for graduate work and of graduate school policies, and it includes a very valuable appendix with much tabulated data. The book will undoubtedly become a standard work in its field.

At this point, I believe, it has been the custom of the reviewer to mention the difficulties encountered by the judges of the Mayflower Cup award in the task of selecting "an original work of outstanding excellence" from a diversity of types. Last year Mr. LeGette Blythe expressed himself so eloquently on the subject that he left little more to say. Nevertheless, the problem remains. Apparently, the phrase "an original work" in the regulations governing the competition is still interpreted broadly to include both creative and scholarly writing. So the judges are forced to make a decision similar to that which might be faced at the State Fair if the judges of fine fruit were called upon to choose between the peaches of the sandhills and the apples of the Piedmont. The dilemma could be resolved only by a realization of the possibility that the best peach might be more perfect in its class than the best apple in its own, or vice versa. I believe that the judges from the initiation of the award have given their decision on some such principle. Like Mr. Blythe, I am still not convinced that it is the best one.

But the policy of admitting many types of books to the contest has some advantages. It does permit an annual review of the broad cultural interests at work in the state, giving encouraging

evidence of activity in many areas of thought. It is well that an organization such as the state Literary and Historical Association should have the opportunity of summing up that activity and of attempting to stimulate all types of intellectual pursuits. I am quite sure that no judge has regretted the diversified reading that he has been called upon to do. At least for one of the judges the task has provided a liberal education.

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DISCOVERY OF POLITICAL FREEDOM

By Hardin Craig

Nothing in society or civilization seems to develop at an even pace. Indeed, the contrivances of organized society, in politics, religion, education, and all the fields of the social sciences, seem to degenerate from age to age and are continually in need of revival or renewal. This is rather a pity, since it would be a convenient thing if we could adjust one thing after another as we wind a clock and let them alone to run themselves; but nature seems to have decreed its order in another fashion. Men forget; generations have changing interests and different ideas as to what is interesting and important; forces opposed to a good order organize themselves against it, and since it has no watchful defenders, it suffers overthrow or ceases to operate effectively. Then too men are naturally indolent, as well as selfish and forgetful, so that there seems to be, except perhaps on the most inclusive scale of reference, no such thing as gradual progress.

Forces, we may believe, accumulate, often beneath the surface, for long periods, but changes in conventional routine are always sudden. Great things are done quickly, and progress, when it starts, is not a slow but a rapid affair. More progress in a particular line will be made in five or ten years than has been made in fifty or a hundred or five hundred years before. Rebellion against the tyrannies of Charles I in England had the singular effect of setting men's minds free, and there was more vital political thinking between 1642 and 1652 than there had been since the days of the Gracchi. Witchcraft was a felony both in England and America until the third decade of the eighteenth century. Then suddenly the climate of opinion changed, and the falsity of the whole wretched system became immediately obvious. Modern chemistry and physics proceeded slowly and tentatively until the beginning of the present century, when a great spurt came with Rutherford and his contemporaries. Chemistry and physics have developed more during your lifetime and mine than they did during thousands of years before. The same thing is largely true of biology and medicine.

So far as I can see, the general social and individual mind of North Carolina and of our country as a whole, except possibly in a few cases, is and has been for some time mainly marking time. My tentative judgment is based on a pretty wide knowledge of the academic world and on my observation that in most matters we are not living up to the teachings and principles of our ancestors. I say this with great hesitation, for I am not sure that I am right. I should therefore like to consider it with you, for it is for persons like you and me an interesting and important matter. It is particularly important because of what might be called the reverse movement in human progress. When a high point has been reached, and a certain heat of interest and activity achieved, interest always wanes and desuetude takes the place of watchfulness. Progress, having reached a height, levels off and gradually sinks back to old and unenlightened levels. I rather think that we are intellectually wallowing about in a trough of commonplace, of repetition, idleness, and pleasure seeking. If this is true, or even too widely true, there is only one thing to be done about it, that is to take ourselves by the scruff of the neck and shake ourselves back to a state of activity, a state in which we may better realize our powers and more fully live up to our possibilities. We are, I think, badly in need of what I referred to as a "jump." We might call it a revival or renaissance.

Discoveries of ideological truth are no doubt often lost, because they are not recognized and understood; or, having been accepted, they are lost in oblivion, cease to operate, and are discarded as no longer of any value. They have been in need of constant attention and observance, and they have not had it. Consequently, the ancient forces of error are revived with new captions, new fallacies, and new dark purposes. See, for example, how the hoary doctrines of direct action, totalitarian planning, extreme nationalism, the doctrine of protection, and the partisan organization of labor are at this time driving from the mind of the world the great discovery of liberty under the law. I say "the great discovery of liberty under the law," for it is a human discovery as important as the smelting of iron or printing with movable types. Perhaps you are not used to think-

ing of ideas as discoveries, but I think you will on reflection agree with me that, to humanity, truth in every field is actually discovery, although ideological discovery has more difficulty in finding recognition and understanding and is more liable to be forgotten and superseded than are discoveries in the area of tools and machinery. My contention on this occasion is that political liberty is itself a discovery of the first magnitude.

Cultural evolution, like biological evolution, is a slow process, moving through an infinite succession of trial and error. It is only now and then at long intervals that men make important ideological discoveries. These discoveries are, as I said, continually liable to be forgotten or to be superseded by unworthy substitutes brought up to serve some specious vanity or selfish interest. In this case I know and I do not forget that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. At an earlier time our people knew both the value of liberty and that eternal vigilance was the price they had to pay for it. We have lost large parts of our liberty, and we tend either to grow inert or to enjoy the comforts of political servitude.

Totalitarianism in one form or another has been the ancient, established, authoritarian thing in human government. It is at least as old as Babylonia, and at this day the great mass of the human race lives under political and social orders which dictate to them their exact functions, privileges, and opportunities in the body politic. Totalitarianism has always resulted in stultification, police control, and the failure of progress; and it will always do so, because it depends on the submission of the many to the interests of the few. That is its basis. It can have no other basis, because no man or set of men can plan the varied activities of society and provide it with its own proper, though unknown, future. Totalitarianism is, I submit, the exact opposite of individual liberty. At this time this outworn system of totalitarianism, equipped with new labels and old fallacies in modern dress, is spreading over the world like fire in a drought-smitten prairie.

Totalitarianism is the old and regular thing in human government. But in the seventeenth century something happened, or began to happen, in the mind of the Anglo-Saxon race. John

Milton saw that the only liberty man can enjoy, indeed the only kind of human liberty, is liberty under the law. John Locke gave the doctrine clear, adequate, and practical expression. The Bill of Rights was promulgated, and later Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and others embodied the doctrine of liberty under the law in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. The discovery of the principle of liberty under the law was really the discovery of human government. All other so-called governments are merely different forms of human bondage. None of them is in line with nature, the course of evolution, and, as we believe, the will of God. If we could count on an unending succession of benevolent despots, it might be different; but rulers too are human, and power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely.

But we must not imagine that when the doctrine of liberty under the law was discovered and put into operation it was completely accepted or has ever been, nor that the beliefs and practices of early inferior systems did not and do not hold sway over many of our people and that the practices of the older system do not continually reassert themselves and continually find advocates and proponents. Our nation has continued to practice the principles of ancient mercantilism and has continued in the name of democracy to foster special privilege. Monopoly of trade and privilege is the primary enemy of popular government, and we have taken pride in the creation of monopolies. There is no wonder that we have disgraced the cause of popular government and are now, so to speak, in the last ditch of defense. For some reason men dread freedom and find solace in dependence. Unless we can cure our desuetude, we shall pay for it, if not in the titular loss of liberty, then in the loss of individual development and the greatness of our people. We have never believed that plain people are capable of self-government, and yet that proposition was the one discovered by our ancestors. We have never fully accepted the second element of our proposition. We have been willing to have liberty but not liberty under the law. We have always been violators of law and have been lacking in respect for law. We do not understand the nature of law and recognize its fundamental importance.

Normally speaking, our form of government is opposed to utopianism, and utopianism is its greatest friend and its chieftest enemy. Utopianism, such as we see in socialism and communism, is valuable in the setting up of ideals and the suggesting of reforms. It becomes the enemy of our system when it claims that our kind of government cannot and will not do for its citizens every beneficient thing that they or we are able to suggest. I have not time to catalogue our shortcomings or the ways in which we have failed to carry out the noble and humane program of our Revolutionary ancestors. I can only remind you that we as a race are now associated in the world's mind with greed of gain and economic tyranny. Our birthright was the right to do justice and show mercy to all men, to deny special privilege, and to open to all men all the roads to all the opportunities. I see no reason why we should abrogate our principles and let the adherents of various utopian schemes claim our original program as their own and gain adherents for themselves because of our neglect and infidelity.

Let us test our democracy by looking at it from still another point of view. If the great discovery of our race some three hundred years ago was that it is the business of the people to govern themselves, government by experts is as truly a violation of our principles as is government by bureaucrats. The basis of our system is liberty under the law and not government according to economic and political theory. Let me remind you that the discovery of our race was that people can govern themselves and that system has back of it the successes of the race. So again I hear you asking whether the common man can do this. The answer is that he can and he has, and that the chief danger of the world at this moment is that he should cease to do so or be deprived of the opportunity to do so. The human creature is far more versatile than he himself is willing to admit. Breadth of mind and sound judgment as to right and wrong, folly and wisdom, practicability and impracticability are bred by the experience of living in every man and reinforced in the race by the experience of hundreds of thousands of years. The differences between the educated and the uneducated, the cultured and the uncultured, are far smaller than we think. There is a lively

possibility that the American people will take their own affairs into their own hands. We may yet have the courage and good sense to destroy monopoly and special privilege and to punish the baleful practices of organized labor. We know what to do without the dictation of experts or of business or of labor, and that is the very essence of the great discovery made by our race two hundred and fifty years ago. We need, and we may yet find, men who have the character and intelligence to coordinate, synthesize, and put into practice the findings of experts. Such men are known by the dignified name of statesmen.

We must do far better during the next generation than we have during the last two. We have allowed our clear and simple doctrine to be blurred by forgetfulness and neglect, by selfishness, by apparent prosperity, by sophistry and fallacy, perhaps by Veblen and Keynes. At present the doctrine of liberty under the law is seriously questioned in England and almost forgotten in America, so that we do not know what to say when we are attacked. Modern democracy, which differs from ancient democracy basically in its insistence on liberty under the law, i.e., its insistence on responsibility as well as freedom, is not a simple system. It is as complicated as society itself and as applicable to varied conditions as are liberty and law themselves. It demands profound study and constant adjustment. It is now neglected. Our people are ignorant of its principles and its merits as a system of government. Our ignorance, a relatively recent situation, must be cured by the education of old and young alike, and I do not mean that this greatly needed study must be confined to experts. The famous discovery, you will remember, was government by the people in accordance with their normal intellectual and moral fitness. They were to apply to their government their natural interests as individuals and as citizens of a state. This is not to say that the education of the people is not of prime importance in our republic. Jefferson saw that it was, and he was right; but it is the education of the citizens and not the education of the specialist in any line or of the social and political expert in which the interest of our country lies. Our ignorance must be cured and our institutions must be reformed.

The matter of the government of a state is not so empirical,

not so subject to experimental determination, as our age seems to think it is. I know why totalitarian, or other governments by the few, can operate only by force and are bound to bring with them the evils I mentioned before, namely, discontent, stultification, and tyranny. Such governments are not in line with nature or with human nature, and no experimental variations will put them in line. In this connection I have made what seems to be a discovery of far-reaching importance in this and other fields. At least I cannot find that it has come to the attention of writers on ethics and jurisprudence. It will seem an extravagant claim, and I can only say that I have not been able to find it. It resides in a well known distinction in the field of ethics and provides a fundamental reason why government by the people in accordance with the doctrine of liberty under the law is the best and, in fact, the only workable form of human government.

The distinction between the duties which a man owes to himself and those which he owes to his fellow men is as old as Aristotle, and yet the enormously important social inferences which follow from that distinction seem to have escaped notice. I shall, on this occasion, state the matter only in the briefest way. To yourselves you owe all those things which pertain to temperance in bodily gratifications and in things which enrich and adorn your lives. You owe it to yourselves to avoid selfishness. Specifically, you owe it to yourselves to be studious, sober, chaste, modest, decent, contented, frugal, industrious, liberal, broad-minded, and religious. You owe it to yourselves to restrain an over-ambitious spirit, also to abstain from that kind of pride that might make you value yourselves more highly than you deserve and to avoid that kind of cowardice which may result from virtuous intentions, such as excessive prudence or over-zealous self-denial. Fortitude and patience you owe to yourselves, although these also appear among the duties you owe to your fellow men. Now, these matters are by nature your business and nobody else's business. As soon as you intrude them on others, you become a prig, a nuisance, or a tyrant. As soon as they are intruded on you, you become to some degree at least a slave. It is a long and surprisingly difficult list; but these duties

are between you and your Maker, whose divine assistance you will need in order that you may put them in practice. If this field is entered or preempted, you have no freedom, no happiness, no self-realization.

Over against this list are the duties you owe to your neighbors. It is, relatively speaking, a simple, happy and easy list, particularly on the positive side. The first rule is, we shall not interfere with the personal freedom of our neighbors. We must exercise charity, including humaneness, good will, brotherly love, and hospitality. We should strive to avoid voluntary injury to any one, to offer or take no improper offense, to be ready to forgive, to accord to others such respect as we ourselves desire, and to refrain from slander. These virtues are the basis of popularity and human influence; they are profitable. On the negative side of these virtues lies obedience to law, and the whole field of the law takes up where private duty ends.

There are of course mixed cases, but, in general, this division in the field of ethics gives one the doctrine of liberty under the law in a nutshell. Unless we injure our fellow men, we have a natural right to object to restraint upon our liberty. Man has a right by nature and in evolution to the control of his personal life. This personal life is made up mainly of the duties he owes to himself, including the duties he owes to God, whose hell-fire (if it exists) he must endure alone. The only recognized control is what we call public opinion.

These are the things which Jefferson, without exactly knowing why, declared vaguely to be "self-evident," as to be sure they are: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. My attempt is to shove the Jeffersonian principle one stage further back, and, in so doing, to ground it in the science of ethics.

Let me illuminate my discovery, if it is a discovery, by a reference to the so-called Fourth Freedom of the Atlantic Charter. I do not think it can be considered an addition to man's inalienable rights, but rather as a much needed development of democratic government (whose business is to establish justice) in the field of the duties which men owe to their fellow men.

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE POLICE STATE

By Julian P. Boyd

If the generation contemporary with Thomas Jefferson had been asked to define "the Police State," the answer no doubt would have been that given by Blackstone. "By the public police and economy," he declared, "I mean the due regulation and domestic order of the Kingdom." But if Jefferson had been asked to define a government which compels its citizens to subscribe to certain beliefs, which orders their lives according to the dictates of a given philosophy, compelling uniformity and implicit obedience, his answer undoubtedly would have been unequivocal: such a government, he would have asserted, was a tyrant. The term that Jefferson and his contemporaries employed to describe such uses of governmental power is the better one. All states, even those founded upon a recognition of the rights and liberties of the individual, possess and must exercise police powers—the power to enforce the laws, to protect citizens in their lives and property, and to promote the general welfare and policing of the commonwealth in the Blackstonian sense. Under modern usage the term "police state," redundant if not ambiguous, has sinister meanings.

But it was the substance of tyranny, not its terminology, that engaged the lifelong enmity and attention of Jefferson. The forms of tyranny that Jefferson and his contemporaries feared impress us today as being innocent in comparison with those that we face. Jefferson's savage delineation of the malevolent will of George III was made to justify a cause, not to set forth a historical treatise. The tyrannical figure that he saw revealed in the purpose of the Hanoverian king has been metamorphosed by history into the vacant, stubborn, and rather stupid countenance of a British Tory. Yet the issues that Jefferson's generation faced were no less real than those which confront us. I think it will be instructive, therefore, if we examine a part of his unparalleled career, characterized as it was by a constant, unremitting, and universal denial of authority unjustly exercised. It is both hazardous and presumptuous to say what part of his philosophy Jefferson would abandon, what part he would retain,

what new concepts he would adopt if he were faced with the manifold tyrannies of the twentieth century. Though he was a relativist in political and moral philosophy, there were certain fundamental principles that he regarded as unchanging. Knowing history, he knew that the beliefs, the ideals, and the conditions of men varied with the region and the age. Yet, throughout life, he was uncompromisingly devoted to two enduring propositions: a belief in the natural rights and liberties of individual men and a dedication of all his powers to an unceasing warfare against any form of infringement of those rights. "I have sworn upon the altar of God," he declared, "eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." This was not, let us note, the tyranny of George III and his ministers, not the tyranny of certain philosophies of government that he assailed, but "*every* form of tyranny over the mind of man."

It is possible that our examination of a part of Jefferson's career may illuminate this point to some degree. I have purposely chosen that phase of his career which reveals the philosopher and the statesman in action, rather than that which presents the reflective and detached sage, looking down from Monticello on the busy affairs, the foibles, and the contests of his fellow men after his own work was done. For "It is thus," Nicholas Biddle said in his *Eulogium on Thomas Jefferson,* "that philosophy best fulfills her destiny, when coming from her seclusion into the arena of life she shares and leads in defending the cause of truth and freedom. This is not easy; for many who were conspicuous in retirement have failed in action, over burthened by their preparation, as men sick under the weight of their own armour. But to succeed—to combine the knowledge of the schools and of the world—to be learned in books and things and yet be able to govern men, to deserve that most illustrious of all names—a philosophical statesman: this is at once the highest benefit which study can bestow on the world and the noblest reward which the world can confer on learning. This was the singular merit of Jefferson."

In the autumn of 1776, at the age of thirty-three, Jefferson arrived at Williamsburg to enter upon his duties as a member

of the House of Delegates from Albemarle County. He had come with a purpose. A few months earlier, as a member of the Virginia delegation in the Continental Congress, he had drafted a proposed constitution for his native state. If the evidence lying in the rough drafts of his papers means anything, it is apparent that the drawing up of this fundamental law engaged his best thought and industry to a degree not equalled even by the responsibility for drafting the Declaration of Independence. This was natural. The Declaration of Independence only required that Jefferson should be the inspired amanuensis of the people, that he should produce a memorable "expression of the American mind" and that he should lay before a candid world the philosophy of government as viewed in the "harmonizing sentiments of the day, whether expressed in conversation, in letters, printed essays, or the elementary books of public right, such as Aristotle, Cicero, Locke, Sydney, etc." This task he had discharged so well that he compressed within a single immortal paragraph a whole system of philosophy: that the universe is governed by natural law; that all men, being created equal, possess under natural law certain inherent and inalienable rights; that government is instituted to protect these rights; that any government—*any* government, monarchy, oligarchy, dictatorship or republic—undertaking to violate these rights can be altered or overthrown, since all government rests on the consent of the governed.

Yet, incomparably great as was the "common sense of the subject" that Jefferson expressed in the Declaration of Independence, the task of ordering new governments to replace the one overthrown was the most urgent and compelling task to which he could address himself. Being forced to remain at his post in Philadelphia, he had watched impatiently and with growing concern the efforts of the Virginia Convention of 1776 to frame a new system of government for the state. Would the new form give full expression to the philosophy of revolution and of the consent of the governed, now being tried on a grand scale for the first time in history? Would the rights and liberties of the people be protected and guaranteed? Would the vestiges of monarchial government, unsuited to the principles of a republic,

be completely eradicated from the structure of government? These were the questions that Jefferson must have pondered impatiently during the summer months of 1776. It is an ironic fact that he, supremely qualified by the study of history, of law, and of government and possessed also of a deep and pervading passion for republican principles, should have been denied by an accident of history the opportunity to assist in framing the fundamental law of his native state in 1776 and of his country in 1787. In both instances, watching from a distance, he could not be fully satisfied with the result. In both instances he brought every influence to bear in the hope that individual rights and liberties would be fully protected. In 1776 he did something more: he resigned from Congress in order to take part in the unprecedented adventure of framing a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. "I knew," he declared, "that our legislation under the regal government had many very vicious points which urgently required reformation, and I thought I could be of more use in forwarding that work."

He had scarcely arrived in Williamsburg that fateful October when an express arrived from John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress. The letter that the messenger bore informed Jefferson that the Congress had designated him, with Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane, as Minister to France. Here was an assignment both urgent in its appeal to public duty and pleasant in its private rewards. Jefferson had long wished for the opportunity to see the Paris of Diderot, of Voltaire, and of Rousseau. He knew, as all thoughtful men in 1776 did, that the American cause and the hope of establishing the republican experiment in government, were foredoomed to failure unless European nations, France in particular, could be persuaded to assist the all but defenseless colonies in their contest with the might of the English army and navy. Everything, in short, depended upon the mission to which his country now had assigned him. It would do little good to draft constitutions and to revise codes of law if British forces triumphed over American. On the other hand, what was the revolution about if laws and constitutions continued to be cast in traditional molds? Why seek foreign aid to bolster the outward forms of these did not square

with principles of government that had been set forth in the Declaration of Independence by which alone revolution could be justified? For three days Jefferson kept Hancock's messenger waiting while he wrestled with this dilemma. It was a fateful moment both for him and for his country. In the end he reached a decision that history has proved to be wise. He decided to remain at home and to help lay the foundations for a government truly republican.

This, not the diplomatic jockeyings at European courts, was the task for which Jefferson had been preparing since such teachers as William Small and George Wythe had opened the horizons of his mind, just as he had been prepared, so the stage that he now entered was one that could be regarded as a product of the centuries. The Greek philosophers, evolving the idea of individual liberty, had begun the line of descent. John Locke, Algernon Sidney, and a host of others, dealing with principles of "elementary right," had contributed their part. By whatever accident of history or fate, the climate in which Jefferson found himself, the paramount issues before the infant country, and the fructifying qualities of mind and heart that he possessed brought into conjunction all that was required to produce one of the great moments of history. Virginia in the last quarter of the eighteenth century could only be compared with England's expansive and yeasty greatness in the days of Elizabeth. Tidewater aristocrats and yeomen, frontier settlers and piedmont planters—all breathed the heady air of the Age of Enlightenment. Dull indeed was the mind and callous the heart that could not grasp the self-evident truths of that day and respond to the exhilarating challenge of a new opportunity in the age-old struggle for liberty.

The air was filled with belief in the fundamental precepts of this Age of Reason. For a thousand years and more the Age of Faith, promising fulfillment in heaven if not on earth, had held almost undisputed reign over the minds and loyalties of men. Whatever the reward beyond this life might have been, the fulfillment on earth had been wars and pestilence, hatred, superstition, ignorance, and dwarfed and a trophied vision. The cold hand of theology and dogma had been laid upon science. Medicine, rather than experimenting in its task of healing, was still

as dogmatic as theology, dominated by the precepts of Galen. Astronomy, held in check by anthropocentric delusions, was still under the influence of the Ptolemaic cosmogony. But Bacon, Copernicus, Vesalius, Spinoza, and countless others had breached the walls of dogma and authority.

Now, heirs of the rich legacy of those of the seventeenth century who had rebelled against authoritarianism in all its forms, the eighteenth century found itself on the threshold of a great and seemingly boundless opportunity. Faith and authority alone had failed. Reason would now be given a chance. The assumptions on which the new faith in reason supplanted the old faith in revelation were simple. The universe was governed by natural law under which mankind everywhere enjoyed certain natural rights. This universal law of nature, as expressed by the French writer Volney, was the order which the ruler of the universe presented "to the sense and reason of men, to serve them as an equal and common rule of conduct, and to guide them, without distinction of race or sex, towards perfection and happiness." This, in some degree, was a restatement of the Christian philosophy concerning the origin, nature, and destiny of man. But there was this difference: to Volney and Jefferson and others of the eighteenth century, man was not innately evil but inherently good, capable by the use of his mind of improving his lot upon earth, of discovering for himself what the natural order of the universe was, of seeking what was good, avoiding what was evil, in order that he might move toward perfection and happiness. To achieve this progress, man must not only recognize the power of his mind and the rightness of his heart: he must be left free to exercise them. Hence the rejection of authoritarian controls of every sort that tended to fetter the individual's freedom of choice. If man was to govern himself wisely, he must have unopposed access to information. He must be able to speak freely, to associate with others, to protest against abuses, to have the right of the free exercise of conscience in matters of religion. Nowhere has this faith in the capacity of man for self-government been better stated than in Jefferson's famous letter to DuPont de Nemours: "I believe with you that morality, compassion, generosity, are innate elements of the

human constitution; that there exists a right independent of force; that the right to property is founded on our natural wants, in the measue with which we are endowed to satisfy these wants, and the right to what we acquire by those means without violating the similar rights of other sensible beings; that no one has a right to obstruct another exercising his faculty innocently for the relief of sensibilities made a part of his nature; that justice is the fundamental law of society; that the majority, oppressing an individual, is guilty of a crime, abuses its strength, and by acting on the law of the strongest breaks up the foundations of society; that action by the citizens in person, in affairs within their reach and competence, and in all others by representatives, chosen immediately, and removable by themselves, constitutes the essence of a republic; that all governments are more or less republican in proportion as this principle enters more or less into their composition; and that government by a republic is capable of extension over a greater surface of country than any other form."

These beliefs about the nature of man, society, and government did not necessarily presuppose perfection or even perfectibility. Jefferson, being a realist and knowing the history of ancient and modern man, was aware of man's capacity for evil, whatever his innate goodness. He believed that society, since its law was justice, derived from man's virtues; government, since its purpose was protection, from his propensity to evil. While monarchies and aristocracies, resting on fiat and the accident of birth, were tyrannical, popular governments, resting on the consent of the people, might also be tyrannical if the majority abused its power. Government meant power necessarily and power had its own fatal delusions, leading governors to forget right and justice. Hence, the necessity for checks and balances, for reducing all governments to a minimum, particularly those branches of government far removed from the immediate eye of the citizens.

This was, in the words of Carl Becker, "a humane and engaging faith. At its best it preached toleration in place of persecution, goodwill in place of hate, peace in place of war. It taught that beneath all local and temporary diversity, beneath the superficial traits and talents that distinguish men and nations, all

men are equal in the possession of a common humanity; and to the end that concord might prevail on earth instead of strife, it invited men to promote in themselves the humanity which bound them to their fellows, and to shape their conduct and their institutions in harmony with it."

But let those who might be deceived into thinking that this humane and tolerant faith in man's capacity for rational and virtuous action meant passivity or meant an unquestioning acceptance of the established order, consider the unfolding of Thomas Jefferson's program in the autumn of 1776. This concept of government, even if it pervaded the very air of America, was still only a concept, not very useful unless supported by action. Jefferson was no detached philosopher, engaged in spinning logical theories in a cloistered tower. Armed with the philosophy that he shared with other enlightened men of his day and armed with Franklin's precept—"rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God"—he embarked in 1776 upon a program that provided the positive, constructive counterpart to the negative act of revolution. He was not alone in this. George Mason, Richard Henry Lee, George Wythe, Edmund Pendleton, Wilson Cary Nicholas, Patrick Henry, and scores of others who for probity, intelligence, public virtue, and stalwart republicanism, could not be matched in any other era of our history, joined forces with him—up to a point. But Jefferson was clearly the acknowledged leader in the great task of reform and in some respects his radicalism was at least a century in advance of that of his fellow rebels.

If self-government were to be given the chance to succeed, if man's right reason and just nature were to be permitted unhampered freedom, much of the vestiges of monarchial governments would have to be swept away. An established religion, a class-conscious system of education, a method of amassing property surrounded by feudal safeguards, and other inheritances of the past were at conflict with the first principles of the revolution. These were some of the principal social, economic, and religious foundation stones on which society was organized in eighteenth-century Virginia. To challenge the right of a British Parliament to legislate in the internal affairs of Virginia was one thing: but

to challenge the economic, social, and religious structure of the commonwealth itself was something quite different. The ruling classes, in vestries, in county governments, and in the House of Burgesses, had determined this order of society. Was it not disloyalty, betrayal, disobedience, denial of one's own class to attempt the overthrow of this self-perpetuating *èlite?* But loyalty to religious establishments, to traditional social institutions, was overridden by Jefferson's higher allegiance—allegiance to a universal natural law and to the natural rights that derived from it.

This legislative program, begun before Hancock's messenger was well on his way, reveals the essence of Jefferson's philosophy and statesmanship. Much of it he achieved almost single-handedly, some of it was left to others in later years to effect, parts of it were so revolutionary that no majorities could be mustered in their support. Because wealth could beget wealth and power increase power, Jefferson's first attack was upon the economic basis of aristocracy, buttressed in Virginia by the right of entail and primogeniture. Unless these feudal props of aristocracy were knocked down, equality of opportunity in the political and economic spheres was a mockery and true republicanism a vain hope. "In the earlier times of the colony," Jefferson later wrote, "when lands were to be obtained for little or nothing, some provident individuals procured large grants, and, desirous of founding great families for themselves, settled them on their descendants in fee-tail. The transmission of this property from generation to generation in the same name raised a distinct set of families who, being privileged by law in the perpetuation of their wealth, were thus formed into a Patrician order, distinguished by the splendor and luxury of their establishments. From this order, too, the king habitually selected his Counsellors of state, the hope of which distinction devoted the whole corps to the interests and will of the crown. To annul this privilege, and instead of an aristocracy of wealth, of more harm and danger, than benefit, to society, to make an opening for the aristocracy of virtue and talent, which nature has wisely provided for the direction of the interests of the society, and scattered with equal hand through all its conditions, was deemed

essential to a well ordered republic. To effect it, no violence was necessary, no deprivation of natural right, but rather an enlargement of it by a repeal of the law." This attack on vested interests and the most cherished of property rights, was regarded as subversive even by Edmund Pendleton, "the most virtuous and benevolent of men," but Jefferson's bill became law almost immediately.

This bill and its companion abolishing the ancient right of primogeniture may have been alarming to the defenders of the established order. But had these upholders of the eighteenth century version of American free enterprise known what Jefferson had in contemplation, they would doubtless have regarded him with horror as a dangerous and subversive revolutionist. For he wished to abolish forever one conspicuous social institution which made a mockery of the principles he was defending, the institution of slavery. Since this would have completely revolutionized the social and economic structure of society, Jefferson was realistic enough to know that this particular reform would have to bide its time. Years later he wrote, "The public mind would not bear the proposition, nor will it bear it even at this day. Yet the day is not distant when it must bear and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the Book of Fate that these people are to be free." Nor, we may add, is anything more certain than that, if the prophetic words of Jefferson had been accepted in the eighteenth century, not as a subversive and radical attack on society but as a statesmanlike solution of a social problem, the nineteenth century would have been spared the appalling waste of thousands of lives, billions of dollars worth of property, and the immoral rationalizations that were summoned to defend an indefensible institution. But this, the eighteenth-century defenders of the *status quo* asserted, was an attack on property, a visionary and destructive preachment against a divinely ordered system of society, and such subversiveness could not be tolerated.

Having successfully assailed the economic injustice resulting from entails and primogeniture, Jefferson turned to a form of authoritarianism that he regarded, first and last, as one of the most baneful influences over the minds and consciences of men.

Virginia in the eighteenth century, dominated by a liberal, pleasure-loving, open-hearted code of conduct, was very far indeed from being a theocracy. There was an established church, to be sure, but no sect dominated affairs or social mores and no persecution for conscience's sake was apparent. Yet the vestiges of ancient intolerances and outworn bigotries remained on the statute books. Heresy, a capital offense, was punishable at common law by burning and its definition left to ecclesiastical judges. "By our Act of 1705," wrote Jefferson in *Notes on the State of Virginia,* "if a person brought up in the Christian religion denies the being of God, or the Trinity, or asserts that there are more Gods than one, or denies the Christian religion to be true, or the Scriptures to be of divine authority, he is punishable on the first offense by incapacity to hold any office or employment, ecclesiastical, civil or military; on the second, by disability to sue, to take any gift or legacy, to be guardian, executor or administrator, and by three years' imprisonment, without bail. A father's right to the custody of his own children being founded in law on his right of guardianship, this being taken away, they may of course be severed from him, and put by the authority of a court, into more orthodox hands." This, concluded Jefferson in one of the great books of the eighteenth century, "is a summary view of that religious slavery under which a people have been willing to remain, who have lavished their lives and fortunes for the establishment of their civil freedom. The error seems not sufficiently eradicated, that the operations of the mind, as well as the acts of the body, are subject to the coercion of the laws."

Though dissenting sects had multiplied in Virginia, and flooded the legislature with their protests, the legislators were chiefly members of the established church. Nevertheless, Jefferson and his colleagues were able to effect a few reforms. Laws were repealed which made criminal the maintenance of heretical opinions, the non-attendance of church, or the exercise of any mode of worship that the worshipper chose. Dissenters were not only tolerated by law but exempted from taxes in support of the established church. But this, since it did not go to the heart of the matter, was far from satisfactory to Jefferson. The

fundamental principle, which became law years after he had left the legislature, was stated in the preamble to the Statue of Virginia for Religious Freedom, an act which Jefferson ranked with the authorship of the Declaration of Independence and with the founding of the University of Virginia as being among his greatest contributions to his country. That principle is basic to an understanding of the Jeffersonian philosophy: it informed and sustained his thinking, his personal conduct, and his public acts throughout life. "The opinions and beliefs of men," he wrote, "depend not on their own will, but follow involuntarily the evidence proposed to their own minds; . . . Almighty God hath created the mind free, and manifested his supreme will that free it shall remain by making it altogether insusceptible of restraint."

This much of Jefferson's great reform was merely negative, the clearing away of traditional obstacles in the path leading to the new era. More was needed. How could free men exercise their natural gift of free minds fully and properly unless minds were trained, developed, and enlightened? Clearly the people must be provided, equally and without distinction, with the advantages of education. "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be," Jefferson declared in 1816. "No other sure foundation," he wrote on another occasion to Chancellor Wythe, "can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness . . . Preach a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the common people. Let our countrymen know that the people alone can protect us against the evils [of misgovernment]." Jefferson included such a crusade in his legislative reforms, proposing a state system of education so just, so comprehensive, so informed with common sense that it was never fully enacted into law in Virginia or in any other state. Those who profess to believe that Jefferson's philosophy aimed at the establishment of a dull uniformity in society, at a levelling process that would reduce all to the lowest common denominator, would do well to read his Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge. It provided three broad levels of instruction. All children in the state would be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. On the basis of merit, independent of

economic status, the "best geniuses" were to be "raked from the rubbish" annually, to be sent to grammar schools for six years and to receive instruction in Greek, Latin, geography, and arithmetic. Half of these, "chosen for the superiority of their parts and dispositions," were to be provided with college education. Beyond this the "sciences . . . in their highest degree" were to be taught to those original and inventive geniuses whose talents set them apart from the common run of mankind. All this was to be at public expense, aimed at the enlightenment and development of the youth as the state's most valuable resource, giving the indigent but talented students the same opportunities that the sons of the wealthy enjoyed. To support this program, Jefferson proposed to levy a tax proportionate to the wealth of the citizens. "This," he said, "would throw on wealth the education of the poor; and the justices [of the county courts], being generally of the more wealthy class, were unwilling to incur that burthen." Thus, Jefferson's famous system of education, graduated according to a frank recognition of differences that must and would exist in the new republican aristocracy of virtue and talent, was defeated by the aristocracy of wealth and privilege.

This Gargantuan effort to reform and reconstitute the entire basis and structure of society included much besides these four bills. It included in fact a complete revision of the entire legal code. But these four were the ones that Jefferson returned to with nostalgic pride in his old age. They embodied the essence of his philosophy and statesmanship. They involved bitter struggles, but they achieved a victory for intellectual liberty and human enlightenment that had and still has repercussions throughout the nation. "I considered four of these bills," Jefferson later remarked, ". . . as forming a system by which every fibre would be eradicated of ancient and future aristocracy; and a foundation laid for a government truly republican. The repeal of the laws of entail would prevent the accumulation and perpetuation of wealth in select families . . . the abolition of primogeniture, and equal partition of inheritances, removed the feudal and unnatural distinctions which made one member of every family rich, and all the rest poor . . . the restoration of the rights of conscience relieve the people from taxation for the

support of a religion not theirs; for the establishment was truly of the religion of the rich, the dissenting sects being entirely composed of the less wealthy people; and these, by a bill for a general education, would be qualified to understand their rights, to maintain them, and to exercise with intelligence their parts in any government; and all this would be effected without the violation of a single natural right of any one individual citizen."

The inspired story of this young radical's attack upon the established order is an integral and well known part of our history. But I have taken the time to present the main outline of this social revolution because there are certain fundamental beliefs and assumptions in it that cannot be too often reaffirmed. The natural-law hypothesis that Jefferson and his compatriots accepted as a self-evident truth has crumbled beneath the scientific assault of the nineteenth century to such an extent that it is no longer historically or philosophically tenable. Yet the rights and liberties that this assumption supported, the belief in the inalienable rights and the common humanity of man, cannot be sacrificed with impunity, whatever may have happened to the hypothesis. Emphasis on these rights has changed with changing conditions, but the important thing to notice about Jefferson's program is that he attacked, realistically and with high courage, the most conspicuous parts of the social order that were at conflict with these presuppositions about individual liberty—the power of wealth, of an ecclesiastical hierarchy, of ignorance, and of socially immoral institutions. Jefferson did not contend that Virginia was badly governed, that the system did not work, that the end justified the means. Virginia's leaders, long trained to assume public responsibility along with private privilege, had given the commonwealth a system of government that was all but exemplary in its efficiency and virtue. But Jefferson's face was to the future: he was skeptical of power and privilege; he distrusted the permanence even of a good government under responsible and virtuous leaders when that government was based upon a foundation of "essential irrationality and injustice." He had confidence in the probity, virtue, and intelligence of the privileged and aristocratic rulers of Virginia. Why should he not have had? He was one of them.

But he had something else that does not often accompany the possessor of privilege: a belief that "there is a right independent of force," that no man could justly and rightly rule another without his consent, that the people were worthy of confidence. "I am among those," he wrote in a letter that has too long remained unpublished, "who think well of the human character generally. I consider man as formed for society, and endowed by nature with those dispositions which fit him for society. I believe also, with Condorcet . . . that his mind is perfectible to a degree of which we cannot as yet form any conception . . . I join you therefore in branding as cowardly the idea that the human mind is incapable of further advances. This is precisely the doctrine that the present despots of the earth are inculcating, and their friends here re-echoing; and applying especially to religion and politics: that it is not probable that anything better will be discovered than what was known to our fathers. We are to look backwards then and not forwards for the improvement of science, and to find it amidst feudal barbarisms and the fires of Spital-fields. But thank heaven, the American mind is already too much open, to listen to these impostures; and while the art of printing is left to us, science can never be retrograde; what is once acquired of real knowledge can never be lost. To preserve the freedom of the human mind then, and freedom of the press, every spirit should be ready to devote itself to martyrdom; for as long as we may think as we will and speak as we think, the condition of man will proceed in improvement."

The relevant question that we must ask ourselves today, since many apparently repudiate the conviction without asking the question, is whether or not it is any longer safe to proceed on the assumption that man is capable of self-government, that he should be allowed to think as he will and speak as he thinks, whether the government of an *élite* should not be established for him to plan his programs and to direct his life and even his thoughts. Three world powers, denying that a right exists independent of force, have crumbled because they rested on the false foundation of a force independent of right. Another great world power, or any world power so founded, should profit from that example. But what can we say, not of other governments

or societies, but of our own, whose principles stand in eternal hostility to the idea of tyranny or force or the police state? In approaching this urgently relevant question, let us inquire whether any part of Jefferson's philosophy is irrelevant to twentieth-century society.

Urbanization, industrialization, and the growth of financial monopolies were specters that affronted Jefferson's beliefs quite as much as the threat of monarchy or privileged aristocracy. Hence his belief that our national safety lay in the virtue and independence of freeholders, in our continuance as an agrarian state of small farms, in a political structure loose in organization, sovereign as to local concerns, narrowly and rigidly confined in its national orbit. The power of government was to be curbed; the sovereignty of the individual in his personal liberties and civil rights to be protected everywhere against encroachments. This, since man was a rational creature, would impel each individual to seek his own best interests and the aggregate of enlightened interest on the part of all individuals in the state would result in national safety and prosperity. So long as an individual stood sovereign on his own freehold, cultivating it and resting on an equal footing with others in like condition, this was not only a rational and just but also a realistic political philosophy.

It was this emphasis upon a purely agrarian republic, upon states' rights, upon a denial of large powers to the federal government, I suppose, that led Mr. Ellis Arnall to call Thomas Jefferson a typical Southerner. If so, if this philosophy of government is typically Southern, it is precisely that part of the Jeffersonian system that no longer has meaning or relevance. The South, as I understand the South, is a land of intense loyalties. It is loyal to its institutions, to its past, to its people, almost to the point of uncritical acceptance. Jefferson, as I understand Jefferson, was dominated by a loyalty to the doctrine of the Higher Law of nature and nature's God and whatever conflicted with that, whether of a social, political or economic nature, evoked his undying enmity. Infringement of natural right was tyranny, whether he called it aristocracy, monarchy, or privilege, and from whatever source it came. In this respect

he was an uncompromising revolutionist and the South as a whole has never been conspicuously disloyal to the existing order. The most notable occasion on which it protested was not so much a withdrawal from the federal Union as an attempt at secession from the whole dynamic of the nineteenth century, the dynamic of the technological and industrial revolutions that made Jefferson's agrarian philosophy unrealistic, untenable, and all but irrelevant in modern society.

Yet, in the face of Jefferson's determined effort to overthrow and reform the whole structure of society in eighteenth-century Virginia, in the face of his unrelenting attack on unjust forms and uses of property and on irrational institutions, we have been asked in recent years to believe that his support of a weak national government, his violent denunciation of federal regulations, his advocacy of a *laissez-faire* philosophy have relevance today. More, the authority of Jefferson's forward-looking mind is invoked to buttress aggregates of power and authority over the economic welfare of millions of individuals on the bland assumption that he, if living in twentieth-century America, would be visionary enough to assume that modern society could seek its own salvation if only the federal government were stripped of some of its power over the industrial and financial sovereignties that have in so many ways supplanted the simple political sovereignties of earlier days. The "right to do as we please with our own property," declared a stalwart American, "is the very basis" of our struggle for liberty. This utterance, though it has been echoed in the publications issuing from strongholds of economic power and in the pronouncements of the political opposition of the past decade, was not an utterance of the twentieth century, but the expression of Landon Carter, tidewater aristocrat of Virginia, protesting against the subversive, radical proposal of young Thomas Jefferson to abolish systems of real property tenure that derived from the Middle Ages.

Though no one has been able to find among the thousands of letters that Thomas Jefferson wrote the expression "That government is best which governs least," it is nevertheless true, I think, that, fearing power as he did, he believed that in his own day the Union should be governed with a minimum of law and control. Yet

he was a realist. He did not support his own program on the authority of the past. And I suspect that, in the twentieth century, he would be perceptive enough to see that the whole structure of society has been changed, that new forms of privilege and power have come into being, that sometimes even the most virtuous and enlightened men cannot prevent these forms of power from being used for ends hostile to individual liberties, and that a *laissez-faire* system of free enterprise appropriate to an agricultural community of the eighteenth century would be visionary and impractical in an industrial society of the twentieth century.

If that much in Jefferson's philosophy is irrelevant, what part of his philosophy has meaning today? If he were faced with the issues that confront us, I suspect that his attack would be directed first of all against those forces which seem to deny his fundamental belief that "God hath created the mind free, and manifested his supreme will that free it shall remain by making it altogether insusceptible of restraint." The incredibly powerful machines for the dissemination of mass information, propaganda, and what is euphemistically called entertainment would no doubt appall him by their almost unrestrained capacity for evil as well as by their irresponsible neglect of opportunities. Though he would doubtless note that here and there, in small islands of enlightenment, learning and truth are independently and responsibly discussed, I believe he would regard with repugnance the employment of these machines of mass communication for the purpose of achieving, not the highest expression of the individual mind, but the lowest common denominator of a dull and colorless uniformity. For this uniformity, this denial of the differences among men, this herding of masses into maneuverable groups and categories, though it originated in private enterprise, would soon reflect itself in the whole government and structure of society. It has indeed already done so. In the past decade, under the plea of secrecy and security, government is seeking to impose its own species of conformity, of uniformity, of loyalty to a society whose whole philosophical basis is the assumption of difference among men and the toleration of diversity. Without pausing to inquire why a government of the people needs to erect barriers of secrecy against the people, we may note only

some of the more conspicuous examples of actions characteristic of what we call the police state and what Jefferson undoubtedly would have called tyranny. Though they were committed in the name of democracy, we may pass over the destruction of books, the suppression of ideas, the attempt to enforce beliefs among our late enemies, noting only that these acts, though they disregard the proposition that the mind is "altogether insusceptible of restraint," were applied to conquered peoples. We may pass over the seizure of seventy thousand American citizens, the herding of them under military power in concentration camps, and the deprivation of their property, for this occurred in time of war and military exigency, "when in war the laws are silent," has its own kind of justification. But what of the authority given the highest legal officer of our government to decide what associations American citizens may legally belong to without fear of reprisal? What of procedures in government which deprive citizens of their means of livelihood on evidence accumulated by a secret police, often in disregard of private right or law, without confronting the accused with his accuser, without respecting the ancient principle that he is to be considered innocent until a jury of his peers has convicted him? What of the edicts compelling loyalty and unquestioned obedience? What of the dismaying spectacle of a legislative committee, allegedly engaged in an investigation that will lead to information, inquiring with flagrant disregard of constitutional liberties into subversive activities, justifying its acts by a denial of the right of revolution on which this country was founded? If this spectacle were not so dismaying, we could appreciate the unconscious humor involved in a search for subversive, revolutionary aims supposedly developing in a mammoth agency engaged in providing what is called entertainment, an agency controlled by financiers, a group who have never in all history led the people to the barricades. This great merchant of mediocrity, apostle of conformity, slavish follower of trends, has demonstrated by its anxiety to show its loyalty to government that it is either unaware of, or lacks the courage to support, Jefferson's belief in a higher loyalty to man: "The error seems not sufficiently eradicated that the operations of the mind, as well as the acts of the body, are subject to the

coercion of the laws." Meanwhile, rights are trampled under foot, individuals are sacrificed to public clamor, and the newspaper press, on which Jefferson placed such high hopes, has on the whole shamefully acquiesced. The universities and other centers of responsibility, though they have a particularly solemn obligation to protest against violations of the right of intellectual and spiritual freedom, have been equally silent, for they too are feeling the subtle, insistent pressures that inexorably demand conformity.

On these questions I do not think we need to speculate about the relevancy of Jefferson's philosophy. He too was confronted with an attempt to suppress opinion, to compel conformity, and to require unquestioning obedience. The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 were at conflict with Jefferson's faith in the ability of the people to distinguish truth and error, and it was in respect to these acts that, in his first inaugural address, he expressed sentiments which, if uttered today, would qualify him as one of the first victims of the Star Chamber proceedings that now confront this nation. "During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world," he declared, "during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others, and should divide opinions as to the measures of safety. But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle . . . *If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.*"

Such a belief required not only faith but courage. Independence of judgment and true tolerance required not conformity, not implicit loyalty, but a moral and intellectual courage of a true order of nobility. When Jefferson uttered these words, the country had just emerged from a political revolution. We were defenseless and at the mercy of European powers that affronted us with impunity. We numbered some four million souls and our negligible manufactures and commerce were pursued at the

sufferance of foreign nations. Many feared that the great American experiment in republican government would fail, that belief in man's capacity for self-government could not be sustained. Amid these circumstances Jefferson was resolute. Dissent and the threat of revolution could be tolerated. Not merely tolerated: they would serve as proof of our courage and strength. "I know indeed," Jefferson assured his countrymen in 1801, "that some honest men have feared that a republican government cannot be strong: that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear that this government, the world's best hope, may by possibility, want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth."

The full tide of successful experiment has flowed on for a century and a half since these noble and fearless words of faith were uttered, shaming the cowardly and giving strength to the weak. Today, with less than a sixteenth of the world's population, with more than a half of its wealth, with economic, political, and military power unmatched in all history, we, a nation founded in rebellion, nurtured in dissent, have become not merely the world's best hope but the world's only hope. Can we, so circumstanced, continue to stand shamefully silent before those tyrannical outrages against individual rights which, profaning the name of democracy and prostituting the principles on which it rests, were so courageously repudiated by Thomas Jefferson in the infancy of a great experiment? This, not the defiance of government, would be the ultimate treason.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Prohibition in North Carolina, 1715-1945. By Daniel Jay Whitener. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1945. Pp. ix, 268. $3.50.)

Although bearing the title of a movement that is of middle-nineteenth century origin, this work treats the whole problem of alcoholic liquor regulation in North Carolina since colonial days. The importance of this problem is attested by the fact that no other issue has received such prolonged and heated agitation in the state. In fact, the author suggests, if the number of petitions presented to the legislature be taken as an index to the popular interest in the subject, then no other issue has received one-tenth as much agitation.

The movement falls into four broad divisions, each receiving appropriate attention in the work at hand. First was "the regulative period," beginning in 1715 and continuing along with other movements, which began about a hundred years later, until 1908. Its distinguishing characteristics were found in laws to punish public drunkenness and to establish a license system. The second, or "individual temperance period," started during the first quarter of the nineteenth century and was paralleled to a certain extent by both the first and third periods. Its emphasis was upon total or partial abstinence, and was expressed by temperance societies in which the members pledged themselves to personal temperance. Third and more significant was "the prohibition period," beginning about a hundred years ago, during which efforts were made to prohibit the sale of liquor by law. This was eventually accomplished by abolishing the saloon in 1908 and by the more general Turlington act of 1923, as well as by the Federal prohibition amendment of 1919. After 1935 came reaction in legal forms of liquor control and the consequent fourth, or "A. B. C. Store period."

One of the salient factors brought out by Professor Whitener's study is that before the Civil War the non-governing classes directed the movement, but that after this date prohibition became closely identified with politics. From 1900 to 1930, for example, the prohibitionists controlled the liquor policy of the Democratic party. Support for prohibition is shown to have

come from many groups, among which the clergy was most militant. Indeed, it appears that the various churches first learned the value of cooperation in their common effort for prohibition.

During the past century the prohibitionists do not appear to have altered any of their fundamental arguments. These are that liquor is a habit-forming drug, the use of which leads to intemperance; that intemperance leads to social as well as personal abuses; and therefore that government, an agent for the betterment of the individual and society, should seek to destroy the liquor traffic. This last point is fundamental to an understanding of the prohibition movement and the factors which gave it birth. Prohibitory laws arose out of a quickened consciousness and social awareness of liquor abuses, chiefly public drunkenness and the by-products of drunkenness, public and private. Since most of these abuses (Professor Whitener estimates seventy-five to ninety per cent) were committed by the lower one-third of the population, the problem of prohibition has been not only moral and legal, but economic, psychological, and social as well.

Professor Whitener disagrees with those who interpret the present-day legal sale of liquor in North Carolina, after a quarter century of prohibition, as evidence that a cycle has been run in the matter of dealing with the liquor problem and that no worthwhile progress has been made. He also questions the oft-repeated explanation of the contest over prohibition as a struggle by the rural people of the state to impose their ideals on the people living in towns. Such an assumption is based upon the belief that country people drink less intoxicants than city people. Professor Whitener denies this, and attributes the more active prohibition sentiment among the rural people to the fact that the abuses were more dangerous in the country than in urban centers where police protection could be afforded promptly and effectively.

This is the first comprehensive and scholarly treatment of prohibition in North Carolina, and as such it sheds much light upon this important problem.

James W. Patton.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh, N. C.

The Chronicles of the Sesquicentennial. Edited with a foreword by Louis R. Wilson. (The University of North Carolina Press, 1947. Pp. 349. Illustrations, appendices. $4.00.)

This is the story of the sesquicentennial celebration of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Beginning with a brief foreword by Dr. Louis R. Wilson, editor of the work and director of the sesquicentennial, the volume contains an account of the programs starting at Fayetteville on November 21, 1939, and ending with the final convocation in Memorial Hall, April 13, 1946.

The ceremonial commemorating the chartering of the University was a pageant, "To Make Men Free," by Beverly and Peery of the Department of Dramatic Art. The celebration of the laying of the cornerstone of Old East Hall was held in the area between the Davie Poplar and the Old Well, and was marked by a pageant and addresses by President Harold W. Dodds of Princeton and President Frank P. Graham. The third major event in the series was a meeting in the Capitol in Raleigh before a joint session of the General Assembly. Governor Cherry and various state officials participated and the principal address on "The State University" was delivered by President Clarence A. Dykstra of the University of Wisconsin. In memory of the first student to enroll in the University, Hinton James Day was set apart for alumni and student activities.

Subsequent chapters deal with the conference on research and regional welfare, the University and public education, the University day celebration on October 12, 1945, and the final sesquicentennial convocation which was postponed until April, 1946, because of wartime transportation regulations governing attendance at meetings. Other events during the period include the centennial of the *Carolina Magazine*, the centennial of the alumni association, the centennial of the law school, the fiftieth anniversary of the *Tar Heel*, the student newspaper, and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Carolina Playmakers. The concluding chapter contains a list of the numerous sesquicentennial publications.

These chronicles present the University of North Carolina as the child of the American Revolution, and amply demonstrate its value in the contemporary life of the state and nation. The

addresses, delivered during war years, are forceful statements concerning issues in higher education and problems of post-war reconstruction.

The volume includes the names and citations of those who received honorary degrees. A list of the delegates to the final convocation is included in the appendix. Nineteen illustrations of University notables and campus scenes add much to the attractiveness of the work. The index is adequate and the format of the book is typical of the high quality of University of North Carolina Press publications. The need for a good one volume history of the University remains unfulfilled, but Dr. Wilson is to be congratulated on preserving the record of the sesquicentennial in such an admirable manner.

David A. Lockmiller.

University of Chattanooga,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

The First Captain: The Story of John Paul Jones. By Gerald W. Johnson. (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1947. Pp. viii, 312. $3.50.)

The reader who likes history and biography of the so-called popular type will probably not wish to put down Mr. Johnson's account of John Paul Jones until the book is finished. On the other hand, the reader who prefers the more scholarly kind of studies will not be pleased with the author's efforts in this, his seventeenth book. In executing his plan to write entertainingly, Johnson fails to add any appreciable information about Jones or sources of information on his subject. His book contains neither a table of contents, a bibliography, an index, nor illustrations. Nevertheless, some of his interpretations concerning the captain's meteoric career, the events with which he was connected, and some of the personages with whom he was associated are worthy of close consideration by serious students of history. The account is neither all good nor all bad regardless of the reader's taste in biography.

Johnson, a creative writer, critic, newspaper editorial writer and free lancer, presents his story of Jones in a racy, journalistic, uninhibited, easy-flowing, psycho-analytical style. To Johnson, an advocate of the somewhat discredited great-man theory of history, his subject is a first-rate hero and man of destiny, ordi-

narily infallible but often persecuted by conniving incompetents and unappreciated by less discerning contemporaries. There is little doubt throughout most of Johnson's pages that he is straining to defend Jones against all comers. In those portions of the captain's life on which little information is available, particularly the periods in which he might have backslid, the author does not hesitate to interpolate and create possible situations to make his hero come through unsullied. In his exuberance, the writer turns out a biography that at times becomes highly fictionalized. Even so, these flights of the imagination in behalf of Jones, sometimes quite penetrating and interesting, might be considered by some readers as the best parts of the book.

Jones is presented as the first American strategist and progenitor of psychological warfare. In this respect, the hero is again pictured as being thwarted by ever-recurring and inexcusable blunders of intriguing colleagues; and, according to the author, Jones was consistently maligned and ill-handled, albeit unsuspecting and even naive in his relations with these unspeakable, infamous characters. As a result, the full force of the captain's genius was never allowed to express itself during his career in the service of America, France, or Russia. Since the author makes only intermittent efforts to detach himself from his subject, some readers may put down the book with the impression that all concerned are suffering from a severe case of paranoia.

Another of the author's oft-repeated theses is Jones' support of the ideal of a professional, non-political navy. Special emphasis is placed on Jones' conceptions concerning requirements of a good naval officer. The captain's advocacy of his new beliefs on this matter is presented convincingly as being a greater and more lasting contribution than any battle he ever fought. Also of special significance is the author's discussion of Jones, the "Indomitable Man," whose courage was and is undoubted and whose reputation as a fighter has enhanced advantageously the quality of the personnel and accomplishments of the United States Navy.

Weymouth T. Jordan.

Alabama Polytechnic Institute,
Auburn, Ala.

North Carolina: The State and Its Government. By Paul W. Wager (New York, N. Y.: Oxford Book Company, 1947, Pp. iv, 124.)

The increasing concentration of power in the national government has been accompanied by a parallel growth in the scope and significance of state government. Unfortunately the average American knows little about state government and fails to see its importance. There is a widespread interest in national affairs, but the political machinery of the state simply fails to fascinate our impatient generation.

This situation will be greatly improved, so far as the people of North Carolina are concerned, if Dr. Wager's little book is as widely read as it deserves to be. It is primarily a book of facts describing in a clear, well organized manner the structure and operation of the state, county, and city government. It is more than a mere handbook. The author does not hesitate to call attention to some of the strong and weak points in the laws and the constitution. Here and there he suggests reforms. For the most part his points are not particularly controversial, but some readers will disagree with his implications regarding public utilities.

This book should be useful in the schools from the eighth grade through college—whenever state government is studied. "Older citizens," even those who have not spent many years in school, will be able to comprehend it without difficulty. Its meaning will be clear to any person who can read understandingly the front page of a daily newspaper.

Gilbert L. Lycan.

John B. Stetson University,
Deland, Florida.

The Hunter's Horn. By Peirson Ricks. (New York, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947. Pp. 361, $3.00.)

Winston-Salem's Peirson Ricks has written a very enjoyable, light novel—not a great work, not even a genuinely historical work—but a novel which I found to be well worth reading for sheer enjoyment.

This tale of a rural community in the eastern Carolina lowlands during the 1890's moves rapidly with its shift in scenes at the beginning of almost each new chapter. The characters are

dynamic, true-to-life, and certainly representative of the social elements of the South of the time: the semi-aristocratic group, the poor white, and the enterprising business interests which were invading and exploiting much of the South in this post-Civil War era.

The Hunter's Horn contains distinct elements of fate, of tragedy, of humor, of intrigue (by an old Vodoo Negress), of psychological conflict, and of the social cast system of the time.

Although the novel is not closely associated with any historical event or distinguished characters of North Carolina history, it will, none the less, appeal to North Carolinians because of its depiction of a general period—perhaps a tragic period—in the history of North Carolina and of the South.

Mr. Ricks has made an excellent beginning in the full-length novel field. I look forward to more enjoyment from his future writings.

Robert M. Langdon.

U. S. Naval Academy,
Annapolis, Md.

River Treasure. By Mebane Holoman Burgwyn. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1947. Pp. 7, 159. $2.50.)

Written in a natural and easy style for boys and girls, this story of the Negroes in the Roanoke River section of North Carolina also provides interest and entertainment for more mature readers.

Life among the Negroes, as seen through the experiences of twelve-year-old Guy Harrison, is a blend of the old and new. Aunt Delly and Uncle Rufus, Guy's adopted family, express their disbelief in the familiar old stories of "hants" and witches; they are thrifty and progressive, working to buy their own farm with its fifty acres, house, barn, and orchard. Old Uncle Jake brings his letter for Guy to read to him and stirs up interest in the bygone days of the plantation and Civil War and inspires Guy's search for the buried treasure of the lost Pollock silver.

The Roanoke provides pleasant fishing but is treacherous and an ever present worry in the rainy season with its threat of flood. In the end it both destroys and saves; flooding, it washes

away the carefully tended crops but in shifting its course empties the water hole in which the lost silver is buried.

Mrs. Burgwyn, member of a family long associated with the history of that part of the state, in telling her story has absorbed memories of the past and observed and revealed the life of the present in the Occoneechee Neck section of the Roanoke River region.

Beth Crabtree.

Raleigh, N. C.

The University of Chattanooga: Sixty Years. By Gilbert E. Govan and James W. Livingood. (Chattanooga: University of Chattanooga, 1947. Pp. xiv, 271. Illustrations, appendix.)

This book was written to help commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the University of Chattanooga and may be considered as an official history of the subject. It contains four parts, the first three covering the university's founding, opening (September, 1886), the so-called modern period (1904-1946), the various administrations, fund-raising campaigns, and building programs. Part IV describes social and some extracurricular activities of professors and students since 1904.

Founders of the university were Chattanooga civic leaders, the Freedmen's Aid Society, and seven "Central South" conferences of the northern branch of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Early supporters of the school also included southerners and newly arrived northerners who hoped to establish an institution that might help heal differences left over from the Civil War.

Special features of the university's history have been its relationship with Grant Memorial University (known since 1925 as Tennessee Wesleyan College) at Athens and with the Methodist Church. The Athens institution, financed since 1867 by the Methodists, sought to set itself up as the denomination's sole school for the "South Central" area. Instead, after 1886 it found itself one of the branches of a two-campus university directed by one chancellor, although it remained the most important branch for a short period. Under the leadership of John A. Race, chancellor from 1897 to 1913, however, the Chattanooga branch almost completely overshadowed the Athens college. Chatta-

nooga's present title was assumed on June 8, 1907; in May, 1909, its holdings were turned over to the board of trustees by the church. The Athens branch obtained a friendly separation in 1925. Complete independence of denominational control was granted to the university in 1935. In discussing these complicated and jealousy-ridden questions, the authors have for the most part approached their study without excessive bias or prejudice.

Endowment of the university has been increased by three financial campaigns, for important gifts have been obtained locally from members of the John A. Patten family and outside from Andrew Carnegie, Daniel Kimball Pearsons, the General Education Board, and the Methodist Church. Although the university has specialized since 1904 in training for the B.A. degree, students have been attracted at times by such degrees as S.T.B. (bachelor of sacred theology) and B.O. (bachelor of oratory), by a liberal scholarship program, and more lately by the G. I. Bill of Rights.

The book contains a foreword by the university president. Illustrations are attractively arranged. Footnotes are meager and inconsistent; there is an index and an appendix, the latter including a short bibliography. The format is good. The book is crowded with references to persons whose names will arouse local interest and memories. Several expressions of local pride are noticeable. There are few critical appraisals either of academic and educational practices or of most of the officials who have been connected with the school. Discussion of the development of Chattanooga as a commercial center is inadequate. Despite these faults, the study presents in an attractive style information that will be of interest to educators, social historians, and friends of the university.

Weymouth T. Jordan.

Alabama Polytechnic Institute,
Auburn, Ala.

The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890. By Vernon Lane Wharton, (Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina Press. 1947. Pp. 298. $3.00.)

The Mississippians, not unlike the other southerners, had to solve the problem of living together with the freed Negro at the

close of the Civil War. In the beginning the federal government attempted a solution to the racial problem by giving the freedmen social, economic, and political rights. But some of the whites were displeased with their former slaves having these privileges, so they, after restoration of home rule, resorted to other means of racial adjustment, this time by disfranchisement, segregation, and discrimination. After more than a half century of operation of this solution, Dr. Vernon Lane Wharton in his book, *The Negro in Mississippi 1865-1890*, tells us, "No serious student . . . can believe that the method worked out in this period . . . offers the final answer to the question of relation of the races." Furthermore, the author says, "there is abundant evidence that it is even now breaking down, and that the rate of the breakdown is increasing." With these conclusions Dr. Wharton re-studies the activities of the Negro in Mississippi between the years 1865-1890 so that "more knowledge" of the Negro's behavior can be presented that will be serviceable to the experts in the field of race relations.

The topics discussed by the author are Negro adjustment in the labor market, education, religion, social life, race relations, and politics. The section given the most attention by him is that dealing with the Negro in the political life of the state. This is by far the most enlightening part of the book, because his revision overthrows the old theories of W. A. Dunning and others who believed that "corruption and misrule" were manifested in the "Africanized" state of Mississippi. The author has collected data from manuscripts, official records, documents, and special studies and has shown, among other things, that "there is no evidence of open fraud among Negro-Republican Control." To illustrate this, he has compared the tax rate in the thirty-nine Democratic counties with that in the thirty-four Republican counties and has found that it was 12 7/13 mills in the former areas and 13 7/17 mills in the latter——"a difference," he says, "of less than a mill."

The leaders of the constitutional convention in 1868, Negro and white, gave to the state a model constitution. This was attested when S. S. Calhoon, the leader of the disfranchisement movement in 1890, had to admit, "It is a stranger fact that the

good in it, we owe to the negroes under the conservative influence of their former owners and eminent citizens. . . ."

Then, too, the three national Negro Republican leaders who represented the state in Congress followed the general pattern of the politicians in the state, county, and local governments, that is, they did not show any animosity toward the whites nor did they act in the role of Negro-lovers. In the main the bills, resolutions, and petitions they presented were similar to the ones presented by other National leaders in both Senate and House. Had the author cited some of the bills that these Negroes introduced in Congress, greater emphasis would have been given their behavior while representing the people of Mississippi in Washington.

In writing about the conduct of the Negro in the other aspects of adjustments, listed above, the author fails to apprise the reader of anything new that will be of value to guide the present leaders of race relations. Perhaps this lack could have been overcome had he made use of more primary source material instead of depending upon secondary studies for his information.

In spite of the weaknesses of the book in several sections, it is an excellent re-evaluation of the part the Negro played in the rebuilding of Mississippi, 1865-1890. Dr. Wharton has opened the way for other historians to do some revision of this period in other southern states. If they would do it, the students of race relations could take this new information and set up a program so that the two races might be able to live in peace in the South. Then the final chapter of the Civil War would be closed.

Tinsley L. Spraggins.

St. Augustine's College,
Raleigh, N. C.

The Civil War Diary of General Josiah Gorgas. . . . Edited by Frank E. Vandiver. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1947. Pp. xiii, 208. $3.00.)

Josiah Gorgas, a native of Pennsylvania, graduated from West Point and held a commission in the United States Army until late March, 1861. Five days after resigning as a United States officer he became a major and the Chief of Ordnance of the swiftly forming Confederate Army. In November, 1864, he was pro-

moted to brigadier-general, having been recommended by Jefferson Davis for "supreme efficiency." His diary for the years 1857-1877 has for some years been at the Library of Congress, available to scholars.

For publishing those portions of the diary which cover the war years, 1861 through 1865, Mr. Vandiver deserves credit. He has secured permission to publish most of this section, although "some deletions have been made at the request of the Gorgas family." Thus a sizable portion of the diary, that covering the most active and notable years, is now made generally available, and in a form substantially complete. Editing has been done with care, the arrangement is neat, and the binding is attractive.

To evaluate this diary as an historical document is, the editor himself frankly admits, difficult. "Obvious" reasons of secrecy prevented the inclusion of any especially illuminating comment on the ordnance department of the Confederacy. Neither is any new light thrown on the campaigns of the war, for diary entries are all too frequently based upon rumors which Gorgas himself doubted. Once he wrote, "The Yankees are probably the greatest liars, but we are not much behind hand." Comments upon individual officers of both the Union and the Confederate armies and a reflection of the manner of civilian life in the South as the war went on are perhaps the most valuable features of the diary.

The arbitrary division headings are obviously intended for dramatic effect and are not always appropriate to the material included. For example, under the heading, "Richmond Hears The Cannons," one finds comments on such battles as Manassas, Springfield, Fort Sumter, Roanoke Island, Shiloh, Fort Donelson, and Baton Rouge, before he finds comments concerning movements around Richmond. As a matter of fact, less than half of the material here included fits the section heading.

The relegation of footnotes to the end of each chapter, too often insisted upon by publishers, is irritating to one who wishes to read the editor's comments as he goes along. This is the more to be regretted since, in this particular case, the notes are interesting and represent careful research.

W. F. Burton.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh, N. C.

Preliminary Checklist for Abingdon, 1807-1876; Number I of the Virginia Imprint Series. Edited by John Cook Wyllie. (Richmond: The Virginia State Library. 1946. Pp. 45. $1.00.)

This, the first in the projected Virginia imprints series, is only a preliminary checklist. Printing began in Abingdon, Virginia, in 1806. In attempting to collect as many Abingdon products as possible, it has been estimated that perhaps not more than one-fifth of them have been preserved. The ones that have been preserved are widely scattered.

This slender mimeographed volume is in size and format reminiscent of the activities of the Historical Records Survey, from which, as a matter of fact, it stems. It is admittedly an incomplete product incorporating a plea for additional information, although some interesting items are included. It is hoped that the readers of this checklist will search for any Abingdon products prior to 1876, excluding newspapers and blank forms. Any information concerning the existence of such items should be forwarded to John Cook Wyllie, Curator of Rare Books, The University of Virginia.

W. F. Burton.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh, N. C.

Land Title Origins: A Tale of Force and Fraud. By Alfred N. Chandler. (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation. 1945. Pp. xviii, 550. $3.00.)

A veteran traveler, economist, and land-reformer, the author of the book under review can personally recall how the first railroads of the western plains followed a meandering course so that their promoters could "collect a greater acreage in land grants, and an increased amount of railroad company bonds . . . for each mile of road constructed," and how "some men wept and some attempted suicide at the realization of their financial ruin" during the panic of 1873 (pp. 506, 508). When Henry George published his classic *Progress and Poverty* in 1879, Mr. Chandler had just reached twenty-one. Clearly he is a George disciple, for running through *Land Title Origins* like a refrain is the argument that the earth is the heritage of mankind, that all men have a natural right to land, that population increase and com-

munity enterprise raise land value, that custom foolishly allows privileged individuals to hold unused land for speculative purposes, and that a sufficiently high tax on land value would return unused land to the market and would eliminate the many other taxes on production and consumption.

From this single-tax point of view, then, the author describes the beginning and development of land tenure policies in the United States. His sources are almost entirely secondary, and from them he has culled every possible reference to land, land grants, and land titles. Approximately four-fifths of the work deals with the thirteen colonies. Mr. Chandler reaches the all-too-obvious conclusion that present-day titles rest ultimately upon conquest, dispossession, and speculation—"force and fraud."

As a piece of historical scholarship the book exhibits several shortcomings. Its author appears to place as much reliance upon Bancroft, Fiske, and state histories written a century ago as he does upon modern studies of the land question like those of Thomas P. Abernethy, Benjamin H. Hibbard, and Payson J. Treat. The many pages devoted to familiar general history, the overwhelming amount of superfluous detail, and some repetition make the book much too long. The author's habitual use of the passive voice, and occasionally his awkward sentence structure and phraseology, mar the literary style. Bibliography and index are useful, but there are no footnotes.

Nevertheless, errors of fact seem to be few. One may mention that the European population of Maine could hardly have totaled 1,200 in 1620 (p. 85) if the first permanent settlement of the region did not occur until 1625 or 1626 (p. 89); the Morrill Land-Grant Act became law in 1862, not 1864 (p. 502); the government under the Constitution was inaugurated in 1789, not 1797 (p. 548). More careful checking and proof-reading doubtless would have made consistent the variable spelling of a few proper names and would have corrected a number of misspelled words. In parts of the chapter on "The Carolinas" a more precise designation of "North Carolina" and "South Carolina" would have proved helpful—as in the reference to the establishment of Beaufort (p. 369).

Readers with a legal turn of mind, and lovers of minute and curious Americana, will find much of interest in this work that required a ten-year period of research and three years of writing. Even serious students may discover valuable clues. In the great body of literature on the land question, however, *Land Title Origins* must assume a rank of minor importance.

Stuart Noblin.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh, N. C.

The South, Old and New: A History 1820-1947. By Francis Butler Simkins (New York: Alfred A. Knoff, 1947. Pp. xvi, 527. $6.00.)

Teachers who have been bewailing the lack of a textbook for courses on the New South may now cease their lamentations, for *The South, Old and New* is admirably suited for such a purpose since more than two-thirds of it is devoted to the period following the Civil War. The chapters on the Old South are designed primarily to give the reader a necessary background for the study of the later period. The starting point is set in 1820 because it was in the Missouri controversy of that year that the development of southern sectionalism began. Racial pride, or racial prejudice, was the principal amalgam of southern unity and accordingly becomes with Professor Simkins, as with the late Professor Phillips, the central theme of southern history. In his picture of the southern social system the author rejects both the calumnies of the northern abolitionists and the distortions of southern ancestor-worshipers. With sound scholarship he points out the evils of slavery and also its benefits, especially in lifting the Negro from an African savage into an American workman. He gives considerable attention to the yeoman farmer, the neglect of whom by historians has constituted the greatest misfeasance in southern history. He shows that the Old South was fundamentalist in religion and that it made definite progress in education.

In discussing Lincoln's responsibility for the outbreak of war, the author has had to make his choice between the mythmakers and the scholars. He has chosen the latter, and has shown courage of the highest order in his criticisms of the war Presi-

dent. And just as his courage in criticising Lincoln will probably arouse the ire of our northern brethren, so his courage in pointing out good features of Radical reconstruction and carpetbaggery will probably not be too well received in the South. The reviewer does not concede that from Radical reconstruction there resulted "reforms in organization of courts, in codes of judicial procedure, in systems of county government and school administration, in the manner of electing public officials, and in methods of taxation." But no one can fail to recognize the honesty of the author or his scholarship in presenting his conclusions.

The Bourbons who succeeded the carpetbaggers had as their main task the insuring of white supremacy. Their success in doing this led the southern people to overlook their promotion of manufactures to the neglect of agricultural interests, their sponsoring of crop-lien legislation, their *laissez-faire* attitude toward railroad evils, and their nepotism in office, until about 1890, when the Agrarians led by the planter class drove them out. The Agrarians, however, were as intent on white supremacy as were the Bourbons and proceeded to bring about Negro disfranchisement by constitutional changes. They increased aid to education, indorsed prohibition, and put an end to crop-liens and convict leasing. As to the demagogues who came into power, Professor Simkins says, in words certain to be widely quoted, that "perhaps the greatest tragedy of twentieth century politics was not that such men were so popular but that the admiration they aroused was not altogether undeserved."

The key-note of *The South, Old and New* is struck in the first chapter, "The Everlasting South." The South of 1947 is the South of 1820 with ideals and culture essentially unchanged by time, war, reconstruction, progress, and poverty. What the South was, it is and shall be. No amount of pressure has made, or can make, it abandon its fundamental tenet of white supremacy; the Negro has made no progress toward social equality and can make none. This is the point of view of a realist who sees things as they are rather than as he would like them to be.

It is perhaps superfluous to say about a book by Professor Simkins that it is well written, abounding in humor and satire and deft epigram. Its scholarship is unimpeachable although

exceptions will be taken to some of its interpretations. It has thirty-five pages of bibliography arranged chapter by chapter according to the text. The reviewer believes it will be widely read by the general public. Because of his interest in promoting the study of southern history, he thinks it deserves a wide adoption as a text.

R. S. Cotterill.

Florida State University,
Tallahassee, Florida.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr. Elizabeth Commetti, assistant professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has been awarded a grant-in-aid by the Social Science Research Council to complete her research for a book entitled "The Impact of the Revolutionary War on the Civilian Population."

Miss Zoe Swecker, instructor in history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has been awarded the Cleo Hearon Fellowship at the University of Chicago for graduate study there next year.

Mrs. Carolina A. Daniel, who has been supplying as an instructor in history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has been granted a fellowship at the University of North Carolina to continue her work next year for the Ph.D. degree in history.

Miss Sarah Lemmon, a member of the staff of Meredith College, will continue her graduate study at the University of North Carolina during the summer session.

Dr. James W. Patton, head of the department of history and political science at North Carolina State College, has been appointed assistant director of the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina, effective July 1.

Dr. Preston W. Edsall of North Carolina State College has been appointed head of the department of history and political science.

Dr. C. B. Robson of the University of North Carolina has resigned as head of the department of political science effective September 1. After that date he will continue as a professor in the department.

Dr. Howard K. Beale of the history department at the University of North Carolina has resigned effective July 1 to accept an appointment at the University of Wisconsin.

Dr. M. L. Skaggs of Greensboro College will teach during the summer school at Wake Forest College.

Dr. Edward O. Guerrant, associate professor of history at Davidson College, will teach in the summer school at the University of Southern California.

Mr. Henry Howard Eddy, chief of the division of archives and manuscripts of the State Department of Archives and History, has resigned, effective May 11, to accept a position as chief of public records of the state of Pennsylvania.

Mr. W. F. Burton, Jr., researcher for the highway marker program of the State Department of Archives and History, has been promoted to the position of chief of the division of archives and manuscripts in that department. He will fill the place vacated by Mr. Eddy.

Mr. William S. Powell, a member of the staff of the library of Yale University, will join the staff of the State Department of Archives and History as researcher of the highway marker program. Mr. Powell has his master's degree in history from the University of North Carolina.

Dr. Edgar W. Knight of the University of North Carolina will teach in the first summer school at that institution. At the second summer session he will give a seminar in American educational history at Duke University. Dr. Knight, who is compiling for publication a documentary history of education in the South, has edited and published the following as by-products of his study: "North Carolina's 'Dartmouth College Case,'" *The Journal of Higher Education,* XIX (March 1948), 116-122; and "More Evidence of Horace Mann's Influence in the South," *The Education Forum,* XII (January 1948), 167-184. The University of North Carolina Press has also published *The Contribution of the University to the Public,* edited by Dr. Knight.

Dr. Alice B. Keith, associate professor of history at Meredith College, published an article entitled "Relaxations in the British

Restrictions on the American Trade with the British West Indies, 1783-1802," in the *Journal of Modern History,* March, 1948.

Dr. Richard L. Watson of Duke University published an article entitled "Congressional Attitudes Toward Military Preparedness, 1829-1835," in the March, 1948, issue of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review.*

Printice-Hall, Inc., has recently published a book entitled *The Far East: A History of the Impact of the West on Eastern Asia,* by Dr. Paul H. Clyde of Duke University.

The University of North Carolina Press recently published a book entitled *The Papacy and European Diplomacy, 1869-1878,* by Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace of Meredith College.

The University of Illinois Press has recently published a volume entitled *Agricultural Literature and the Early Illinois Farmer,* by Richard Bardolph, assistant professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

Roundtree Chronicles, 1827-1840: Documentary Primer of a Tar Heel Faith (1947, p. 64), by Charles Crossfield Ware, has recently been published by the North Carolina Christian Missionary Convention, Wilson, N. C.

History of Missionary Methodism, 1913-1948 (1948, p. 40), by Dan S. Hardin has recently been published by the *Forest City Courier,* Forest City, N. C.

The State Department of Archives and History has recently published *The Silversmiths in North Carolina,* (1948, p. 93), by Dr. George B. Cutten, and *Explorations, Descriptions, and Attempted Settlements of Carolina, 1584-1590,* (1948 p. 136), edited by David Leroy Corbitt. These pamphlets are available free to those libraries and individuals who request them.

Washington and Lee University recently conferred the degree of doctor of letters on Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University as a part of the bicentennial celebration of that institution.

Dr. L. C. MacKinney, professor of medieval history at the University of North Carolina, gave on April 27 the third lecture in the fourth series of lectures in the humanities sponsored by the University Division of Humanities. The subject of Dr. MacKinney's lecture was "The Renaissance, Myth and or Reality."

Dr. Wendell H. Stephenson of Tulane University on April 14 spoke to the Trinity College Historical Society. The subject of his address was "Some Leaves from an Editor's Notebook."

Dr. John Hope Franklin, professor of history at Howard University, Washington, D. C., has recently delivered an address entitled "The Great Conspiracy" at Shaw University. His address was delivered at the beginning of the Negro Historical Week Observance at that Institution.

During the first quarter of the year Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History, made a number of addresses, as follows: to students of Needham Broughton High School, Raleigh, January 6; to the students of Hugh Morson High School, Raleigh, January 30; to the New Hanover County Bar Association, Wilmington, March 16; and to the United Daughters of the Confederacy and various groups of school children in Salisbury, March 18.

Mrs. J. E. Latham of Greensboro has given an additional $100,000 for the restoration of Tyron's Palace at New Bern. Previously Mrs. Latham had given $150,000 for this project contingent upon the State's raising $150,000 for the same purpose. The Daughters of the American Revolution have taken as one of their projects the assistance of Mrs. Latham in her efforts to restore the palace.

On March 2 the North Carolina Daughters of the American Revolution unveiled a marker at the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park honoring Major John Davis, a Revolutionary War hero.

The commission to erect on Capitol Square a memorial to the three North Carolina Presidents has made progress toward the

placing and unveiling of the monument, which will be located east of the Capitol, where the Vance monument now stands. The latter will be moved to a position at the east end of the mall on the south side of the square, opposite the Aycock memorial. The unveiling of the three Presidents' monument is expected to take place about the middle of October.

The Society of Colonial Wars in the state of New York has announced its annual historical essay contest. The contest will open April 1 and will close December 31. It is open to any citizen of the United States who submits to the society an essay dealing with a subject based on documents, records, manuscripts, and other material not heretofore published which shall relate to a phase of the American colonial period between the founding of Jamestown, Virginia, May 13, 1607, and the battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775. All essays and correspondence regarding the contest should be addressed to the Annual Historical Essay Contest Committee, Society of Colonial Wars, 122 East 58th Street, New York 22, New York.

Books received include Richard Bardolph, *Agricultural Literature and the Early Illinois Farmer* (Urbana, Illinois: The University of Illinois Press, 1948); Donald E. Thompson, *A Bibliography of Louisiana Books and Pamphlets* (University, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1948); Nannie M. Tilley, *The Bright Tobacco Industry, 1860-1927* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948); Charles Ross, *Colonel Dick Thompson, the Persistant Whig* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1948); Abbott Emerson Smith, *Colonists in Bondage* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947); Arthur E. James, *Chester County Clocks and Their Makers* (West Chester, Pa.: Chester County Historical Society, 1947); Frank E. Vandiver, *Confederate Blockade Running Through Bermuda, 1861-1865, Letters and Cargo Manifests* (Austin, Texas: The University of Texas Press, 1948); Everett Dick, *Dixie Frontier, A Social History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948); Benjamin Quarles, *Frederick Douglass* (Washington, D. C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1948); Frank Friedel, *Francis Lieber, Nineteenth-Century Lib-*

eral (Baton Rouge, La.: The Louisiana State University Press, 1948); John Richard Alden, *General Gage in America: Being Principally a History of His Role in the American Revolution* (Baton Rouge, La.: The Louisiana State University Press, 1948); Carl Van Doren, *The Great Rehearsal, The Story of the Making and Ratifying of the Constitution of the United States* (New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1947); Virgil Carrington Jones, *The Hatfields and the McCoys* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948); Duncan W. Robinson, *Judge Robert McAlpin Williamson, Texas' Three-Legged Willie* (Austin, Texas: Texas State Historical Association, 1948); Elmer T. Hutchinson, *Documents Relating to the Colonial Revolutionary and Post-Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey*, First Series, Vol. XL, *Calendar of New Jersey Wills, Administrators, Etc.*, Vol. XI, *1806-1809* (Trenton, N. J., MacCrellish & Quigley & Co., 1948); Richard Walser, *North Carolina in the Short Story* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948); Lillian Parker Wallace, *The Papacy and European Diplomacy, 1869-1878* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948); Aubrey L. Brooks and Hugh Talmage Lefler, *The Papers of Walter Clark* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948); Ruth Woods Dayton, *Pioneers and Their Homes on Upper Kanawna* (Charleston, West Virginia: West Virginia Publishing Company, 1948); Harpur Allen Gosnell, *Rebel Raider, Raphael Semmes's Cruise in the C. S. S. Sumter* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948); Paul Wager and Donald B. Hayman, *Resource Management in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: Institute for Research in Social Sciences University of North Carolina, 1948); William D. James, *A Sketch of the Life of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion* (Marietta, Georgia: Continental Book Company, 1948); Frank L. Owsley, Oliver P. Chitwood, and H. N. Nixon, *A Short Story of the American People* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1948); G. MacClaren Brydom, *Virginia's Mother Church* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia Historical Society, 1947); and *South Dakota State Historical Collections* (Pierre, South Dakota: State Historical Society, 1948).

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JOHN SPENCER BASSETT AS A HISTORIAN OF THE SOUTH

By WENDELL H. STEPHENSON

Among the pioneers who sought to promote historical scholarship in the South as the nineteenth century faded into the twentieth was John Spencer Bassett.[1] A native of North Carolina, he attended Trinity College, attained the doctorate at the John Hopkins University, and returned to his undergraduate alma mater as professor of history. His interests were varied and his ability was exceptional. A penchant for research and writing yielded monographs on North Carolina history, and as a corollary he assembled printed and manuscript records in the Trinity library. He inspired in his students a Jeffersonian passion "to follow truth wherever it may lead," even though it undermined southern tradition. Southern liberal in a generation dominated by conservative thinking, his provocative preachments stirred reactionaries to protestations. A dozen years at Trinity College brought local and then national recognition and an invitation to a northern professorship. Thereafter his interest in southern history waned.

Bassett's father and paternal grandfather were democratic Virginians, devout Methodists, successful carpenters and contractors, slaveholders on a small scale, and critics of slavery but not antislavery agitators. His grandparent, Richard Bassett, resident of Williamsburg, apprenticed his son Richard Baxter to a Richmond firm of contractors. After mastering the trade the younger Richard became a builder, first in Williamsburg, then in Norfolk, and finally at various places in North Carolina. In 1861 he joined the Edgecombe Guards, a company of the First North Carolina Regiment, but after the battle of Big Bethel

[1] Much of the material for this study was assembled in 1944-1945 while the writer held a research grant from the General Education Board.

he was assigned by the Secretary of War to the Commissary Department and manufactured army supplies until the close of the war. A turn at planting in the Reconstruction era provided temporary occupation, but after a few years he returned to his original vocation. Meanwhile, in 1863, a second marriage united a southern family with New England stock. Mary Jane Wilson was the daughter of a Maine millwright who had moved to North Carolina a generation earlier. The Bassett's second child, John Spencer, was born at Tarboro on September 10, 1867.

Early education at Richlands, Goldsboro, and the Jefferson Davis Military Academy at LaGrange prepared Bassett for Trinity College, then located in Randolph County. When he enrolled as a junior in 1886, Trinity was an ordinary backwoods institution with an antiquated curriculum, inadequate financial resources, and a temporary administration. The election of John F. Crowell, graduate of Yale University, to the presidency the year after Bassett entered resulted in liberalization of the course of study and introduction of the system of election. Bassett graduated in 1888, and after teaching for a couple of years in the Durham public schools, he returned to Trinity College as instructor in English and principal of the preparatory department.[2]

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[2] Sketches of John S. Bassett are available in a brief typescript memoir, John Spencer Bassett Papers (in possession of Mrs. J. S. Bassett, Northampton, Mass.); *American Historical Review*, XXXIII (1927-1928), 713-714; XXXIV (1928-1929), 483-484; *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVII (1928), 113-116; William K. Boyd, "John Spencer Bassett," *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, 38-39; Wendell H. Stephenson, "A Half Century of Southern Historical Scholarship," *Journal of Southern History*, XI (1945), 8-12.

Bassett entered upon his career as a student and teacher at Trinity College in an era that witnessed profound developments in North Carolina education. Economic discontent which gave rise to the Populist revolt was accompanied by widespread demand for improved educational opportunities. Charles D. McIver and Edwin A. Alderman made constructive contributions in promoting popular education and a training program for teachers. At the higher education level, new schools were founded and old ones invigorated. The Agricultural and Mechanical College was established at Raleigh in 1889. Soon thereafter higher education for women received impetus with the founding of the North Carolina State Normal and Industrial College at Greensboro by the state, and Meredith College, a private school for girls, at Raleigh. The Slater Industrial and State Normal School for Negroes came into existence at Salem. The University of North Carolina, approaching its hundredth anniversary, sought to increase its revenues from the state, modernize its curriculum, and expand its patronage. This program brought it into conflict with such denominational colleges as Trinity, Wake Forest, and Davidson, which professed to believe that the University and other state-supported schools would have a "monopoly in higher education." First Wake Forest and then Trinity led the fight against the University in the latter half of the 1890's. In the rivalry between the Chapel Hill and Durham schools Bassett was an interested participant, and this brought him into conflict with Josephus Daniels. Long before the Bassett affair of 1903, the two had clashed in their private correspondence. For the educational struggle in the 1890's, see Luther L. Gobbel, *Church-State Relationships in Education in North Carolina since 1776* (Durham, 1938), chap. IV. Popular education in the state received great impetus during the administration of Governor Charles B. Aycock, 1901-1905. He campaigned for office "on a platform of white supremacy and education" and "led the movement which took the ballot from the illiterate negro until he could be prepared by education and training for its proper use, thus committing the state to a program of universal education." See Edgar W. Knight, "Charles Brantley Aycock," *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 447-448.

He was not long content to remain inadequately prepared. Inspired by Crowell and recommended by Stephen B. Weeks, he entered the John Hopkins University. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, this Baltimore institution of higher learning had become an academic focus for graduates of southern colleges and universities. Its location south of the Mason and Dixon line prompted a feeling that it was a southern university; a generous supply of scholarships for residents of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina provided financial aid; and the liberal attitude of Herbert B. Adams, director of the department of history and political science, assured sympathetic treatment of southern scholars and southern subjects.[3] Bassett studied at the Hopkins for three years, 1891-1894, emphasizing history but delving also into economics and sociology. For the first two years he was a Hopkins Scholar; in his third he held a five-hundred-dollar fellowship.[4] His dissertation, a study of *The Constitutional Beginnings of North Carolina (1663-1729)*, was published in the University *Studies in Historical and Political Science.* Armed with a degree and a zest for historical scholarship in all of its ramifications, he returned to Trinity College as professor of history, a position to which he had been elected the year before. He was not long in acquiring a reputation as the South's foremost scholar in the field of history.

Trinity College was already a Hopkins "colony" before Bassett was appointed to the chair of history. His predecessor Weeks received the doctor's degree in 1891 under Adams's tutelage, and then served for two years as professor of history and political science before a faculty quarrel with the president caused his resignation. A prolific writer in the field of North Carolina history prior to his appointment, he continued to produce creditable monographs during his incumbency. Weeks immediately turned his attention to library acquisitions and sought to interest alumni and other friends of the college in assembling historical sources on the South. He founded the Trinity College Historical Society, which was to play a vital part in stimulating historical activity under the leadership of Bassett and William K. Boyd.

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[3] Wendell H. Stephenson, "Herbert B. Adams and Southern Historical Scholarship at the Johns Hopkins University," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLII (1947), 1-20.

[4] Typescript memoir, Bassett Papers.

The intimate relations between Adams and Bassett did not end when Bassett left the Hopkins, for they corresponded frequently and the former student did not miss an opportunity to stop over in Baltimore when he made periodic migrations to work in eastern libraries. The Durham "colony" was constantly in touch with the mother institution: Bassett explained his problems, whether academic or personal, recounted his successes, and reported upon the political and educational backwardness of North Carolina and the South; his mentor offered words of encouragement and counsel.[5] On sundry occasions Bassett expressed appreciation for tangible aid. Upon learning in 1901 that Adams had resigned because of ill health, Bassett wrote that "You have been to me more than an instructor. You have given me sparks of yourself, and you have made me hope that I might be a useful man in some not unimportant way." He alluded to those "touches of new inspiration in my work" which his contacts with Adams had incited.[6]

Most of Bassett's letters reveal a spirit of hopefulness for the advancement of the college, albeit an undercurrent of discouragement is discernible. His salary was only $1,200, and North Carolina was a "narrow & uninspiring" place in which to work.[7] Meager compensation did not permit research in the east every summer. Adams pointed to the overstocked condition of "the academic market" and encouraged Bassett to believe that he was doing constructive work under adverse circumstances. "You are very fortunate in having a field of work and influence all your own. You are transforming the historic consciousness of your people and your State. You are making constant contributions to North Carolina literature. You are dispelling illusions and bringing the truth to light."[8] Another expression of dissatisfaction with conditions under which he labored brought further praise for his work in the South. Bassett's ambition was justifiable, and Adams would keep an ear to the ground for

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[5] John S. Bassett to Herbert B. Adams, July 31, 1895; January 16, 1896; November 15, December 16, 1898; April 3, 1899; December 7, 1900, W. Stull Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876-1901; As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams* (Baltimore, 1938), pp. 238-239, 242-243, 256-259, 261-262, 269-271, 291-292; Bassett to Adams, January 24, April 17, 18, May 12, 1898; June 13, 21, October 23, December 15, 1899; April 1, May 27, June 17, November 2, 1900; February 3, 17, March 5, April 21, 1901, Herbert Baxter Adams Papers (Johns Hopkins University library); Adams to Bassett, May 15, November 27, 1896; January 14, 1897; June 19, 1900; February 27, May 9, 1901, Bassett Papers.

[6] Bassett to Adams, February 17, 1901, Adams Papers.

[7] Bassett to Adams, January 16, 1896, Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, p. 243.

[8] Adams to Bassett, May 15, 1896, Bassett Papers.

a better location.[9] Learning from Bassett that "matters have taken a more favorable turn" at Trinity, Adams wished him "increased usefulness." He pointed to accomplishments that came from "continuous residence and activity in one institution." That had been Adams' experience at the Hopkins, where he had remained despite attractive offers elsewhere.[10]

Early in 1898 Bassett was "jogging on rather monotonously" because routine work prevented concentration on research. A "troublesome" French class that he had taught for the past three years clung in leechlike fashion.[11] He still complained of an inadequate salary and longed for a change of location. "Do you have a good salaried place waiting for a man?" he inquired of Adams in 1900. "I would like this place perfectly if salaries were larger."[12]

The attitude of churchmen toward the college was none too reassuring. A "holy element in the church howled," he wrote Adams in 1898, when an untrue report was circulated that Trinity College owned some stock in the tobacco trust. "There is an element in favor of withdrawing from the support of the college on account of this affair. I wish they would go. They are soreheads in general & will always be a source of annoyance to us. . . . There are a lot of fools in N. C. and it takes some time to lick them into shape. We are doing it gradually. Trinity is about the only place in the state that is trying to do it. I used to be aweary of the place; but as long as the fool-killing is to go on I want to be here to see the fun."[13] Several months earlier he had written Adams, after reading Andrew D. White's *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (1896), "a book containing many hard facts—and important ones too," that he anticipated a time when he would "clash with the authorities here on the question of orthodoxy."[14]

Despite a meager salary, heavy teaching load, unsympathetic politicians, and bigoted clerics, Bassett found appreciation for his scholarly efforts. Donations for books and for a library building prompted faith in the future; he engaged in considerable

[9] Adams to Bassett, November 27, 1896, Bassett Papers.
[10] Adams to Bassett, January 14, 1897, Bassett Papers.
[11] Bassett to Adams, January 24, 1898, Adams Papers.
[12] Bassett to Adams, May 27, 1900, Adams Papers.
[13] Bassett to Adams, November 15, 1898, Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, pp. 256-257.
[14] Bassett to Adams, January 24, 1898, Adams Papers.

research and writing; several of his colleagues were liberals; and he took genuine delight in promoting the interests of his students. Roughly processed products were shipped away to the educational homeland in Baltimore that they might partake of the same scholarly blessings that he had received from Adams. And he felt the same solicitude for their welfare that Adams had manifested in his own career. Charles C. Weaver was his first student to work for the doctorate at the Hopkins and Bassett followed his progress with avid interest. Writing of his esteem for Adams, Weaver recalled his obligations to Bassett: "Your good name here has proved a wonderful aid to me as your pupil. . . . The inspiration of your example has gone far in aiding me to work."[15] When a tragedy occurred in the household of Mrs. N. B. McDowell of Weaverville, she requested that Bassett "comfort" her nephew William Kenneth Boyd. "He has spoken of you to me and I know he has a strong attachment for you, and I hope he has won your confidence and affection."[16] Boyd was Bassett's outstanding student, and he sought in vain to steer him to the Hopkins. "He is a delightful student," Bassett wrote Adams. "He is a prize, I think." Boyd's paper on William W. Holden impressed Bassett as "the best thing ever done in N. C. Reconstruction times," and its excellence led William A. Dunning to encourage Boyd to enter Columbia University.[17]

Bassett served other students, less well known, in a multitude of ways. Nat C. Newbold inquired whether he and his brother should borrow money to continue their education at Trinity, and if so, could Bassett persuade "Mr. Duke [to] lend each of them $125-$150"?[18] High school teachers called upon him for materials to aid students preparing for debates.[19] A Burlington man requested "a few points" on a subject he was to present at an Epworth League reception, and "also refer me to books where I shall be able to find some for myself." Bassett endorsed the letter "One of many."[20]

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[15] Charles C. Weaver to Bassett, November 24, 1897, Bassett Papers. See also, Bassett to Adams, January 24, April 17, 1898; June 13, 1899, Adams Papers; Bassett to Adams, April 3, 1899, Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, p. 270.

[16] Mrs. N. B. McDowell to Bassett, February 11, 1897, Bassett Papers.

[17] Quotations are from Bassett to Adams, January 24, 1898; May 27, 1900, Adams Papers. See also, Bassett to Adams, June 17, 1900; April 21, 1901, Adams Papers; Adams to Bassett, June 19, 1900; May 9, 1901, Bassett Papers.

[18] Nat C. Newbold to Bassett, March 4, 1897, Bassett Papers.

[19] J. A. Baldwin to Bassett, March 22, 1897, Bassett Papers; Edward S. Yarbrough to Bassett, April 10, 1897, Bassett Papers.

[20] R. E. Hunt to Bassett, February 13, 1897, Bassett Papers.

If Bassett had done nothing more than teach, he would have earned his salary. In 1904 he wrote to William E. Dodd that his weekly load had been fifteen hours for many years, that the past year he had taught eighteen, and that he had constantly engaged in library activity.[21] He did not mention the fact that he was then editor of the *South Atlantic Quarterly,* that he had sundry research products under way, that he devoted considerable time to his students outside the classroom, and that he was interested in civic affairs.

Bassett taught a wide variety of courses, some of them far afield from history, but here it is enough to present only those that were related to the history of the South. He did not introduce a course in that field; not until after Boyd succeeded Bassett in 1906 was a course in southern history inaugurated. In the session of 1896-1897 two courses in state history were offered. One, a senior course running the entire year one period a week, was listed as "History of North Carolina"; the other, a graduate course in "The Political and Social Development of North Carolina," was designed to provide "as extensive a view of the history of the State as the imperfect materials to be had on that subject will warrant. Continual opportunity will be offered for preparing original papers." The following year the description of the undergraduate course was expanded to express the hope that students would be "able to understand the methods of original research from an examination of the materials at first hand. It is believed that this course will give students an impetus to historical writing and induce them to be more active in the collection of historical material."[22]

It was not state pride that prompted Bassett to introduce North Carolina history into the curriculum. Indeed, he told members of the Trinity College Historical Society, he would not delude them into thinking that North Carolinians were "the greatest people in the union, or in the world," for others "have had a greater influence on the developmnt of our common country than we." If it were necessary to choose either national or state

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[21] Bassett to William E. Dodd, February 2, 1904, William E. Dodd Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

[22] Trinity College *Catalogue for the Year 1896-'97* (Durham, 1897), pp. 50, 63; *1897-'98* (Durham, 1898), p. 53.

history, the former should be elected. Fortunately, the course of study would admit both.[23]

The department's offerings were never static. In the spring semester of the 1899-1900 session Bassett taught as a junior-senior subject "Secession in North America." It was his purpose "to make a close study of the development of the political life of the South, both before and after the war, as well as to examine in an impartial way the military history of the great struggles between the North and South." Graduate students who had not taken the course during the senior year were eligible for one with only a slight change in description. A one-semester, three-hour course in "Secession and Reconstruction" appeared for the first time in the 1901-1902 catalogue. It was designed to give students "an opportunity to study that correlative process by which that older idea of separateness rebelled against the newer idea of nationality and the effects which proceeded therefrom." These were not systematic courses in the history of the South, but apparently they embraced much material ordinarily included in the content of southern history.[24]

The Trinity College Historical Society had functioned for over two years before Bassett joined the faculty. "The object of the Society," according to its constitution, should "be to collect, arrange and preserve a library of books, pamphlets, maps, charts, manuscripts, papers, paintings, statuary and other materials illustrative of the history of North Carolina and of the South; rescue as far as possible from forgetfulness the names and deeds of our first settlers; to encourage original work in the field of Southern history and to promote the study of the same by means of lectures and publications."[25] There is reason to believe that no local historical association ever succeeded better than the Society at Trinity College in effecting its program.

Both faculty and students participated in the meetings of the society, and officers were chosen from both groups with students predominating. Papers were read not only by students and faculty but also by visiting lecturers. Bassett vitalized the organization and gave it widespread influence. According to the society's

[23] Address to the society, October 13, 1904, Nannie M. Tilley, *The Trinity College Historical Society, 1892-1941* (Durham, 1941), pp. 49-50.
[24] Trinity College *Catalogue for the Year 1899-1900* (Durham, 1900), p. 61; *1901-1902* (Durham, 1902). p. 66.
[25] Quoted in Tilley, *Trinity College Historical Society*, pp. 12-13.

historian, his contributions may be summarized as follows: "The establishment of a historical museum, the institution of a civic celebration held annually on February 22, the introduction of outside speakers, and the publication of *Historical Papers*. . . . But these external evidences of activity were merely a part of more fundamental aims for building a valuable collection of source materials and for promoting freedom of thought in the South."[26]

To stimulate interest in the society, Bassett resorted first to the assembling of a museum and second to the inauguration of a publication program. Both of these objects succeeded admirably. "From the day the museum was founded," Bassett wrote, "the interest in the Society sprang into new life. I am satisfied that it was the turning point in the life of the organization." The museum had its origin in the fall of 1894. Students, faculty, and friends of the college donated or collected relics, manuscripts, and books. In the spring of 1898 Bassett appealed "To the Friends of North Carolina History," through the medium of the *Christian Educator*, for information that would lead to the acquisition of "books, pamphlets, documents, letters, addresses, sketches, etc.," or to the discovery of "abandoned" libraries.[27]

When Bassett began his labors at Trinity, he wrote Adams in 1898, "such a thing as a document collection was unknown." Now there were over 2,000 documents, and he had been promised a fireproof vault in which to house them. He noted with satisfaction contributions by the Dukes to a library endowment and also funds to erect a building which Bassett hoped would be spacious enough to house a hundred thousand volumes. By 1900 the trustees had appointed him "manager of the library," and soon thereafter he noted a gift of $10,000 available for the purchase of books when the building was completed. He expected "to do something with Southern history on the strength of it."[28]

It was Bassett's ambition to provide a medium of publication for the society. Here again he was following in Adams' footsteps, realizing that the *Studies in Historical and Political Science* constituted a cornerstone of the Hopkins program. Bassett's

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[26] Tilley, *Trinity College Historical Society*, pp. 26-27.
[27] Tilley, *Trinity College Historical Society*, pp. 29n, 37, and *passim*.
[28] Bassett to Adams, April 17, May 22, 1898; June 13, 1899; November 2, 1900, Adams Papers; Bassett to Adams, December 7, 1900, Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, p. 292.

scheme, a very modest affair at its inception, was launched in 1895. He arranged with the editor of a student publication, *The Archive,* to run off 200 reprints of each historical article published therein, and at the end of the year they were bound into a booklet of eighty-five pages. The first issue cost only $25, and the administration was so impressed that it promised to contribute that amount annually. "So far as I know," Bassett wrote Adams, "this is but one of three historical publications (not including patriotic publications) in the South. It is the only one in N. C."[29]

The society now possessed an inexpensive but useful organ in which papers by students, faculty members, and others reached the printed page. It was Bassett's ingenuity that inaugurated the *Historical Papers;* Boyd's leadership that gave them permanency and substantial merit. Helpful as the *Papers* were, they did not serve every purpose that Bassett had in mind. Dissatisfaction with the policitcal situation in North Carolina, the necessity for a better solution of the race problem in the South, and in general the need for critical and independent thought as a basis for action prompted a desire for a medium with catholic scope and wider circulation. He therefore launched the *South Atlantic Quarterly* in 1902, and the *Historical Papers* were temporarily abandoned. Further inquiry into his teaching is necessary if one would understand the motive behind the *Quarterly.*

At the beginning of the academic year 1897-1898 Bassett had reason to feel optimistic. "Our college year has opened well," he wrote Adams. "I am doing more satisfactory work, to myself, than I have done since I have been here. . . . I am trying to put a new spirit into the historical work of the South—so far as my influence extends." The night before, he addressed the society "on our historical ideal," and the subject aroused interest. When he urged liberty to think, a renaissance in ideas, and "a respectful hearing" for divergent opinions, members of the society applauded.[30]

The speech itself indicates that Bassett understood the status of history writing in the South and the need for improvement. Three factors circumscribed southern historiography: "a lack

[29] Bassett to Adams, January 16, 1896, Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States,* pp. 242-243. See also Southern History Association *Publications* (Washington, 1897-1907), I (1897), 234.

[30] Bassett to Adams, September 26, 1897, Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States,* p. 246.

of proper historical ideals, a dearth of trained investigators, and a failure to collect sources of information." As to the first, southerners had written memoirs and newspaper anecdotes, magnified ancestral accomplishments, used "flimsy evidences" to establish the impossible, "and all of this we have called, and allowed others to call, history." This was wrong and should be stopped. A proper concept of history demanded a faithful, systematic, and comprehensive record of man's heritage; and, so far as biography was concerned, "a portrayal of all the forces of life" that influenced the subject.

In the second place, Bassett believed that the past should be recorded by trained historians. He paid his respects to the "Confederate-Brigadier-General type." In "public office of comfortable emolument" veterans of the war who "fought bravely with the sword are thus tempted to make asses of themselves with the pen." The historian of the future must have other qualifications than Confederate experience: "He must know how to weigh evidence; he must have the scientific spirit for facts; he must have the clear light of truth; he must have a knowledge of the habits of men in other places and in other times; he must know the bearings of other sciences and of literatures on history; more than all this, he must have facility in coming to historical judgments before he can so view the things that come before him that his view shall be valuable to us."

One thing was yet lacking. The scientifically trained historian could not record and interpret the past without original materials. Southerners had "pride of ancestry and . . . loyalty to our institutions," but they made few documents available to the historian. The society could stimulate North Carolinians with ancient lineage to provide the chronicler with records from chests and garrets.

Closely related to these difficulties was an absence of accuracy of thought. There was no substitute for "a devotion to truth!" As an illustration, southerners who had written about the War for Southern Independence and its issues had depended upon feeling rather than fact. "No man with instincts for accuracy can be satisfied with our statement of our own case. We have first of all to put beyond question the correctness of our position in the controversy." Southern people insisted upon "immunity

from criticism," and when any one of their number advocated an untraditional view he was "denounced as a traitor and a mercenary defiler of his birthplace." Accuracy demanded that evidence on both sides of controversial issues should be heard. "Let us conduct ourselves," Bassett urged, "that the world may know that there is in the South at least one spot in which our history may be presented in all of its claims, and where it may receive a respectful and unimpassioned hearing. If we cannot do this we are no historians, we are but partisans."[31]

The views of the thirty-year-old Bassett disclosed to Trinity College students in 1897 were drawn in part from lessons learned at the Hopkins with practical application to the needs of North Carolina and the South. His statements of the scientific concept of history, the need for trained historians, and the obligation to preserve historical materials are still valid after the lapse of half a century; the conservatism of southern society in the generation in which he expressed them made his doctrines little less than revolutionary.

Preliminary to launching the *South Atlantic Quarterly,* Bassett engaged in voluminous correspondence with friends, mainly in the South and chiefly in the historical guild. His letter files supplement the magazine itself in yielding evidence of the editor's efforts to build up a forum of liberal thought and of contemporary reaction to his accomplishments. Sponsored originally by the "9019" society of Trinity College, it was soon taken over by a publishing company formed by a local group.[32] Bassett hoped eventually to pay contributors, but remuneration was impossible at its inception. During the first year, however, certain contributors were given five subscriptions to the *Quarterly,* one for the author and four for non-subscribers designated by him.[33] The first year closed "with out loss or profit," a result that was indeed gratifying.[34]

The *Quarterly* was in part modelled after the *Sewanee Review,* brain-child of William P. Trent, which began publication a decade earlier. The new venture would "be devoted to the literary, historical, and social development of the South," the "sober and instructive articles" would be designed to appeal "to the smaller

[31] The speech is quoted in Tilley, *Trinity College Historical Society,* pp. 51-59.
[32] Typescript memoir, Bassett Papers.
[33] Bassett to John M. Vincent, November 27, December 8, 1901, Adams Papers.
[34] Bassett to Vincent, November 2, 1902, Adams Papers.

audience of serious minded" southerners. With friends in southern colleges and universities pledging an enthusiastic cooperation, Bassett brought out the first issue in January, 1902. The *Quarterly* would be "a medium of encouraging every honest literary effort," he announced. To accomplish this end "there must be liberty to think," and the editor would therefore accept contributions even though the opinions expressed differed from his own. If he could stimulate among southerners a search for truth, the existence of the journal would be justified.[35]

For nearly two years southern conservatives ignored the *Quarterly* and its liberal spirit. Friends of liberalism commended its policy, although some of them pointed to a preponderance of historical articles in early numbers and to a prominence of Trinity professors among its contributors.[36] As the editor's acquaintance widened and the magazine acquired a creditable reputation, these unbalances were partially adjusted. In other premises commendation was unrestrained. Edwin A. Alderman, president of Tulane University, wrote Bassett "what a wonderfully good magazine you are making. It is the best thing that has ever appeared in my day in the South. Its dignity, its freedom of speech, its calmness, its evident determination to speak the truth, commend it most highly to me."[37] Acknowledging a copy of the *Quarterly*, Charles M. Andrews of Bryn Mawr College asserted that "You have certainly undertaken a magnificent work in attempting to develop what you call a more vital literary activity in the South and the result of your experiment will be watched with the greatest interest and sympathy by every one who is concerned for the educational and literary future of this country. . . . I look with increasing admiration upon you men of the South, from North Carolina to Texas, for the enthusiasm and energy that you are all displaying in the endeavor, to show your historical colleagues of the Middle, North, and West that there is a great world south of Mason and Dixon's line, full of latent power and force, that only needs cultivation

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[35] Bassett to Henry G. Connor, November 12, 1901, Henry G. Connor Papers (University of North Carolina library); Bassett to Vincent, December 8, 1901, Adams Papers; "Editor's Announcement," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, I (1902), 1-3.

[36] Charles L. Raper to Bassett, February 2, 1902, Bassett Papers; Dodd to Bassett, February 6, 1902, Bassett Papers; Burr J. Ramage to Bassett, May 1, 1902, Bassett Papers. Raper was personally piqued at Bassett because of an unfavorable review of his *North Carolina: A Royal Province, 1729-1775* (1901). See *South Atlantic Quarterly*, I (1902), 93-94.

[37] Edwin A. Alderman to Bassett, October 19, 1903, Bassett Papers.

to show what it can accomplish."[38] Other appraisals, similarly phrased, came in letters from many scholars or appeared in newspapers and literary magazines.[39]

Bassett contributed frequently to the *Quarterly* during his forty months as editor; less often after he retired from that position. He got to "The Bottom of the Matter" in the second number with a discussion of the South's literary backwardness. Literature, he said, would not emanate from the southern region until southerners desired it. He found "no strong love of books" in the South. The situation could not be explained by saying that no good books were written by southerners or that they were too indigent to purchase them. Four forces, Bassett thought, provided a foundation for future achievement: the development of southern urban life, an educational renaissance, a regional pride that demanded creative literary effort, and a sufficient esthetic sense for the appreciation of "at least the lighter and entertaining forms of literature."[40]

In presenting "The Problems of the Author in the South," Bassett named first southern provincialism which fostered antiquated "matter of thought" and annihilated "that literary atmosphere which writers find essential to creative work." Some authors had left the South temporarily, some permanently, to breathe "the fresh air of cosmopolitanism." Southern institutions of higher learning were responsible for "poverty of scholarship," for education was "too shallow to give the culture which must underlie literary production." Poverty of the author was another factor. But perhaps the greatest impediment to creative and productive work was a resentful attitude toward criticism, notably among newspaper editors. Bassett cited the attack by a North Carolinian on Trent's biography of William Gilmore Simms. The editor might disagree with the author, but why should he characterize him as a miscreant and assail his personal rectitude? "The future of authorship in the South," Bassett

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[38] Charles M. Andrews to Bassett, May, 1902, Bassett Papers.

[39] See, for example, W. Roy Smith to Bassett, February 13, 1902, Bassett Papers; Dodd to Bassett, April 28, 1902; February 5, 1903, Bassett Papers; Thomas M. Owen to Bassett, July 14, 1902, Bassett Papers; Bernard C. Steiner to Bassett, July 15, 1902; November 2, 1903, Bassett Papers; Franklin L. Riley to Bassett, November 10, 1902, Bassett Papers; Charles F. Smith to Bassett, November 22, 1902, Bassett Papers; *American Historical Review*, VII (1901-1902), 822; *Sewanee Review*, X (1902), 251-252.

[40] [John S. Bassett], "The Bottom of the Matter," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, I (1902), pp. 99-106.

concluded, "will be in the hands of the new man"—one "not descended from what are supposed to be the leading classes."[41]

Political intolerance in the South greatly disturbed him. In an article on "The Reign of Passion," he alluded to an unidentified convention in North Carolina, undoubtedly an assemblage of Republicans—"a representative gathering of American citizens" who "were performing not only an innocent and a legal, but a beneficial act of citizenship." A Democratic paper in a nearby town reported the proceedings in "a spirit of contemptuous vituperation. Not content with attacking the views of its adversaries," the editor proceeded "to ridicule them personally and individually." Southerners had "long ceased to battle for ideas"; real statesmanship of the past was supplanted by "appeals to feeling." Bassett traced historically the growing dominance of passion in southern politics, and urged tolerant differences of opinion as a desideratum.[42]

Bassett's most provocative article, "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy," appeared in the October, 1903, issue.[43] It is analyzed in some detail elsewhere;[44] here it is sufficient to indicate that the piece caused a storm of protest from North Carolina conservatives and a demand that he resign. He successfully weathered the storm, and academic freedom gained a notable victory.

Soon thereafter William E. Dodd contributed an article on "Some Difficulties of the History Teacher in the South,"[45] and dissentients expressed themselves in strong language. Bassett replied in "The Task of the Critic." According to the editor, Dodd "was pronounced a traitor to the South and a flatterer of those who were not in sympathy with the section in which he lives." Bassett did not attempt to "defend" Dodd nor to "controvert" his enemies. He spoke of the eternal war of the critic on conservatism: "It is not to be denied that both conservatism and criticism abuse their functions at times. Conservatism

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[41] [John S. Bassett], "The Problems of the Author in the South," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, I (1902), pp. 201-208.

[42] [John S. Bassett], "The Reign of Passion," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, I (1902), pp. 301-309.

[43] [John S. Bassett], "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, II (1903), 297-305.

[44] See a companion study, "The Negro in the Thinking and Writing of John Spencer Bassett," which will appear in the October, 1948, issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review*.

[45] William E. Dodd, "Some Difficulties of the History Teacher in the South," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, III (1904), 117-122.

summons prejudice to its aid all too frequently . . . . the defenders of conservatism turn on the critic in furious personal attacks. They denounce his motives; they pronounce him a traitor to his people." But the critic also had his faults. He overstated, often deliberately, "the extent of the evils which he seeks to remedy."[46]

The *South Atlantic Quarterly* under Bassett's editorship contained more than literary criticism and analyses of present-day southern problems, for he published a generous proportion of historical articles. The editor himself made such contributions as the "Character of the Early Virginia Trade," "The Industrial Decay of the Southern Planter," "The Negro's Inheritance from Africa," and "A Revival of Interest in North Carolina History."[47] Among other articles written by southern men on southern subjects were: "The Anti-Slavery Sentiment in Virginia," by James C. Ballagh;[48] "North Carolina in the Revolution," by William E. Dodd;[49] "The Peace Movement in Alabama During the Civil War," by Walter L. Fleming;[50] "The Economics of the Plantation" and "Conservatism and Progress in the Cotton Belt," by Ulrich B. Phillips;[51] "The Removal of Legal and Political Disabilities, 1868-1898," by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton;[52] and "Some Effects of Industrialism in an Agricultural State," by Holland Thompson.[53]

Bassett's valedictory as editor of the *Quarterly* appeared in the first issue of 1905. He retired "reluctantly," he said, "because of an accumulation of other labors which cannot be declined." He expressed his obligation to "the intelligent men—most of them Southerners—who have been chiefly responsible for the success of the enterprise," and he was pleased "that the literary life of the South was being advanced. The difficulties of the undertaking, which at first were many, have continually decreased. The fact that every article in the present number is by a native Southerner is a matter of gratification to the editor."[54]

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[46] [John S. Bassett], "The Task of the Critic," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, III (1904), 297-301.
[47] *South Atlantic Quarterly*, I (1902), 73-81; II (1903), 107-113; III (1904), 99-108, 370-376.
[48] *South Atlantic Quarterly*, I (1902), 107-117.
[49] *South Atlantic Quarterly*, I (1902), 156-161.
[50] *South Atlantic Quarterly*, II (1903), 114-124, 246-260.
[51] *South Atlantic Quarterly*, II (1903), 231-236; III (1904), 1-10.
[52] *South Atlantic Quarterly*, II (1903), 346-358; III (1904), 39-51.
[53] *South Atlantic Quarterly*, IV (1905), 71-77.
[54] *South Atlantic Quarterly*, IV (1905), 91.

During Bassett's first half dozen years at Trinity College he established himself as a North Carolina historian. As a graduate student at the Hopkins and as professor at Trinity, he wisely exploited local sources; with few exceptions his publications before the turn of the century treated aspects of his own state's history. In concentrating upon local materials in his formative years, he was following sound principle, but perhaps a major factor in determining his interest was the publication, between 1886 and 1890, of that ten-volume storehouse of primary evidence, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina.* He began his monograph on "The Regulators of North Carolina" (1895) by suggesting that the printing of these documents would require a revision of the colonial epoch.[55] Nearly eighty per cent of the citations in this study were to that monumental work; his doctor's dissertation, *The Constitutional Beginnings of North Carolina* (1894),[56] depended upon it in equal amount; and more than half of the material in his *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina* (1896)[57] was drawn from it. Next in importance for his colonial and state studies were the North Carolina laws and codes. Court reports were used to good advantage, and so were newspapers on occasion, particularly in *Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina* (1898)[58] and in *Slavery in the State of North Carolina* (1899).[59] There was a sprinkling of citations to manuscripts, mainly to unpublished laws and to records of religious groups. Two colonial accounts—John Lawson's *A New Voyage To Carolina; Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of that Country* (1709) and John Brickell's *The Natural History of North-Carolina* (1737)—provided substantial contemporary evidence, and four or five early histories of the commonwealth were used with discrimination. John A. Doyle's *English Colonies in America* (1882-1907) and Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* (1884-1889) were employed for background; and monographs by other Hopkins students promoted comparisons with other states.

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[55] American Historical Association, *Annual Report,* 1894 (Washington, 1895), pp. 141-212. For Bassett's brief paper, "Suffrage in the State of North Carolina," see American Historical Association, *Annual Report,* 1895 (Washington, 1896), pp. 269-285.

[56] Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science,* ser. XII, no. 3.

[57] John Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science,* ser. XIV, nos. 4-5.

[58] John Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science,* ser. XVI, no. 6.

[59] John Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science,* ser. XVII, nos. 7-8.

Bassett's study of the Regulators is easily the best of his North Carolina brochures. Most of the pertinent sources were utilized, the evidence was handled judiciously, and "The Regulation Proper" was prefaced by consideration of the country's topography, the colony's social and institutional patterns, the Regulators' grievances, the leaders of the movement, and previous conflicts between authority and settlers. While Bassett was fair to royal agents in the colony, he regarded the movement as "a worthy struggle for liberty," and he concluded that "justness" was "chiefly on the side of the Regulators." He insisted that the Regulation was "a peasants' rising, a popular upheaval," rather than a revolution, and that it was political and economic rather than religious.[60]

Beyond his North Carolina studies, Bassett's Trinity College tenure yielded two significant works, an edition of *The Writings of "Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia, Esqr."* (1901), and a volume in the American Nation Series, *The Federalist System, 1789-1801* (1906). Brief articles appeared from time to time not only in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* but also in historical periodicals and elsewhere.

The Byrd volume was published in attractive format in limited edition. An eighty-page introduction, "The Byrd Family in Virginia," was a creditable essay on social, economic, and political life in the Old Dominion during the latter half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, as reflected in the careers of the first two William Byrds. Material for the biographical sketches and their background was drawn mainly from the letters of the Byrds, father and son; the Noel W. Sainsbury transcripts of Virginia papers in the British Public Record Office; and the Minutes of the Virginia Council. Among miscellaneous sources were the "Byrd Title-book," the Alexander Spotswood letters, William W. Hening's *Statutes at Large,* and the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography.* Bassett concluded that the elder Byrd "had a great deal of business capacity and somewhat less of social capacity, while the younger had a great deal of social capacity and somewhat less of business ca-

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[60] John S. Bassett, "The Regulators of North Carolina," America Historical Association, *Annual Report,* 1894, pp. 141-143, 211.

pacity."[61] Some errors in the essay were corrected by the later researches of Philip A. Bruce, Thomas J. Wertenbaker, and Louis B. Wright, and the last in particular greatly expanded our knowledge of the Byrd family and its background.

Encouraged by J. Franklin Jameson,[62] Bassett intended to publish many of the extant Byrd letters, but when he discovered that the Virginia Historical Society was assembling them for publication in its *Magazine,* he decided to reprint only a few for illustrative purposes. He included in his edition of the *Writings* the "History of the Dividing Line," "A Journey to the Land of Eden," "A Progress to the Mines," and some "Miscellaneous Letters." As appendixes he printed "A Catalogue of Books in the Library at Westover Belonging to William Byrd Esqr." and a genealogy of the Byrd family prepared originally by William G. Stanard, secretary of the Virginia Historical Society.

It has been noted that Bassett resigned as editor of the *South Atlantic Quarterly* because "other labors" had been accumulating. The important task he had accepted was a volume in the American Nation Series, with a deadline that required concentrated effort. Not until October 22, 1904, did Albert B. Hart, editor of the cooperative work, invite him to contribute the *Federalist System* to the series, and the invitation designated August 1 of the following year as the date when the completed manuscript must be in his hands. As Bassett had but nine months to do the research and write 70,000 words, it is understandable why he relinquished editorship of the *Quarterly.*

Hart explained that Andrew C. McLaughlin had agreed to write volume XI as well as volume X *(The Confederation and the Constitution),* but that it would be impossible for him to finish the second on schedule. As Edward Channing, a New Englander, would write the *Jeffersonian System,* "there would be an obvious fitness in committing the previous volume to a Southern man whose reputation for fairness of view is so well established as yours."[63] Apparently the manuscript was finished on schedule, for Hart wrote on August 29, 1905, that he was return-

[61] John S. Bassett (ed.), *The Writings of "Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia Esqr."* (Garden City, N. Y., 1901), p. xlii. The volume was not a money-making proposition for Bassett. He received $100 for editorial work and $40 to pay the cost of typing. Doubleday, Page and Company to Bassett, April 22, 1901, Bassett Papers. For correspondence relative to the $10 price of the volume, see Dodd to Bassett, October 6, 1901, Bassett Papers; Bassett to Dodd, October 11, 1901, Dodd Papesr.

[62] J. Franklin Jameson to Bassett, April 19, 1901, Bassett Papers.

[63] Albert B. Hart to Bassett, October 22, 1904, Bassett Papers.

ing it for slight revision. "The volume is an excellent one," he commented, "and will take an honorable place in the series. I am amazed that you have been able, under such pressure, to write so smoothly, incisively, and so much to the point. You have seized better than some of the other authors, on the fundamental idea that the series deals with large subjects in a large way." Hart was pleased with the "tone" as well as the organization, and as to composition, "the style has been polished to such a point of completion that the book might almost go to press as it reached me." The several pages of editorial comment and criticism that Hart enclosed concerned, for the most part, matters of minor import.

The manuscript was back in the editor's hands by October 10,[64] and it was published in January, 1906. Bassett's accomplishment in so short a time was almost incredible; few historians could have delivered the study so promptly. The task could hardly have been completed on time if the author had been required to examine manuscript materials. A letter of inquiry in this premise brought a statement of editorial policy: a plethora of printed sources would provide sufficient evidence, and a paucity of time would preclude research in manuscripts.[65] Footnotes as well as the "Critical Essay on Authorities" indicate that Bassett used the pertinent printed sources, and that he also examined monographs and biographies.

Hart's eulogistic appraisal of the work seems justified. The organization of the volume was clear and logical; illustrative material was well selected and woven into the narrative unobtrusively; the text was written in simple but forceful English. It emphasized political and diplomatic history, though an effort was made to round out and balance the dozen years under review by chapters on "The Republican Court," "The State of Society," and "Economic Conditions." The warring political factions of the period were presented with less bias than in many treatises written thirty or forty years later, though the author was slightly prejudiced in favor of the Federalists and the system they established.

The Life of Andrew Jackson did not appear until 1911, but the project was under way as early as 1902. In that year Bassett

[64] Hart to Bassett, October 10, 1905, Bassett Papers.
[65] Hart to Bassett, November 4, 1904, Bassett Papers.

received permission from the Blair family to use Jackson manuscripts in their possession.[66] The *Quarterly* and the *Federalist System* occupied so much of his time that serious work was postponed until 1906. The two-volume biography of the seventh president of the United States was largely the product of his early years at Smith College.

The work was based largely upon Jackson papers, though the manuscripts of some of his contemporaries, notably Martin Van Buren, were utilized with advantage, as were also printed sources, monographs, and earlier biographies. Bassett's reliance upon unpublished sources as "the best portrayers of Jackson" is indicated in his preface. "They reveal faithfully a man who was great, spite of many limitations. He was badly educated, he was provincial, his passions frequently overcast judgment, he had a poor concept of a proper adjustment of the administrative machine, and he clung tenaciously to some of the worst political ideals of the past; yet he was so well endowed by nature that he broke over these impediments and became a man of distinction." Bassett depicted Jackson as a product of the American frontier and emphasized its influence upon his thought and action.[67] Despite his southern birth and residence, his planting experience and the ownership of slaves, it was the West rather than the South that conditioned his genius for military and political leadership. The influence of the South was too largely ignored, for only incidental mention was made of Jackson the planter and slaveholder. The biography was, as a contemporary reviewer pointed out, "a *Life* of Jackson, not a *Life and Times*."[68] The revolution in democracy, the great constitutional struggles, the development of a party machine, the social revolution, humanitarian trends, the agrarian-industrial cleavage—all these were touched upon but not emphasized. Later writers modified his

[66] Edward G. Bourne to Bassett, November 19, 1902, Bassett Papers. Bassett was invited in 1903 to contribute a life of Jackson to the American Crises Biographies, edited by Ellis P. Oberholtzer, but he was already committed to Doubleday, Page and Company. Oberholtzer to Bassett, November 9, 1903, Bassett Papers.

[67] John S. Bassett, *The Life of Andrew Jackson*, 2 vols. (Garden City, N. Y., 1911), I, xi. The necessity of publishing the work in two volumes gave Doubleday, Page and Company considerable misgivings, and to appease the publishers Bassett agreed to forego royalties on the first six hundred sets. Two years after the work appeared, the company still lacked $600 of breaking even, and Arthur H. Page agreed to sell the plates for that amount despite the fact that they cost $1,400. Negotiations continued until 1915 when Page agreed to sell them to the Macmillan Company for $200. Macmillan contracted to bring out a new edition and to pay the author 10 per cent royalty on the first five hundred copies sold and 15 per cent thereafter. Arthur H. Page to Bassett, October 13, November 7, 1913; August 20, 1915, Bassett Papers; Doubleday, Page and Company to Bassett, July 31, 1915, Bassett Papers; Macmillan Company to Bassett, October 29, 1913; August 10, 1915, Bassett Papers.

[68] William MacDonald, in *American Historical Review*, XVII (1911-1912), 625.

treatment and brought new interpretation, but no subsequent work on Jackson and his period entirely superseded Bassett's ponderous volumes.

To Dunning, who commended him on the production of "a sound, substantial, solid and interesting biography in a spirit of scientific history," Bassett replied that he had endeavored to write a "dignified and clear" account that "would interest intelligent and serious minded people. I did not wish to make it sparkling or highly frivolous," for such a presentation "would not allow me to handle properly the new material."[69] Craftsmanship was acceptable, but the author's heavy style was devoid of literary artistry.

Bassett's understanding of Jackson matured but experienced no fundamental change in editing the six-volume *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (1926-1935). To each of the volumes he contributed a useful introduction, although three of them appeared after his demise. Research on Jackson and his period led him to an interesting by-path, *Major Howell Tatum's Journal While Acting Topographical Engineer (1814) to General Jackson,* which appeared in the Smith College *Studies in History* (volume VII, numbers 1-3, October-April, 1921-1922).

That Bassett did not abandon all interest in the history of the South after leaving Trinity College is evidenced by two pieces of editorial work. To the Smith College *Studies in History,* which he inaugurated in 1915, he contributed *The Westover Journal of John A. Selden, Esqr., 1858-1662* (volume VI, number 4, July, 1921), proprietor of a plantation once owned by the Byrds. His most important contribution to southern history after moving north was *The Southern Plantation Overseer as Revealed in His Letters* (1925). The volume embraced letters from overseers on James K. Polk's Mississippi plantation. Neglected by historians and romancers in favor of planters and slaves, the overseer was here revealed objectively through his periodic reports to his employer. The documents were reproduced in all their unlettered crudities, and they illustrated this most important plantation functionary's duties and responsibilities, his problems and his place in southern society. He was presented as a human

[69] William A. Dunning to Bassett, December 15, 1911, Bassett Papers; Bassett to Dunning, December 18, 1911, Bassett Papers.

personality, uneducated but intelligent, a liaison between the planter and his labor supply. Despite his illiteracy and his low station in society, he was entrusted with the care and management of property worth many thousands of dollars. The institution of slavery was also revealed in the letters, for there was much about abscondings and punishments, births and deaths, life and labor. The volume was more than a mere reproduction of letters, for Bassett wrote introductory chapters on the overseer's place in the plantation regime, the terms of his contract, and Polk's planting experience; and he concluded the volume with essays on the services of New Orleans factors to upriver planters and "The Lesson of the Letters.'

Of Bassett's other works emanating from his Smith College period, two were textbooks for college classes in American history: *A Short History of the United States* (1913), which went through sundry editions and reprintings; and *Expansion and Reform, 1889-1926* (1926), a volume in the Epochs of American History. *Makers of a New Nation* (1928) comprised volume IX of *The Pageant of America, A Pictorial History of the United States.* A valuable historiographical study, *The Middle Group of American Historians* (1917), contained thoughtful essays on Jared Sparks, George Bancroft, William H. Trescott, John L. Motley, and Peter Force, and there were introductory and closing chapters on historians who antedated the middle group and the relations of historians to their publishers. Closely related to this work were two collections of documents contributed to the Smith College *Studies in History:* the *Correspondence of George Bancroft and Jared Sparks, 1823-1832* (volume II, number 2, January, 1917), and *Letters of Francis Parkman to Pierre Margry* (volume VIII, numbers 3-4, April-July, 1923). Bassett also edited, in the same field, *The Writing of History* (1926), and contributed to it a penetrating essay on "The Present State of History Writing." Three works concerned current American problems and international affairs: *The Lost Fruits of Waterloo* (1918); *Our War With Germany: A History* (1919); and *The League of Nations; A Chapter in World Politics* (1928).

By the turn of the century both Bassett and the cause of history in the South were recognized by the American Historical Association. The society's council appointed him a member of the

general committee in 1902,[70] a position he retained for several years. Bassett and other southern historians, with Dunning as an ally, promoted a meeting on southern soil, and sessions on southern history became a regular part of the association's programs.

Late in 1900 an effort was made to fix upon Nashville as the place of meeting in 1902. Bassett urged Adams to use his influence with the council to provide a "missionary journey into the South" where there was "an appreciable revival of interest in the teaching of history.[71] A year later he encouraged Charles H. Haskins to sponsor Nashville's claims: "I believe it would do the cause of History in the South a vast deal of good if the meeting should be at Nashville. It would awaken interest on the part of Southerners. It would serve to strengthen the teaching of History in our colleges. It would, perhaps, give something of a thrust at the Confederate-Brigadier-General kind of an historian—and that is a snake which ought to be hit whenever it is possible." A meeting at Nashville did not materialize, largely because the South had very few members and the program as well as attendance might suffer.[72]

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1901, Bassett suggested to Jameson the expediency of establishing a permanent committee of the association on southern history. Jameson thought it inadvisable to form a permanent organization for that field, but he was certain that history of the South would be "adequately represented" at the next annual meeting.[73] A southern history section was arranged, and Bassett was invited to present a paper on "The Relations of the Virginia Planter and the London Merchant." Other papers were read by Dodd, Lyon G. Tyler of William and Mary College, George P. Garrison of the University of Texas, and Bernard C. Steiner of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore.[74]

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[70] American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1902, I, 38; Charles H. Haskins to Bassett, January 6, 1902, Bassett Papers.

[71] Bassett to Adams, December 18, 1900, Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 292-293. See also Frederick W. Moore to Bassett, December 11, 1900, Bassett Papers.

[72] Bassett to Haskins, November 13, 1901, "A. H. A., Invitations from Various Organizations for the Annual Meeting," American Historical Association Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress); Haskins to Bassett, December 7, 1901, Bassett Papers. See also Henry E. Bourne to Bassett, October 6, 1903, Bassett Papers, for request asking Bassett's help in increasing membership in the South.

[73] Jameson to Bassett, April 29, 1901, Bassett Papers.

[74] Haskins to Bassett, July 15, October 4, November 9, 1901, Bassett Papers; Bassett to Lyon G. Tyler, August 18, 1901, "A. H. A. Programmes of Annual Meetings and Correspondence, 1896, '97, '99, 1900-1906," American Historical Association Papers; Charles H. Haskins, "Report of the Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association," American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1901, I, 29-31.

Some southern historians were determined that the session allotted to them should accomplish more than the presentation of papers on the South. Dodd suggested to Bassett an "interchange of ideas and plans" among "the really industrious, active Southern men." David Y. Thomas, recalling a recent discussion with Bassett, proposed a federation of historical societies in the South "with an official organ—say the Southern Historical Review." He believed that the new organization should absorb the Southern Historical Society and the Southern History Association, though perhaps the former was too "exclusive" to federate.[75]

A journal of southern history did not materialize, but the southern section of the association adopted resolutions presented by Bassett proposing an investigation of the status of historical instruction in the South. He was appointed a member of a committee, headed by Frederick W. Moore of Vanderbilt University, to make the investigation. The committee's report appeared in the *Vanderbilt University Quarterly*,[76] and Moore also contributed to the *South Atlantic Quarterly* a brief article under the caption, "The Status of History in Southern Colleges."[77]

The association decided to hold its 1903 meeting in New Orleans, and Dunning was appointed to arrange a conference on "The Study and Teaching of History in the South." Bassett accepted a place on the program and proposed to talk on "The Relation of History Teaching and Southern Political Ideals." Dodd was scheduled for "Some Difficulties in the Way of the Teacher of History," and Moore, Thomas M. Owen, and Franklin L. Riley completed the roster of participants. Severe illness prevented Bassett from attending the meeting. A score of southerners registered, less than the number that came from faraway Massachusetts. Reports of the meeting which reached Bassett gave enthusiastic accounts of the southern section.[78]

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[75] Dodd to Bassett, November 1, 1901, Bassett Papers; David Y. Thomas to Bassett, December 19, 1901, Bassett Papers.

[76] Moore to Bassett, January 4, 29, July 8, September 17, 1902; January 23, 1903, Bassett Papers; Charles H. Haskins, "Report of the Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association," American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1902, I, 31-32; Frederick W. Moore, "The Teaching of History in the South," *Vanderbilt University Quarterly*, III (1903), 8-27.

[77] Frederick W. Moore, "The Status of History in Southern Colleges," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, II (1903), 169-171.

[78] Dunning to Bassett, March 9, October 21, 1903; January 6, 1904, Bassett Papers; Dodd to Bassett, March 23, 1903; February 11, 1904, Bassett Papers; Bassett to Dodd, March 25, November 9, 1903, Dodd Papers; Brevard Nixon to Bassett, January 3, 1903 [1904], Bassett Papers.

Bassett continued to play an active role in the affairs of the association, though his interest in promoting the South waned after he transferred to Smith College. When "reformers," several of them southerners, undertook to reorganize the association in 1914-1915, Bassett took a liberal but by no means extreme view. Soon thereafter, in 1919, he was elected secretary of the association, a position he held until his death in 1928. In that capacity he was one of the prime movers in a project to endow the association.

That Bassett welcomed a call from a northern school cannot be doubted. The thing he desired most was leisure time to write, an ambition that antedated graduate work at the Hopkins. A heavy teaching load at Trinity College, multifarious duties expected of a professor in a small school, inadequate library materials close at hand, and incipient faculty dissensions placed him in a receptive mood when an opportunity offered to move north.

Charles D. Hazen, head of the department at Smith College, approached Bassett in the spring of 1906 regarding a vacancy at the Northhampton school. The position carried the rank of associate professor, a salary of $1,500, and a teaching load of ten or twelve hours. A library of 160,000 volumes and the proximity of several research centers were added inducements. As Bassett's salary at Trinity was then $2,100, plus the use of a house, he could not consider the offer seriously; if the stipend were adequate he would "not hesitate to ask for the position." Hazen presented the matter to President Julius Seelye, with the result that an offer equivalent to Bassett's Durham salary was proposed and an invitation to an interview at Northampton extended. The negotiations materialized in an offer of a full professorship at a stipend of $2,500.[79] Meanwhile, Bassett sought Dunning's advice on the expediency of moving to Smith College, and the Columbia professor offered to investigate conditions at the New England school. He would regret to see the South lose Bassett, but if he were determined to leave he thought the Smith offer was a great opportunity, and it might be a step toward something even better.[80] Before Dunning could write again, Yale University

[79] Charles D. Hazen to Bassett, April or May ?, May 10, 15, 1906, Bassett Papers; Bassett to Hazen, May 3, 12, June 8, 10, 1906, Bassett Papers; Bassett to Julius Seelye, May 30, 1906, Bassett Papers. For Bassett's resignation at Trinity College, see Bassett to John C. Kilgo, May 30, 1906, Bassett Papers.

[80] Dunning to Bassett, May 14, 1900, Bassett Papers.

became interested in Bassett, and Dunnng's next letter contrasted the two opportunities:

"It is beautiful to think that New England has at last discovered N. C., & especially that Yale has discovered anything outside of Yale. The distinction of an offer from Y. is greater than the other; *but* the general reputation of Y. for grinding the faces of its staff with class work is a bad one. You are in a position to make terms. Be sure to do it in that matter. They have a vast horde of students at Yale & no aspirations for higher than college work. Hence the necessity of grinding the profs. Smith is a *comfortable* place; Y. is apt to be the contrary. If from motives of Kudos you prefer discomfort, see that you are paid for it in good substantial coin of the realm."[81]

Bassett hoped to see Walter H. Page on his way to the Northampton interview, but having failed in that, he penned his reasons for deciding to transfer. He reiterated his aspiration to write which would be promoted by "the quiet and stimulus of the New England town," and he pointed to the disadvantage of remaining in the South. He recalled Page's own pioneering efforts as a newspaper editor in North Carolina a score of years earlier, the state's failure to appreciate his preachments there, and his determination to leave the South. "No doubt twenty years from now young men will be doing glibly down here just what I should like to be doing today, writing freely without the drudgery of high school work and the impediment of scant library facilities; but twenty years from now I shall be nearly sixty years old. Can I do the world any good by sitting down waiting for the procession to come? And haven't I done about all I can do to hasten the arrival of the procession?"[82]

What were Bassett's reactions to his new environment? To William G. Brown, then nursing tuberculosis at Asheville, he wrote after a few months residence in Northampton: "I like the place very much, the people are pleasant, the work is not bad, the girls are studious, and I am satisfied. The New England ideals are not like those of the South, but they are not so different that I cannot like them. I know well what you felt in this country, the lack of the Southern touch, and the longing that the people of

[81] Dunning to Bassett, May 19, 1906, Bassett Papers.
[82] Bassett to Walter H. Page, May 29, 1906, Bassett Papers.

our part of [the] country had with their own virtues [for] some of the good things that the Northern people have shown so well how to establish. If to our warmth of spirit we could add the New England libraries, the New England Ideals of scholarship, and the New [England] wealth, how much could we not distance these people in the production of both literature and men! But you know better than I."[83]

Boyd, Bassett's successor at Trinity College, spent the preceding year as instructor at Dartmouth and acquired an unfavorable view of New England life and students. He regretted that Bassett transferred to the Northeast, and a year after removal he took inventory of his reaction, to which Bassett replied: "You ask if I do not really want to be back in the South. Candidly, No." He then reviewed his labors at Trinity and contrasted his new environment with the old. If he could retire after a decade on a Carnegie pension, he would spend his winters in the South, but the New England atmosphere, mental and physical, was too stimulating to think of returning permanently.[84]

Departing from formal historiography, it should be recorded that Bassett was a prodigious worker, a successful businessman, and a friendly colleague. He budgeted his time systematically, reserving a large portion of it for research and writing. Periodically he resorted to a diary, particularly with the view of recording the number of words he wrote each day. Frequently he became discouraged with progress, and noted a determination to do better. Lapses in entries, when other activities interferred for weeks with his daily stints, were followed by periods of sustained accomplishment, with a thousand words an average performance and three thousand a peak attainment.[85] If there were dinner guests who tarried too long, he might drowse until they departed, and then resume animated work at his typewriter. Some of his books, particularly *A Short History of the United States*, yielded substantial royalties, and good investments increased his income.[86] Among his closest professional friends were Dunning,

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[83] Bassett to William G. Brown, February 15, 1907, Bassett Papers. For Brown's reply, see Brown to Bassett, February 25, 1907, William Garrott Brown Papers (Duke University library); and for the reaction of two North Carolinians to Bassett's resignation at Trinity College, see J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton to Bassett, June 18, 1906, Bassett Papers; Bassett to Henry G. Connor, June 11, 1906, Connor Papers.

[84] Bassett to Boyd, October 11, 1908, Bassett Papers.

[85] John S. Bassett, "Literary Record, October 4, 1917—Aug. 1, 1922," Bassett Papers.

[86] Interviews with Mrs. Bassett, November 12-25, 1944.

Dodd, Boyd, and Frederic Bancroft. Cordial relations with Bancroft ended when Bassett refused to follow extremists in efforts to reform the American Historical Association; friendship with Dodd persisted despite critical reviews of some of Dodd's books; correspondence with Dunning revealed that Bassett as well as the "Old Chief" possessed a keen sense of humor; epistolarian congeniality with Boyd continued unbroken for more than thirty years.

It is difficult to estimate Bassett's place in American historiography, for he did not concentrate upon a theme with single-minded devotion, nor did he have opportunity as a graduate professor to train a body of students in historical methodology. His interests were so diversified that his productive work defies classification. The North Carolina monographs were the product of immaturity, however much they may have contributed to his own development as a historian. An abiding interest in southern history found expression in *William Byrd* and the *Southern Plantation Overseer,* but these and other studies of the South cannot justify listing him among the leading authorities in the field of southern history. He reached historical maturity in the *Federalist System,* which marked a transition from local to national history and brought recognition beyond the limits of the South. Recent and contemporary history—an interest dating from the 1890's—occupied much of his attention during the last decade of his career, but creditable productivity in this field yielded no permanent monument to his memory. Historiographical studies, especially the *Middle Group of American Historians,* will have more lasting value. As biographer of Andrew Jackson and as editor of his correspondence, Bassett attained authoritative stature. Despite lack of concentration, however, the total picture of published miscellanea is large and significant. These, together with his pioneering efforts in behalf of southern history and his contributions to the American Historical Association, make his career worthy of chronicling for posterity.

RECORDS IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES PERTAINING TO THE HISTORY OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1775-1943*

By ROLAND C. MCCONNELL

As the repository of the non-current records of the federal government, the National Archives not only personifies the cumulative experience of America as a nation from the Revolution to the present, but preserves the records of this experience in such a way as to make them readily available to the American people. Being a part of America, each individual state has contributed to this experience. Herein that of North Carolina will be delineated.

In calling attention to records in the National Archives which have a bearing on the state of North Carolina, it is obvious that such a study can claim neither exclusiveness nor completeness in a definitive sense. That any selected record group contains entries for other states precludes the former; while the sheer bulk of records in the National Archives prevents any minute examination or detailed inventory.[1] Such a study, however, should give some idea as to the types of records in the National Archives reflecting the national history of North Carolina or conversely the history of the United States as related to North Carolina as well as a representation of what may be found in the National Archives for other states, especially those whose relationship with the federal government has been similar to that of North Carolina.

As an aside, it should be pointed out that there is one exception to the availability of these records—restrictions. The use of certain records because of their nature is subjected to necessary restrictions by law or administrative regulations based on law. An attempt has been made to indicate this where necessary. It should be added, however, that these restrictions do not necessarily mean that the records cannot be used, but rather that as

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* The writer is indebted to staff members of the records offices of the National Archives for making available much of the material on which this article is based.

[1] According to the *Twelfth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, 1945-1946*, the record holdings of the National Archives amounted to 732,473 cubic feet. These records are assigned to 236 record groups, each of which comprises as a rule the records of a single autonomous agency. These groups are assigned numbers approximately in the order in which the first transfer of records in each group was received. See pp. 18, 66-70.

occasions warrant, restrictions sometimes prevent entirely the use of the records; while at other times they prevent only the use of certain information in the records. From time to time restrictions are removed. It is advisable, therefore, that prospective searchers make inquiry into current restrictions to which the records of their interest are subject.

Although the records in the National Archives revealing the pre-federal experience of the original thirteen states are quite sparse, there are a few which shed some light on the participation of the thirteen colonies in the American Revolution. For North Carolina, there are at least two small collections in this period: the Bancroft correspondence on the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, and military papers pertaining to the Revolution.

The first comprises copies and extracts of correspondence on the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence made in 1848 by George Bancroft, Ambassador to Great Britain, and sent to the American Secretary of State, James Buchanan, for the archives of the Department of State.[2] Included are the resolutions passed at Charlotte, Mecklenburg County on May 31, 1775, which Bancroft copied from the *South Carolina Gazette* of June 13, 1775, which had been forwarded to Lord Dartmouth, the British Secretary of State, by Sir James Wright, governor of Georgia; extracts of minutes of the meetings of the council of North Carolina held at Fort Johnston, North Carolina, June 25, 1775, and on board the *Cruizer* in the Cape Fear River, July 18, 1775; and a copy of a letter of Governor Martin of North Carolina to Lord Dartmouth, June 30, 1775.

Of no little interest is the letter in which Governor Martin, in describing the general conditions in the colony, points out that his authority has been questioned, that he has sent his family to New York, and that his correspondence with General Gage has been intercepted. Martin then adds encouragingly that the sovereignty of His Majesty can be maintained if he is furnished 10,000 stand of arms and six light brass field pieces. He is of this opinion inasmuch as he is led to believe he can depend upon the loyal attachment of the recent emigrants from the Highlands of Scotland and upon the improbability of Maryland and Virginia

[2] Record Group Number 59, General Records of the Department of State, Despatches from *Great Britain*, vol. 59, despatch 111. (In subsequent references the abbreviation RG will be used in place of Record Group.)

furnishing aid to North Carolina because of the potential threat occasioned by the large Negro population in each of these colonies.

The second collection, composed of fragmentary records of the military phases of the American Revolution, consists in the main of muster rolls, pay rolls, clothing returns, and proceedings of boards of officers. Types of these records are the muster rolls of Captain Robert Porter's Company, October 30, 1777; the pay roll of Captain J. Sharpe's Company for the period June 26 to March 11, 1778; the pay roll of levies of Caswell County taken into service December 1, 1778; a statement of clothing issued the line; and proceedings of a board of officers of the North Carolina Line for commissioning officers. Within this group are two bound volumes, a company book of the settlement of money accounts of the North Carolina Line, 1777-1783;[3] and a volume containing the muster rolls of the First North Carolina Regiment, Captain John Kingsbury's company of artillery, and Captain Thomas Clarke's company of artillery.[4] Furnishing such information as periods of enlistments, dates of separations from service, pay due, in some cases casualties, and a record of events, along with the conventional name, rank, and organization of military personnel, these records are of value for an understanding of the early administration and operations of the army. Although the records of the military personnel for each conflict from the American Revolution through the Spanish-American War have been carded individually, the significance of the original source cannot be overemphasized. It should be noted, however, that the usage of the foregoing and similar military personnel records for other wars are subject to the restrictions imposed by the Archivist of the United States.

Reflecting the Confederation and linking the Revolutionary and federal periods is a volume in the records of the Public Land Office in the National Archives entitled *North Carolina Land.* Divided into five parts, this volume among other things lists estimates of land granted during the period 1778-1791 by North Carolina within its western territory prior to the cession of this territory by the state to the United States government and

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[3] RG 93, War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, *Account Book Number 186½.*

[4] RG 93, War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, *Account Book Number 186½;* Vol. 6; *N. C.* Letters R-Z *also Kingsbury's and Clarks Cos. of Arty.*

estimates of land for which grants were issued to the officers and soldiers of North Carolina's Continental Line or their assignees in pursuance to an act of the assembly. Information appears under such headings as the number of the grant, the name of the grantee, the number of acres granted, and the date and location of the grant. This volume was compiled by the Secretary of State of North Carolina in 1791 in response to a request of the Secretary of State of the United States for certain information concerning North Carolina's western territory. The information was necessary for the preparation of a report on the subject which President Washington had been asked to lay before Congress.[5]

Among the records in the National Archives concerning the adoption of the Constitution are the certificates of North Carolina's ratification of the Constitution, November 21, 1789, and of the Bill of Rights, including twelve articles, December 22, 1789, as well as a printed copy of the Declaration of Rights and suggested amendments to the Constitution, August 1, 1788, which North Carolina submitted to Congress in September, 1788.[6]

One of the most vital provisions of the new Constitution was that which provided for the decennial enumeration of the population for the purposes of national representation and taxation. The orginal schedules for each census through 1870 are in the National Archives as well as those for population, agriculture, manufacturing, business, and religious bodies for certain decades of the twentieth century. Although the first two censuses name only the head of the family and list the number of the members of each household, as early as 1820 the returns begin to become more comprehensive and reveal that increasing amount of information which has characterized subsequent enumerations.[7] Not until 1850, however, were individual names

[5] RG 49, Records of the General Land Office.

[6] RG 59, General Records of the Department of State.

[7] Besides naming the head of each household, the first and second censuses listed the number of the members of the household by free white males 16 years and upwards, free white females, all other free persons, and slaves. The census for 1820 added the number of foreigners not naturalized, the number of persons engaged in agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing, and the number of free and slave colored persons by age and sex. The census of 1830 added the number of physical defectives, and that of 1840 expanded the occupational classifications and added the number in each family attending school by year, and the value of real and personal property. The census of 1850 supplied all the foregoing information by name of person and added the marital status of the free population. In 1850 a separate census was taken of slaves which gave the name of slave and slave owner as well as the age, sex, color, physical defects, and condition (fugitive, manumitted) of slaves. Similar information was continued in the censuses of 1860 and 1870 exclusive of slavery in the latter.

given for each classification. In that year a separate enumeration of slaves was taken.

Of the earlier enumerations, particularly valuable is the census of manufacturing for 1820, one of the first special census.[8] The information of this census was collected by means of a schedule of fourteen questions which were distributed under such headings as raw material consumed, number of persons employed, machinery, expenditures, production, and remarks as to the trends of the business. A typical return for this census is that for Isaac Hathaway's manufacturing establishment in Jones County. This schedule states that the business, chair manufacturing, is capitalized at $1,000, consumes annually about $500 worth of raw material (wood, iron, leather, and cloth), employs four men and two boys, and pays annually $400 in wages and $40 in contingent expenses, and that the products, riding chairs, etc., have an annual market value of $2,000.

For certain counties there are summary statements for different types of manufacturing. For example, for Cumberland County there are a list of brandy cider manufactures showing quantities of production by gallons and barrels, a list of sawmill owners with number of saws and amounts of lumber sawed, and lists of shingle manufacturers and cotton ginners with corresponding information.

In some instances, as in the case of New Hanover County, the marshal who filled in the schedule performed an additional service by preceding his list of manufactures with a description of the process used. This was true for the manufacturing of salt and bricks in this county.

Now and then the general remarks comprise statements of no little interest. William Crokett, a leather manufacturer of Tarborough, observed that his business was declining and pointed out that the banks and the wretched policy of the bank directors were responsible. As striking as is the information from the census of manufacturing, 1820, it should be pointed out that the predominant occupational classification in the state at the time was farming.

As in other coastal states, ocean-borne commerce played an important part in the economy of North Carolina. The earliest

[8] RG 29, Records of the Bureau of the Census.

records in the National Archives pertaining to North Carolina's maritime activity are those which were called in by the federal government to aid in the adjudication of the French Spoliation Claims. Prominent among these are the customs records for the District of Edenton. Included are such marine documents as *Account Books of Licenses Granted to Enrolled Vessels Carrying on the Coasting Trade, 1790-94; Account Book of Temporary Register Issued and Surrendered, 1793-95; Accounts of Permanent and Temporary Enrollment Issued and Surrendered, 1793-94; Account Book of Endorsement of Change of Masters of Vessels, 1790-94;* and a *Record Book of Inward Entries, 1798-1845.* The records of documentation furnish descriptions of vessels and names of owners, while those concerning entry give detailed information on cargoes, duties, and consignees.[9]

Apart from the records pertaining to the French Spoliation Claims, there are in the National Archives marine documents issued at Edenton, Elizabeth City, New Bern, Plymouth, Washington, and Wilmington for the period approximately 1815-1911. These records which are fragmentary include certificates of enrollment, register, and license. The type of information furnished may be seen in the Permanent Enrollment of the *Black Eyed Susan.* This document, dated March 20, 1818, states that the vessel is owned by Samuel Doty, a merchant of New River, that it was built at New River in Onslow County in 1818, that it has one deck and two masts, that it is 52 feet long, 14 feet wide, 4 feet and 3 inches deep and measures 27 28/95 tons, that it is a square stern schooner with a square tuck, and that it is without a gallery.[10]

In no small way responsible for the successful maritime operations of the period is the protective service afforded by the lighthouse system. Records in the National Archives of this service in North Carolina date from 1792 and include correspondence pertaining to the acquisition of real estate for lighthouse sites and to the construction, maintenance, and administration of

[9] RG 36, Records of the Bureau of Customs. For general consideration certificates of register are issued to vessels engaged in foreign trade, certificates of enrollment to vessels engaged in the coasting trade and the fisheries, and certificates of license to vessels with a net burden of not less than five nor more than twenty tons. Permanent documents are those issued at the home port or the port nearest that where the owner resides. Temporary documents are issued at the port of entry of any other custom district.

[10] RG 41, Records of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, PE 7 Wilmington, N. C. March 20, 1818, *Black Eyed Susan.*

lighthouse establishments. Of particular interest for the period is the correspondence concerning stakage and the types and placing of buoys.

Of prime concern at this time was oil (sperm) for the lighthouse lamps. A letter to James Read, Superintendent of the lighthouse at Wilmington, from Tenche Coxe, Commissioner of the Revenue, dated April 21, 1796, illustrates this. [11] Pointing out that 400 gallons of oil each have been sent to Wilmington from Boston, Rhode Island, and New Bedford, Coxe emphasizes the standing rule of the service to notify his office when the quantity of oil is reduced to a three month supply, advises the purchase locally of a cask or two if the oil from New England is delayed, and adds a final admonishment to "keep up the light." In a letter between the same officials dated October 20, 1797, advice is given that in the event of failure to procure oil locally at any terms to use candles plentifully for which the employment of an extra employee is permitted.

In 1939 the Bureau of Lighthouses was abolished and its functions were transferred to the United States Coast Guard, which had been created in 1915 by the consolidation of the Revenue Cutter Service, 1789-1915, and the Life-Saving Service, 1870-1915. Among the records of this new service in the National Archives which pertain to North Carolina are log books, station journals, and correspondence.[12]

Aspects of the beginnings of North Carolina under the federal government are further revealed in the early records of the District Court of the United States for the Eastern District of North Carolina, 1791-1913, and the records of the Post Office Department, about 1792-1938. The records of the former in the National Archives comprise dockets, minute books, calendars, and correspondence. These records are fragmentary. Among the jurists who presided over the sessions of this court during the foundation period were James Iredell, Bushrod Washington, and John Marshall.[13]

The records in the National Archives of the Post Office Department's operations in North Carolina date from 1790. They

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[11] RG 26, Records of the United States Coast Guard, Bureau of Lighthouses, *Lighthouse Letters*, vol. 1.
[12] RG 26, Records of the United States Coast Guard.
[13] RG 21, Records of the District Courts of the United States.

include account books which show amounts paid contractors for the transportation of the mail, routes, in some instances modes of transportation, and lists of post offices with localities, names of postmasters, and dates of first returns. In the latter named records, the development of early settlements can be traced. For example, William Roles' store with its post office in Wake County became Rolesville between 1832 and 1843.[14]

In part the rise of American nationalism is attributed to the War of 1812. Typical of the records in the National Archives concerning the participation of North Carolina in this war are the muster rolls and pay rolls[15] of the Hyde County Regiment, North Carolina Militia, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel William Watson; of the General Field and Staff Officers of the Detached Militia of North Carolina, July and August, 1813; and of members who attended a court martial in Salisbury pursuant to a General Order of December 1, 1814.

From the presence in the National Archives of monthly post returns for Fort Johnston, North Carolina, from February, 1818, on, it is evident that the necessity of maintaining a regular military establishment in the state was early recognized. As indicated above, the use of these records as well as those for the War of 1812 is restricted.

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century North Carolina, like many other states, was affected by such matters as internal improvements, the National Bank, the tariff, the Missouri Compromise, relations with the Republic of Texas, the War with Mexico, and the Indians. For each of these there are records in the National Archives pertaining to North Carolina.

Interest in internal improvements is seen in petitions, reports, plans and charts, and correspondence on the subject. The memorial of the inhabitants of Washington, N. C., January 27, 1836, to Congress asking for an appropriation to remove an obstruction to navigation at the mouth of the "Pantico" River, and another from the citizens of Wilmington, May 12, 1836, requesting another appropriation for the improvement of navigation of the Cape Fear River are samples of petitions on internal improvements. In some petitions such as the one from

[14] RG 28, Records of the Post Office Department, Vol. 8, *DC, NC, SC, Va, Ga, Fla.* 1832-43, p. 200.
[15] RG 94, Records of The Adjutant General's Office.

Washington considerable statistical detail is presented to show the economy which would result from granting the appropriation.

One of the most important canals in North Carolina is the Dismal Swamp Canal which connects Chesapeake Bay with Albemarle Sound. The canal was begun as early as 1793, jointly by Virginia and North Carolina, and the federal government, preparatory to purchasing 600 shares in the Dismal Swamp Canal Company in 1826, ordered a survey by the Office of the Chief of Engineers.[16] The records of this survey including pertinent correspondence are in the National Archives. Included are a Plan and Profile of the Dismal Swamp Canal, 1826, Plan of Sections of the Dismal Swamp Canal, 1826, and a Table of the Work to be Executed on the Dismal Swamp Canal.[17]

Among the petitions, memorials, and resolutions in the National Archives are a number which concern problems of the day which North Carolina citizens caused to be presented to either one of the houses of Congress. Typical of those referred to the Senate are a resolution of the senate of North Carolina against the increase of duties on imports, January 11, 1828; resolutions for the restoration of the Bank of the United States from citizens of Salisbury, January 23, 1834, Burke County, February 11, 1834, and Plymouth, March 19, 1834; resolutions against the restoration of the bank from the citizens of Tarborough and vicinity, April 7, 1834, Wake County, May 20, 1834, and a regiment of militia of Edgecombe County, April 28, 1834; and a memorial from the citizens of Perquimans and Chowan counties for the application of the Missouri Compromise to the Territory of Nebraska, March 30, 1854.[18]

The records in the National Archives pertaining to the Cherokee Indians of North Carolina concern such matters as removals, treaties, legal rights, war, and economic and social developments. Included are census rolls such as the *Henderson Roll*, 1835, the *Swetland Roll*, 1868-1869, the *Hester Roll*, 1884, and the *Churchill Roll*, 1908; *Valuation of North Carolina Cherokee Property*, 1838, *Record of Proceedings of the First Board of Commissioners of the Cherokee Removal Treaty*, 1835,

[16] See Alexander C. Brown, "The Dismal Swamp Canal," part 1, *The American Neptune*, V (1945), 297 ff.
[17] RG 77, Records of Office of the Chief of Engineers. See Internal Improvement Series, 25222 of Maps and Charts.
[18] RG 46, Records of the United States Senate. Dates of referral are used.

and the *Original Register of Payments*, 1830-1839; and the muster rolls of the Third Regiment, North Carolina Militia, Cherokee War, 1838, Colonel John Gray Bynum commanding.[19] For comprehensiveness, the census rolls are significant. For example, that of 1835 contains information under such headings as name, age, sex, relationship to head of family, residence, slaves, occupation, farm production, and language. For the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century, the records of the North Carolina Cherokees in the National Archives contain status reports and correspondence on these Indians on their reservation in the state.

The part played by North Carolina in the War with Mexico is shown in the Regimental Descriptive and Letter Books, 1st N. C. Volunteers, Mexico War, 4 volumes, which are in the National Archives.[20] Apart from containing the descriptive rolls of Companies A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, and K, these records include separate lists of commissioned and non-commissioned officers, registers of death in Companies A, B, and C, registers of deserters and discharged men, proceedings of courts-martial, general and special orders, and other pertinent correspondence. Besides the regular information, the descriptive rolls list the type of occupation in which the volunteers engaged in civilian life as well as the place of birth. The use of these military records as well as that for the Cherokee War mentioned above are restricted.

It was in the second quarter of the nineteenth century that the Charlotte Branch of the United States Mint was started. Established in 1835, this mint operated well into the Civil War when it was closed. After the war through 1913, it became an office of assay. Besides the general correspondence for the period 1835-1913, and daily statements of receipts and expenditures for the period 1868-1913, there are a number of other records which shed light on the financial history of the time. Among these are a *Register of Deposits of Gold Bouillon Received from Depositors and Coin Paid at the Treasurer of the Mint, 1837-61; Ledger of Bouillon Deposits, 1837-61, 1868-97; Record of Melting and Refining Deposits, 1837-44, 1846-61; Notations on Gold Production*

[19] RG 75, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs. For the muster rolls of the Cherokee War see RG 94, Records of The Adjutant General's Office.
[20] RG 94, Records of The Adjutant General's Office.

in North Carolina, 1883; Records of Losses in Melting Gold Bouillon Deposited, 1908-13; and *George B. Hanna's Private Record of Assays, Chemical Examinations, Etc.*[21]

The participation of North Carolina in the Civil War has been partially recorded in the voluminous compilations of the official records of both the Union and Confederate armies and navies. The sources of these published records are in the National Archives, but there are many records which because of their nature were not included in these works. Samplings in this latter category are service records of the military personnel of the Confederate state of North Carolina; regimental descriptive books of the first and second regiments of North Carolina Infantry and the third regiment of North Carolina Mounted Infantry, and order books, clothing books, and morning reports of the companies of these regiments which served on the Union side in the Civil War;[22] lists of Union and Confederate Soldiers interred in National and Post cemeteries in North Carolina;[23] accounts and related correspondence of the Confederate collectors of customs for the districts of Beaufort, Camden, Edenton, Plymouth, and Wilmington;[24] registers of persons in North Carolina subscribing to the Confederate loans; copies of letters and telegrams sent and received by Zebulon B. Vance, governor of North Carolina, 4 volumes;[25] reports of Ora O'Kelsea, Assistant Special Agent of the Treasury Department for the Sixth Special Agency, on his disposition of captured and abandoned property, Wilmington;[26] and a list of contraband hired in and around New Bern by Captain William Cutting, QM, USA.[27]

Some of these records are most revealing. For example, the customs records include an *Abstract of Duties on Goods, Wares, and Merchandise Imported in Confederate State Vessels into the District of Wilmington during the Month of May, 1863, and an Abstract of Foreign Vessels Cleared from the District of Wilmington for Foreign Countries during the Quarter Ending 30th June, 1863,* which list thirty-six vessels flying the British flag. Governor Vance is seen through his correspondence to

[21] RG 56, General Records of the Department of the Treasury.
[22] RG 94, Records of The Adjutant General's Office.
[23] RG 92, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General.
[24] RG 56, General Records of the Department of the Treasury.
[25] RG 109, War Department Collection of Confederate Records.
[26] RG 56, General Records of the Department of the Treasury.
[27] RG 92, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General.

wrestle with such problems as those of supplies, subsistence, desertion, civilian and military disaffection, and the use of free and slave labor. The *Report of Persons and Articles Hired and Employed* by Captain William Cutting at New Bern during April, 1862, lists about 641 ex-slaves as contraband of whom some 600 men were engaged in the construction of Fort Totten and other military installations, and 39 women were employed as cooks, nurses, matrons, and laundresses in the hospital at New Bern.[28]

Among the materials in the National Archives relating to the Reconstruction Period in North Carolina are the records of the Second Military District, 1867-1868;[29] records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872 [30] certificates of the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, December 3, 1865, of the rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment, December 14, 1866, and of its subsequent ratification by the two houses of the North Carolina legislature on July 1 and 2, 1868, respectively, and of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, March 5, 1869;[31] and claims, including those filed before the Southern Claims Commission, 1871-1880,[32] against the federal government for losses sustained and services rendered by individuals of the state professing loyalty during the war to the federal government, 1861-1889.[33]

Registers of elections return for local offices in North Carolina, lists of persons recommended to the Provost Marshal General, to fill public offices, and copies of general and special orders issued for the administration of the district are types of records comprising those of the Second Military District. Reports, vouchers, and correspondence concerning the operations of schools of the Freedmen's Bureau in such centers as Raleigh, New Bern, Goldsboro, Greensboro, Halifax, Lumberton, Murfreesboro, and Concord, reports of Freedmen's camps, labor contracts, receipts for rations, inspection of election reports, and reports of arrest and outrages are representative of the records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned lands.

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[28] RG 92, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General; *Reports of Persons and Articles Hired and Employed*, number 213, 1862. Vols. 2, 3, and 4.
[29] RG 109, War Department Collection of Confederate Records.
[30] RG 105, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.
[31] RG 11, General Records of the United States Government.
[32] RG 56, General Records of the Department of the Treasury.
[33] RG 94, Records of The Adjutant General's Office.

With the passing of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods, the federal government was confronted with a number of pressing economic and social problems whose solutions it attempted through the establishment of such new departments, commissions, and services as the Department of Agriculture, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Public Health Service, and the Office of Education. Some of the functions of these new agencies had been carried on by some predecessor agent in one of the originally established departments, but so complex and far reaching had certain problems become that the need for these agencies was imperative. Each of these agencies has records in the National Archives which pertain to North Carolina.

Prominent in this connection is the Department of Agriculture. The general records of this department in the National Archives for the state contain entries for the period 1889-1939 under such headings as tobacco, cotton, bee, and potato culture, and hog cholera, drainage, boll weevil, cotton picking machine, fairs, grain standards, free range of cattle, meat inspection service, changes in the methods of reporting cotton, farmers' institute, rural credits, federal aid to highways, Negro farmer congresses, freight rates for fertilizers, use of soybeans and sweet potatoes as army rations, tick eradication, the cultivation of Japanese cherry trees and the ginger root seed from Japan and China, and other kindred matters.[34] Not a few of the records prior to 1920 are letters and clippings from Clarence Poe, president and editor of the *Progressive Farmer,* clippings from such agricultural newspapers as the *Fruit and Truckers Journal* of Wilmington, *The Cooperators* of Wilson, and the *Mutual Farmers* of Briscoe, and correspondence from numerous associations such as the Cotton Growers Association, the Association of Cooperative Truck Growers, the Association of Beekeepers, and the Association of Cotton Seed Crushers.

Besides the general file, the records of the various bureaus of the Department of Agriculture contain material dealing with specific agricultural problems of the state. Representative of these are the records of the Forest Service, 1889-1939, and the Extension Service, 1889-1939. Included in the former are statistical

[34] RG 16, General Records of the Department of Agriculture.

and narrative reports of estimates of remaining saw timber in North Carolina by soft and hard woods, timber surveys of cutover areas in North Carolina, marketing reports of forest products including naval stores, reports of production and related industries, and papers relative to a special study of the North Carolina forest tax which was conducted by the Forest Service.[35]

The records of the Extension Service constitute a wealth of information on agricultural conditions in the state in the stereotype form of monthly, quarterly, and annual reports of the state, district, and county extension agents. Narrative and statistical data on such varied items as kinds of livestock, crop acreage, fertilizers, timber, marketing, pastures, home dairying, poultry, cooperative shipments, and canning are found in these reports.[36]

Among other bureaus and agencies of the Department of Agriculture whose records in the National Archives pertain partly to North Carolina are the Office of Experiment Stations, 1888-1937, which includes the work of the experiment stations under the direction of the land grant colleges;[37] the Bureau of Animal Husbandry, 1894-1933, which includes correspondence concerning the protection and development of livestock;[38] and the Bureau of Plant Industry, 1881-1940, whose correspondence has to do largely with the procurement, development, and distribution of new and superior strains of plants and seeds.[39]

The Interstate Commerce Commission has for its duties the regulation of service, safety requirements, rates, equipment, and financial structures of common carriers engaged in interstate commerce. The records of this commission in the National Archives consist of three series each of which contain material concerning North Carolina. A first file, the regular one, pertains to discrimnatory practices and rates, 1887-1919; a second file concerns investigations and suspensions of carrier tariffs, 1910-1925; and a third file deals with the financial structure and operations of railroads, 1920. Information bearing on most phases of railroad transportation and commodity problems of the state can be found in these records.[40]

[35] RG 95, Records of the Forest Service.
[36] RG 33, Records of the Extension Service.
[37] RG 164, Records of the Office of Experiment Stations.
[38] RG 17, Records of the Bureau of Animal Husbandry.
[39] RG 54, Records of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering.
[40] RG 134, Records of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

In 1914 the Federal Trade Commission was created to compile data on industry as a basis for remedial legislation to prohibit false advertising of food and drugs, to prevent restraint of trade in interstate commerce, and to promote the adoption of fair trade practices. For North Carolina the records of this organization in the National Archives include investigations, statistics, docket cases, and reports pertaining to agricultural incomes, chain stores, power and gas, house furnishings, lumber, and security sales—to cite only a few.[41] Especially full are the investigations of the tobacco industry in North Carolina. The records of the Federal Trade Commission in the National Archives are restricted and can be used only with the permission of the Commission.

The records in the National Archives of at least three services, the Public Health Service, the National Park Service, and the Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Office of Education, pertain to social and cultural conditions in North Carolina. In the first, the records show the aid given by the federal government in the establishment of the State Department of Health and the development of its program. This aid took the form of aiding in drafting legislation, making studies, enforcing quarantine laws, and the suppression and combatting of venereal diseases.[42] The central file, 1897-1923, embraces correspondence and reports between federal and state authorities on such subjects as investigations of the State Health Department personnel, sanitary conditions in the state, controversies over quarantine regulations, conferences between state and federal Public Health Service officials, and appropriations. The Public Health Service created a Division of Venereal Diseases in 1918 to cooperate with state boards or departments, and a General Inspection Service in 1919 to systematize inspections of all stations and activities of the Public Health Service. The records of each of these contain communications relative to North Carolina.

In referring to health, it is apropos to point out that the medical history of military posts in the National Archives, dating from 1879, are of importance for showing the conditions which affect the health of the troops at posts and giving recommenda-

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[41] RG 122, Records of the Federal Trade Commission.
[42] RG 90, Records of the Public Health Service.

tions for improvement. Information is listed under such headings as bathing facilities, drainage, geology, minerals, and botany of posts and vicinity, schools, climatic conditions, and sanitation. Such data, for example, is furnished for the Post Hospital, for Johnston, North Carolina, and vicinity.[43]

The National Park Service records in the National Archives contain materials on the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park and the Moore's Creek National Military Park. Within these are correspondence concerning the acquisition of land for park sites, the general administration of the parks, the erection of monuments, the designs and sculpturing of monuments and statues; easment papers; inspection reports; and historical sketches.[44] Reports on the selection of an inscription for the equestrian statue of General Greene in the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, 1914, and correspondence of Governor Charles B. Aycock with Secretary of War Elihu Root concerning the erection of monuments to Generals Nash and Davidson in the same park pursuant to an Act of Congress, January 30, 1903, providing monuments to heroes of the American Revolution, are illustrative of these records for North Carolina. Suggestions and approval of the Commission of Fine Arts on statues, monuments, and pertinent matters are also found among the records of the National Park Service relating to North Carolina.

The cooperation of North Carolina with the federal government in the control and conservation of fish, game, birds, and other forms of wildlife is disclosed in the reports, logbooks, station histories, and correspondence in the National Archives of the Fish and Wildlife Service and predecessor agents, 1868-1941. The station history of the Beaufort Fish Hatchery, 1899-1920, is an example of the records within this group.[45]

Scattered reports and correspondence of the Office of Education for North Carolina consist of records concerning vocational education, public schools, Negro schools, higher education, land grant colleges, and Federal aid to education for the period 1870-1908.[46]

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[43] RG 94, Records of The Adjutant General's Office, *Medical History of Posts*, 1880, pp. 37-48.
[44] RG 79, Records of the National Parks Service.
[45] RG 22, Records of the Fish and Wildlife Service.
[46] RG 12, Records of the Office of Education.

Between 1911 and 1919 three amendments, the Sixteenth, the Seventeenth, and the Eighteenth, were added to the Constitution of the United States. In the National Archives there are certificates of ratification by North Carolina of each of these, as well as one for the Twentieth Amendment.[47] The effects of both the Sixteenth and Nineteenth Amendments on the state are reflected by records in the National Archives. For the former there are income tax returns on forms 1040 and 1040A for 1930, while for the latter there are fragments of records on the enforcement of the Prohibition Amendment.[48] There are also in the National Archives estate tax returns for the state for the period 1919-1925.[49] The records of tax returns, however, are restricted in use.

Within twenty years the American nation experienced two major wars, the Spanish-American War, 1898-1899, and the First World War, 1917-1918. For each of these, there are records in the National Archives concerning North Carolina. For the first there are the conventional muster rolls, pay rolls, regimental descriptive books, and related records for the military personnel and military organizations from the state.[50]

For the First World War, however, what approached a total mobilization occurred and the records in the National Archives reflect not only military but also economic mobilization. The records of the Selective Service System, 1917-1919, and those of the Office of the Quartermaster General furnish illustrations for the military aspects. Among the former are correspondence between the state draft officials and national officials, reports in the form of questionnaires on the actual working of the draft, and docket books.[51] These records are restricted.

The records of the Office of the Quartermaster General include such materials as the completion reports of the Construction Quartermaster of the United States Army General Hospital Number 19, Azalea, North Carolina, 1918-1919. These reports contain not only administrative correspondence and communications pertaining to labor problems, sanitation, and health conditions, but also such illustrative materials as maps, charts, and diagrams.[52] In passing it should be noted that there are

[47] RG 11, General Records of the United States Government.
[48] RG 58, Records of the Bureau of Internal Revenue.
[49] RG 59, Records of the Bureau of Internal Revenue.
[50] RG 94, Records of The Adjutant General's Office.
[51] RG 163, Records of the Selective Service System.
[52] RG 92, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General.

records in the National Archives pertaining to North Carolina of the National Guard Bureau[53] and the Reservve Officers Training Corps[54] and their predecessor agents whose activities were emphasized during the First World War. These records are likewise restricted.

Of the records in the National Archives on North Carolina of a non-military nature which pertain to the First World War those of the War Industries Board, 1917-1919, the United States Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation, 1916-1936, and the War Minerals Relief Commission, 1919-1941, which though created after the war reflect the war effort, are representative.

The War Industries Board had as its responsibility the conservation and conversion of the industrial resources of the nation in support of the war effort, advising the purchasing agencies of the government, and determining priorities of production and delivery. Records revealing these functions in North Carolina are: industrial surveys of centers of significance industrially, reports on power plants, correspondence concerning priorities on critical materials, and lists of industries with location and type of commodity produced. Information furnished by these records is quite detailed. For example, in the industrial surveys entries are made under such headings as public utilities, housing, labor, and leading industries.[55] Frequently these surveys contain appendixes in which are found such items as a table of employment by sex and color in different plants.

The United States Shipping Board, created to develop a naval and auxiliary merchant marine, through its Emergency Fleet Corporation engaged in a great ship-construction and operation program in prosecution of the First World War. North Carolina participated in this effort through the North Carolina Shipbuilding Company at Morehead City which built wooden vessels, the Carolina Shipbuilding Company at Wilmington which constructed steel vessels, and the Liberty Shipbuilding Company at Wilmington which built concrete vessels. The first named company was independent. The federal government had a 100-per-cent interest

[53] RG 168, Records of the National Guard Bureau.
[54] RG 94, Records of The Adjutant General's Office.
[55] RG 61, Records of the War Industries Board.

in the Carolina Shipbuilding Company at Wilmington and a 67-per-cent interest in the Liberty Shipbuilding Company.

For the government plants, the contracts called for the construction of shipbuildng yards as well as vessels. The records for these two companies in the National Archives include weekly progress reports of the resident representative which contain information on plant and ship construction, authorized overtime, and labor; blueprints; specifications; requisitions for supplies and equipment; and orders, vouchers, contracts, and related correspondence.

The records of the North Carolina Shipbuilding Company contain blueprints and plans of wooden cargo vessels, barges for embarkation service, and wood hulls; plans for the electric wiring of wooden vessels; reports on floating drydocks and marine railways, labor conditions and work progress; inspection and testing reports; vouchers; specifications; outfit and equipment schedules; and related correspondence.[56]

North Carolina was one of the states in which such highly critical materials as manganese, chrome, pyrites, and tungsten were produced and furnished for the use of the government in the First World War. In many cases persons producing these materials suffered a loss by the sudden cessation of hostilities and were permitted to present claims to the federal government for their alleged losses. The War Minerals Relief Commission was set up to advise the Secretary of the Interior in the handling of these claims and in so doing it assembled a wealth of information on the effort of North Carolina to furnish critical minerals for the war.

The records of this commission in the National Archives for the state is in the form of a docket file of claims which contains information on the ownership, location, production, employment, pay rolls, and operations of such mines as the Cherokee Mines near Murphy, Cherokee County, Vineyard Mountain Mine, Clay County, Old Southern Mine, Rowan County, and Tar Heel Mine, Surry County, for manganese; the Allen Farm Property, Cabarrus County, and the Reimer Property, Rowan County, for pyrites; and the Aunt Ann and Uncle Berry Mines, Jackson and

[56] RG 32, Records of the United States Shipping Board.

Buncombe counties, and the Bay Chrome Mine, Yancey County, for chrome.[57]

For the depression that began in 1929, an aftermath of the First World War, there are records in the National Archives for each of the various agencies created by the federal government for the alleviation of the distress and widespread suffering of the time. Among these are the records of the Civilian Conservation Corps and its predecessor agents, 1933-1943; the records of the National Recovery Administration, 1933-1937; and the records of the Work Projects Administration and predecessor agencies, 1933-1944. Each of these contain records pertaining to North Carolina.

The records of the Civilian Conservation Corps comprise correspondence and reports on such matters as selection of enrollees, agreements between state and national organizations, personnel, procedure, operations, and inspections.[58] Replete with information are the inspection reports which contain entries under such headings as name, number and location of camp, race and number of enrollees, type of project, camp sanitation, medical service, safety program, educational and religious programs, and menus. Camps for which such reports exist include such random examples as Swanquarter, Pisgah Forest, Hendersonville, Hot Springs, and Mortimer.

The records of the National Recovery Administration for North Carolina in the National Archives consist of code drafts, hearings, histories, reports, questionnaires, complaints of code violations, office memoranda, and pertinent correspondence.[59] These records reflect such phases of the state's economic and social life as trade associations, cooperatives, production costs, living condition of workers, productive capacity, marketing structures, transportation facilities, volume and value of shipments, labor unions, handicapped workers and sheltered workshops, home work, wages, and hour and piece work. Of special interest is that part of the correspondence file which deals with conditions in the following: cleaning and dyeing industry, crushed stone, sand, gravel and clay industry, fishing industry, food and grocery distribution, general contractors, graphic arts

[57] RG 194, Records of the War Minerals Relief Commission.
[58] RG 35, Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps.
[59] RG 9, Records of the National Recovery Administration.

industry, hotel industry, ice industry, petroleum industries, retail tobacco trade, and trucking industry. Included within the records of the National Recovery Administration is a two volume manuscript study, *Report on the Tobacco Worker, A Study of Tobacco Factory Workers and Their Families* (1935, pp. 661), by Charles S. Johnson, which details minutely the living and working conditions of the tobacco workers and their families for such centers as Winston-Salem, Durham, and Reidsville.[60]

The records of the Work Projects Administration in the National Archives pertaining to North Carolina include in the main, correspondence on the administration of the program there and project reports. For local activities the project reports are of value. Among these are reports on the adult education program, child protection program, clothing program, over-all-training program, feeding program, federal art project, federal theatre project, library project, and historical records survey.[61]

The information furnished by these reports is quite revealing. One on the feeding program contains data on school lunches, gardening, canning, commodity distribution, and housekeeping aid, as well as statistics on canning production for the years 1939-1942 inclusive, and a tabular statement of schools by counties and races which had WPA lunch rooms, 1941-1943. The report on the federal art project from December, 1936, to December, 1937, furnishes information concerning exhibits of outstanding paintings before audiences of both races and the development of art appreciation. A report of the library project includes entries under such headings as bookbinding, bookmobiles, school libraries, and public libraries.

Of the projects which were undertaken in the state that of the Historical Records Survey ranks high. This project consisted of the preparation of inventories of municipal, county, and state archives, a guide to manuscript collections in the state, an inventory of church records, a card index of interments in North Carolina cemeteries prior to the establishment of a vital statistics bureau in the state, and an imprints inventory of certain classes of books, pamphlets, newspapers, and broadsides published in the state.[62] Manuals of procedure for the different

[60] RG 9, Records of the National Recovery Administration.
[61] RG 69, Records of the Work Projects Administration.
[62] RG 69, Records of the Work Projects Administration.

phases of this project as well as a list of publications which were brought out under the auspices of the Work Projects Administration are included within this record group. Within the records of this project are minutes of the North Carolina Committee on the Conservation of Cultural Resources, January 6, 1942, which are of no little interest because of the consideration given to the problems of preservation and evacuation of records during war times.

Records in the National Archives pertaining to North Carolina of other New Deal Agencies include those of the National Resources Planning Board, 1933-1943, which contain correspondence, reports, and studies on such subjects as water resources, land usage, occupational industrial, and population trends;[63] the National Youth Administration, 1935-1943, which embody correspondence, work plans, application for work projects, and photographs;[64] the Agricultural Adjustment Agency, 1933-1943, consisting of correspondence and reports on parity payments to farmers, conservation programs, and price stabilization;[65] the Surplus Marketing Administration and predecessor agencies, 1933-1943, comprising correspondence and reports pertaining to the diversion of surplus commodities from the open market to destitute families through state relief agencies and to the Food Stamp Plan;[66] and the Farm Security Administration, 1933-1940, which include correspondence and reports on rehabilitating low-income farm families, financing the purchase of farms by tenants and laborers, and establishing rural homestead projects for the demonstration of improved farm practices.[67]

With the attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States entered her Second World War and immediately began a total mobilization. The records of some of the numerous agencies which were created for this, especially those which have since been liquidated, are already in the National Archives. For the most part, however, the accession by the National Archives of the records of the Second World War and the post war period is still in process.[68]

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[63] RG 187, Records of the National Resources Planning Board.
[64] RG 119, Records of the National Youth Administration.
[65] RG 145, Records of the Agricultural Adjustment Agency.
[66] RG 124, Records of the Surplus Marketing Administration.
[67] RG 96, Records of the Farm Security Administration.
[68] This was true at the time this article was completed, early in 1947. Editor's note.

This paper is merely suggestive and in no wise exhausts the mountain of records in the National Archives pertaining to North Carolina. It does indicate, however, that the records which concern any of the varied aspects of the state are of such richness in quality and quantity that they can hardly be neglected. Indeed so vast in amount and diversified in interest are these records that it is not too much to say that there are materials in the National Archives pertaining to North Carolina—and any other state, for that matter—on practically every conceivable subject arising under federal-state relationship.

RELIGION IN THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA

By JOHN SHEPARD, JR.

Throughout its history, the South has been a stronghold of the Christian religion. Today the section is widely known as the "Bible belt." In the years before the Civil War, religion entered into every phase of southern life. Church attendance was regarded as a badge of respectability. The presence of the clergy was sought for both private and public functions. The minister was preferred to the magistrate in the marriage ceremony, and community gatherings were opened always with prayer. Most of the academies and colleges had daily chapel services which both faculty and students were required to attend. There was sometimes a wide divergence between the preacher's message and the laity's conduct, but religious sanction was demanded by the righteous, approved by the lukewarm, and tolerated by the wicked. All felt better to have had the blessing of the church.

That the churches in the South were not reluctant to enter the arena of political issues is indicated by the strong position taken by some religious leaders in defense of the institution of slavery. The high esteem in which the ministry was held was reflected in the sensitiveness of southern people to the attacks of abolitionists on the integrity of their preachers. An opening breach which eventuated in the chasm of disunion was the separation of the leading denominations, North and South, on the slavery issue during the early eighteen-forties.

At the outbreak of the war, religion and patriotism were almost synonymous in the South. The people not only thought they were right in resisting the invasion of their soil and the coercion of sovereign states by the federal government, but they went to battle or sent their sons in full reliance upon "the Lord of Hosts." An early message by President Jefferson Davis to the people of the Confederacy reflected this spirit in its opening sentence:

We feel that our cause is just and holy; we profess solemnly in the face of all mankind that we desire peace at any price, save of honor and independence. . . .[1]

An address to Christians throughout the world, signed by one hundred members of the various church bodies in the South, insisted that the war was forced on the Confederacy.[2] Southerners as a whole had no compunction of conscience in joining the army. In fact, they had the approbation of their conscience in fighting for their homes and what they deemed their rights. They were willing for the contest to be decided on its merits. In what they considered such a just and righteous cause, even representatives of the church could enter in large numbers.

It was to be expected that southern soldiers would depart for war with ecclesiastical blessings. Talks and prayers by the local ministers were a regular part of the going-away ceremonies during the early months of the conflict. In the knapsacks of many, if not most, of the volunteers, Bibles were tucked away, donated by mothers or sweethearts. Every new regiment that went into the army had some token of the deep concern felt by the home folks for its religious welfare. When the Seventh South Carolina Regiment was about to leave, the colored members of the Methodist Church in Aiken presented the chaplain with a magnificent Bible for the regiment's use.[3]

In spite of their military exemption, many of the Southern preachers entered the army as soldiers. Rev. D. M. Atkinson, president of Hampden-Sydney College, organized a regiment on his campus which included a number of students from the Union Theological Seminary in nearby Richmond. In one Georgia regiment there were fourteen ministers in combat service.[4] The famous Rockbridge Artillery unit, organized in Lexington, Virginia, boasted nineteen theological students and was for a time commanded by the Rev. William Pendleton, a prominent Episcopalian minister who subsequently became Chief of Artillery for the entire Army of Northern Virginia.[5]

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[1] Quoted in W. W. Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival Which Prevailed in the Southern Armies*, p. 87.
[2] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 88.
[3] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 115.
[4] J. W. Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 32.
[5] E. A. Moore, *The Story of a Cannoneer Under Stonewall Jackson*, p. 234.

All evangelical denominations were well represented in the rank and file of the Army. Of the first four companies to arrive from Georgia in Virginia, three of the captains were Christians, and fifty from one of the companies were members of the same church. A regiment stationed near Portsmouth in June, 1861, was reported to contain 400 men from the same denomination. The "Liberty Hall Volunteers," organized at Washington College, included a full set of Christian officers, more than half the rank and file were members of some church, and about one-fourth were candidates for the ministry.[6] Not a few of the pastors had a majority of their male members in the army, and sometimes they commanded companies composed largely of their own congregations.

The homogeneity of the southern armies gave strength to religious influences. Irreligious men were often from the same community as their pious comrades, and at home had felt the same religious power which was brought to bear upon them in the army. The gospel preached to them in camp was not a new sound, nor were the words of prayer a strange language. Not infrequently the same minister whom they had known at home served them in like capacity in the army.[7]

An important factor in the religious life of the Army of Northern Virginia was the exceptional piety of its leaders. General Robert E. Lee was deeply devout in his religion and manifested a constant interest in the spiritual welfare of the soldiers in his command. Though a loyal adherent of the Episcopal Church and a regular attendant of Episcopalian services whenever they were available, he did not confine his interest to that denomination and always treated ministers with the most marked courtesy and respect. His religious tolerance is well illustrated in an incident told about him in the early stage of the war. An application of a Jewish soldier for permission to attend certain religious services of his synagogue in Richmond was endorsed by his captain: "Disapproved. If such applications were granted, the whole army would turn Jews or Shaking Quakers." When the paper came to General Lee, he endorsed it: "Approved, and

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[6] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, pp. 21, 22.
[7] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 20.

respectfully returned to the Captain with the advice that he should always respect the religious views and feelings of others."[8]

General "Stonewall" Jackson's intense religious zeal seemed at times to border on fanaticism, but there is no doubt that he exercised a profound influence on his men. Baptized an Episcopalian, he took great interest in religious matters throughout his life. But it was only when he came to Lexington as professor at the Virginia Military Institute that he began his extensive church activity. After deliberation under the guidance of the Rev. William S. White, he became a Presbyterian, though he never accepted the strict Calvinism of that denomination. He had a natural reticence which for many years limited his public participation in church affairs. But under the tutelage of his minister, he gradually overcame his shyness. Just before the war he was a deacon, taught a Negro Sunday school, led in public prayer, and even conducted a series of lectures on Christianity.[9] His was a serious and conscientious religion, which insisted on a strict observance of the Sabbath—he opposed the carrying of mail on Sunday and always made certain his letters would travel on week-days; reflected an extreme belief in the doctrine of particular Providence, which made him at times rashly careless on the battlefield; and manifested itself in a sincere dependence on prayer, which to him was inward spirit rather than outward display. A friend once asked Jackson what his understanding was of the biblical command to "Pray without ceasing." With characteristic modesty, the professor assured his friend that he was no model, but went on to say that he never drank a glass of water, ate a meal, sent or received a letter, or began a class without asking God's blessing.[10] This active religious zeal and dependence on prayer were to make General Jackson the outstanding promoter of religious work in the army and easily its most interesting religious figure.

Less prominent perhaps, but of real importance in their religious influence in the army were a number of other Christian commanders. General "Jeb" Stuart, usually remembered for his carefree nature and daring exploits, took a genuine interest in religious matters and the spiritual welfare of his men. General

[8] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, pp. 78, 79.
[9] R. L. Dabney, *Life and Campaigns of Lieutenant-General T. J. Jackson*, pp. 83-115.
[10] Mary Anna Jackson, *Memoirs of Stonewall Jackson*, pp. 72, 73.

John B. Gordon frequently preached to his men and urged ministers to come out to his camp.[11] General G. H. Holmes often referred to religion in conversations with his officers. One of his chaplains related how the general rebuked him when he appeared on the battlefield of Manassas in a uniform which Holmes considered too military for a clergyman: "Go back, sir! This is no place for you; take off that sash, retire to the grove, and besiege the throne of grace!"[12] General Jubal Early was a bundle of contradictions and inconsistencies, of religion and irreligion, of reverence and profanity. He had a deep interest in religious work among his men and a feeling of worship toward Generals Jackson and Lee, not only as great soldiers, but also as great Christians. Yet he was one of the few who were known to swear in Lee's presence. The general reproved him gently by calling him "my bad old man."[13]

Among the lesser officers were numerous staunch Christians who made their influence felt. Eloquent evidence is the testimony of a fellow-officer to Major John S. Walker, who lost his life in an early battle:

> It is impossible to separate his character as a soldier and as a Christian; and while he fought manfully against the enemies of his country, his fervent spirit fought and labored earnestly against the enemies of his Lord.The Word of God was his light in camp, and the tumult of war did not stop his devotions. I believe that he prayed without ceasing, and that in the end, the arms of the Everlasting One were under him. . . . [14]

During the early months of the war the influences of home and church were decidedly felt by the soldiers in the camps. Nearly every community had its weekly union prayer-meeting. The pastors made frequent visits to the camps, often bringing gifts for the men from loved ones. Fathers and mothers wrote numerous letters to the soldiers, urging them to observe their hours of secret prayer, read their Bibles, and attend such religious services as were within their reach. Typical of these was the advice from a father to his son:

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[11] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 68.
[12] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 35.
[13] Robert Stiles, *Four Years Under Marse Robert*, p. 189.
[14] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 169.

. . . Try to maintain your Christian profession among your comrades . . . as you will come in habitual contact with men of every grade, make special associates only of those whose influence on your character is felt to be good. . . . Should it be your lot to enter an engagement with the enemy, lift up your heart in secret ejaculations to the ever-present and good Being, that he will protect you from sudden death, or if you fall, that he will receive your departing spirit, cleansed by the blood of Jesus, into his kingdom. . . . Providence has placed you in the midst of thoughtless and unpardoned men. What a beautiful thing if you could win some of them to the Saviour. . . .[15]

Letters written by soldiers before entering battle tell of some religious interest among the troops. One officer wrote from Camp Pendleton, training headquarters for artillery, to *The Southern Churchman* that the chapel had been completed and filled on the preceding Sunday and added that there were many pious and influential men in the corps who, he hoped, would make their lives tell powerfully for Christ and his religion.[16] Another, writing home from camp along the Rappahannock, disclosed:

. . . I am happy to state that we are holding prayer-meetings every night, when the weather will permit. . . . It will be soul-cheering for you to know that, in the midst of the profanity and blasphemy of camp, there are many Christians. . . .[17]

With all these favorable conditions, religion did not thrive in the Army of Northern Virginia during the early months of the war. Sunday services were held irregularly and with small attendance. Testaments collected dust from disuse. In some quarters the faithful few who persisted in their devotions were scorned as weaklings. Throughout the army many of the men who at home took active interest in church affairs lapsed into a state of indifference after a short time.[18]

Among the factors contributing to the spiritual indifference which distinguished camp life in those days before the fighting began was the festive spirit with which the volunteers went to war. Few of the men realized that the conflict would be a long and bloody one. Then there was the widespread inclination to lay

[15] Carlton McCarthy, *Soldier Life in the Army of Northern Virginia*, pp. 16-21.
[16] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 40.
[17] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 39.
[18] B. I. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, pp. 174, 175.

aside the inhibitions and conventions to which they had been accustomed. Once this reaction set in, it was hard to stop. No agency existed for the promotion of wholesale recreation. After a while drill and camp routine became dreadfully monotonous. Fleas, lice, rations, hard marching, and ragged clothing taxed patience beyond endurance.[19]

For all these woes, poker, profanity, and liquor seemed to offer the best antidotes. A large number of soldiers began to drink after they entered the army, and the demon of the bottle was undoubtedly the greatest problem in the camps. An observer of conditions of vice, drunkenness, and profanity in the army attributed them in large measure to the conduct and example of the officers, whom he labeled, for the most part, "profane and hard drinkers." On the behavior of the officer, he thought, usually depended the discipline of his command.[20]

At the outset of the war, then, there were both favorable and unfavorable conditions with regard to religion in the Army of Northern Virginia. Coming for the most part from religious homes and communties, the southern soldiers were sent to fight in a righteous cause with the blessing of the church. In every regiment there were usually a large number of church members and often ministers. Many of the officers, including the leaders of the army, were devout men, interested in the religious welfare of their commands. Letters from home constantly encouraged devotion to the faith. But the vicissitudes of camp life put a severe strain on a soldier's religion, and few were equal to the test. As the early months of the war passed, it became increasingly clear to church leaders throughout the South that a concentration of effort with regard to religious work in the army would be necessary if the spiritual needs of the men were to be met.

The organization of religion in the Army of Northern Virginia had to do largely with the efforts of chaplains and their associates, the colporteurs, though they were often assisted by interested officers and men. During the early stages of the war these workers were comparatively few in number and not well organized. Many of them became so disheartened at the general

[19] Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, p. 175.
[20] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, pp. 74-76.

spiritual breakdown in the army that they early despaired of their mission and went home. But the need for organized religious guidance was soon recognized by the leaders of the Confederacy —military, political, and ecclesiastical. General Jackson was particularly persistent in his efforts to procure chaplains and religious literature for his troops. Late in 1862 the Chaplain's Association was formed to coordinate the work in the army and secure chaplains for every regiment. The various denominations sent missionaries and evangelists into the camps to supplement the labors of these army ministers. During the final years of the war under increasingly trying conditions, religious work came to have an important place in the life and interest of the soldiers.

On April 27, 1861, the Secretary of War in the newly-created Confederate government concluded a report to President Davis by insisting on the immediate importance of enacting a law empowering his department to appoint chaplains for the service. His final words indicate the significance he attached to such an act:

> Military experience demonstrates the importance of religious habitudes to the morality, good order, and general discipline of any army in the field. . . . If we expect God to bless us in our struggle in defense of our rights, we must recognize him in our actions.[21]

A memorial from certain ministers relative to the appointment of chaplains was introduced in the Provisional Congress, in session at Montgomery, on April 31, and was immediately referred to the Military Affairs Committee.[22] Three days later the committee reported and an act was passed authorizing the President to appoint such chaplains as he deemed expedient and to assign them to regiments, brigades, and posts, and setting the expiration of appointments at the end of the war.[23]

Though the Congress appeared willing enough to make provision for the appointment of chaplains, it showed an extreme reluctance to pay them enough to live. The original act provided for a salary of eighty-five dollars per month, with allow-

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[21] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, p. 252 (hereafter cited as *O. R.*).

[22] *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America*, Vol. I, p. 170 (hereafter cited as *Journal*).

[23] *O. R.*, IV, I, p. 275.

ances for uniforms, rations, and forage. It was amended, however, within two weeks, reducing the salary to fifty dollars and cancelling the provision for allowances.[24] In August of the same year a new amendment allowed chaplains the same rations as privates, and the following April their salaries were raised to eighty dollars a month.[25] It was only as late as January, 1864, that President Davis affixed his signature to a bill authorizing chaplains to draw forage for their horses.[26] It is no wonder, then, that the churches were hard pressed in persuading able ministers to enter the chaplaincy. Only those who had independent incomes and small families could afford to volunteer, and few preachers had either. The seeming adventure and lack of responsibility connected with the chaplaincy attracted a large number of ministerial ne'er-do-wells, who in many cases undermined the general reputation of chaplains by their ineffective service.

The early scarcity of chaplains provoked a mounting crescendo of appeals to swell the number from denominational leaders and ministers within the ranks. General Jackson took an active interest in providing chaplains for his regiments, as illustrated by the letter he wrote during the first year of the war to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church:

> Each branch of the Christian Church should send into the army some of its prominent ministers who are distinguished for their piety, talents, and zeal, and such ministers should labor to produce a concert of action among chaplains and Christians in the army. These ministers should give special attention to preaching in the regiments which are without chaplains, and to let regiments name the denominations from which they desire chaplains secured, and then see that suitable chaplains are secured. . . .[27]

In the selection of a chaplain, denominational lines were minimized. None was expected to compromise in the least the particular beliefs of his church, and a common ground was sought upon which all could work together. Of course such a benign non-sectarianism was not always observed in practice, and there were occasional heated doctrinal exchanges between rival exhort-

[24] *O. R.*, IV, I, 327.
[25] *O. R.*, IV, I, 595.
[26] *Journal*, III, 578.
[27] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, pp. 51, 52.

ers in the same camp. An impetus to harmony was the fact that chaplains came almost exclusively from the so-called "orthodox" faiths in the South—the Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians. There were a few Catholic priests with the army, but no representative of the Jewish religion.[28]

To effect a coordination of the efforts of chaplains, an association was organized in Jackson's corps in August, 1862, which subsequently encompassed the entire army. The general was the leading spirit in the formation of the group and frequently attended its sessions, though, at his insistence, in an inactive capacity.[29] The first meeting was held at the Old Round Oak Church in Caroline County, Virginia, shortly after the return of the army from the campaign in Maryland. After the election of a moderator there was a period of public worship, following which the ministers discussed the general state of religion in the army, exchanged experiences and views on methods, and organized committees to deal with specific problems. Bi-weekly sessions of the association were held, when conditions permitted, during the remainder of the war.[30]

Rev. B. T. Lacy, a prominent Episcopalian minister, came to General Jackson's headquarters at his invitation in March, 1863, and was shortly commissioned as a chaplain by the government without assignment to any command. His duties were to supply regiments without chaplains with temporary services, to effect a channel of intercourse between the army and the bodies of clergy of the different denominations, through which the latter might learn of the needs of the former, and to unify further the efforts of the association.[31] A committee was appointed by the association, with Dr. Lacy as chairman, which drew up and circulated widely an appeal for reenforcements. Despite its efforts, only a minority of the regiments in the army were ever supplied with chaplains.[32]

To supplement the work of chaplains, the various denominations sent numerous evangelists and missionaries into the camps, particularly toward the close of the war. These were not per-

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[28] Dabney, *Life and Campaigns of T. J. Jackson*, p. 651.
[29] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, pp. 55, 56.
[30] Partial minutes of the Chaplains' Association may be found in Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, pp. 513-26.
[31] Dabney, *Life and Campaigns of Jackson*, p. 648.
[32] A partial roster of the chaplains of the Army of Northern Virginia may be found in Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, pp. 529, 534.

manently attached to any command but moved throughout the army on an arduous schedule, preaching in the regiments which were without chaplains or those which were in the midst of revival meetings. Their expenses were paid by the various churches, though the government did make provision to supply them with rations late in 1864.[33]

The regular constituency of a chaplain was a regiment, though in some instances a preacher tried to serve a brigade. Some were stationed permanently at certain posts. After May, 1864, a limited number were appointed to the hospitals for the sick and wounded.[34] There was some discussion in Congress in the autumn of 1861 relative to the bestowal of military rank on chaplains, but the resolution was ultimately tabled.[35] During the latter stages of the war, however, they were generally recognized as having the rank of first lieutenant.[36]

The life of conscientious chaplains was an arduous and varied one. They founded camp churches of every denomination in their regiments; wrote ministers or churches which were connected with the soldiers under their care or with which converts wished to be united and kept them informed from time to time of the progress of these individuals; and recorded minutely the information obtained in countless pastoral visits which might be serviceable in promoting a soldier's spiritual life. Randolph McKim, a staff officer in Steuart's Maryland Brigade, who became a chaplain late in the war, tells in his memoirs of his first days in that capacity:

> I secured lists of men in each company who were communicants of any church. Then I had a mass meeting of communicants, and sought to strengthen their resolution to be faithful to their profession, and steadfast in their religious duties, and active in Christian work among their comrades. I prepared a series of resolutions along these lines and they were adopted by the meeting. My next effort was to build up a choir for the better rendering of the hymns at our services, and I had choir meetings when possible. . . .[37]

In another passage McKim pictures his daily schedule as a chaplain:

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[33] *Journal*, p. 578.
[34] *O. R.*, IV, III, p. 496.
[35] *Journal*, I, p. 293.
[36] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, pp. 54, 55.
[37] Randolph McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections*, p. 220.

> . . . I established the rule of having prayers in the regiment daily, both morning and evening, and generally made a short address. . . . I rose regularly about five, and was early ready for any duty. If the regiment went on picket, prayers were first held. . . . I believe the morning services were usually before breakfast, and the evening services at sunset. . . .[38]

Care and consolation of the wounded was an important part of the chaplain's work. When the fighting began, he usually took a position near the ambulances or the field hospital, where he could assist the litter-bearers and speak words of comfort to those in pain. Burial services for the dead were a part of his task. After the battle of Gettysburg, Rev. George Patterson of the Third North Carolina Regiment heard of an officer who was mortally wounded and went out on the field to find him. The order had been given for the army to retreat, and, after a brief visit, the chaplain told the wounded man he would be obliged to leave. The officer then requested that Rev. Patterson read the burial service before he left, and there on the battlefield, by the light of a lantern, the solemn service was held.[39]

Provisions were made by both governments for the immediate release of chaplains when taken prisoner.[40] At Gettysburg several southern clergymen felt it their duty to remain with the wounded, and were consequently captured and sent to a prison camp at Point Lookout, Maryland, until arrangements could be made for their exchange. Federal authorities there exercised a strict control over the contacts of chaplains with other prisoners, insisting that their discussions must be solely on religious matters.[41]

Chaplains were not authorized to take an active part in battles, and most of them did not even carry weapons. One testified that it was a harrowing experience "to sit on a horse and have nothing to do but be shot at."[42] Some, however, were not so scrupulous in observing the rules of warfare. At Chancellorsville, Rev. T. L. Duke, chaplain of the Nineteenth Mississippi Regiment, seized a musket, moved to the front of the line, and directed the movement against the skirmishers.[43] In the midst

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[38] McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections*, p. 221.
[39] McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections*, pp. 190, 191.
[40] *O. R.*, II, IV, pp. 288, 318.
[41] *O. R.*, II, VI, p. 363.
[42] McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections*, p. 226.
[43] *O. R.*, I, XXV, I, p. 873.

of desultory fighting during the Wilderness campaign, Chaplain Cameron of Stuart's Marylanders spotted a Yankee sharpshooter in a haystack, fired, felt assured he had killed his man, and was filled with mingled feelings of triumph and remorse. It was not the last of his uncanonical acts.[44] Several chaplains were cited for gallantry, and a few of them were killed in action. William Benton Owen, a private appointed as a chaplain late in the war, was in front of the breastworks after the battle of Spottsylvania Court House caring for the wounded when a minnie ball from the rifle of a Yankee sniper struck his shoulder, shattered it badly. He never recovered from the wound, and died shortly after the war.[45]

The chaplain who braved the dangers of battle, whether with or without arms, lifted himself greatly in the esteem of his soldiers. McKim tells of the reaction of his men when he moved with them to meet the enemy in their first engagement after he arrived. One of the veterans called out to him: "Hello, Parson, are you going with us into battle?" "Oh, yes," replied McKim, "I'm an old infantry soldier; I don't mind these little cavalry skirmishes." Whereupon a rough trooper from the backwoods rose in his stirrups, and, brandishing his saber over his head, exclaimed: "That's right, Parson. You stick to us, and we'll stick to you!"[46] In the camp as well as in battle it was important for the chaplain to share the hardships of his flock. He had a degree of freedom not enjoyed by his soldiers, but if he stuck to his post, shared their uncomfortable bivouac and scant rations, and refused furloughs, his influence over the men was greatly extended. General Jackson always reminded his chaplains of their obligation "to endure hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ," to live with their regiments, acquire their confidence by sharing their exposures, and stick to their work. He said that a chaplain should not think of resigning his post for any cause other than that which would justify a field-officer in laying down his commission; and he should not think any more than he of leaving their regiment without a regular furlough founded on a just cause. To do so, he argued, taught the men that

[44] *O. R.*, I, V, p. 119.
[45] Stiles, *Four Years Under Marse Robert*, pp. 143-145
[46] McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections*, p. 219.

the soul was less important than the body, and that secular duties were more urgent than the business of redemption.[47]

Chief complaints against the chaplains had to do with ignorance and cowardice. "We have in our company two parsons," wrote a Mississippian in his diary; "truth forbids that I should say that they are eminent or even thoroughly posted upon Biblical questions. . . . The progress of religion amongst us is greatly impeded by the embarrassing fact. . . ." [48] It is said that on one occasion, when the firing was unusually heavy, a chaplain who had labored to convert General Ewell remarked that he could be of no service at the front and would seek a less exposed place, whereupon Ewell remarked: "Why chaplain, you are the most inconsistent man I ever saw. You say you are anxious to get to heaven above all things, and now you've got the best chance you ever had to go, and you run away from it, just as if you had rather not make the trip after all!"[49]

Undoubtedly there was much incompetency among the chaplains during the first years of the war, but the undesirables were gradually sloughed off when they found there was real work to be done and danger to be met. For the most part the reactions of both officers and men to these military clergymen were favorable. It is true colonels objected that, by awakening the men's fears of retribution, the chaplains made them unfit for battle. But it may be concluded with Rev. B. G. Taylor of the Twenty-Seventh Virginia Regiment that the men generally wanted chaplains and appreciated their services.[50]

At the outbreak of the war, religious literature was almost entirely published in the North. Most of the Bible societies situated there early took a view that Scriptures were contraband of war and stopped making their publications available for southern distribution. The notable exception was the American Bible Society, which made several donations of Testaments, including one of 100,000 copies, to groups in the Confederacy active in the service of the army. Another outstanding contributor was the British and Foreign Bible Society, which made

[47] Dabney, *Life and Campaigns of T. J. Jackson*, pp. 653-655.
[48] Wiley, *The Life of Johnny* Reb, p. 189.
[49] G. C. Eggleston, *A Rebel's Recollections*, p. 159.
[50] Jones, *Christ in the Camps*, pp. 227, 273.

large contributions and extended unlimited credit without interest for the purchase of Testaments for southern soldiers.[51]

Southern affiliates of the American Bible Society severed connections with the parent organization shortly after the fighting began and initiated the Bible Society of the Confedeate States. The lack of printing facilities placed the society in a position of dependence on purchases from the northern states and Britain. Through these channels it was the principal contributor in the circulation of Testaments among the soldiers.[52] The various Protestant denominations in the South were active in procuring Bibles, Testaments, and other religious literature for the army. Earliest in the work of colportage were the Baptists, who took vigorous measures to meet the needs in their convention in May, 1861. The Presbyterian Board of Publications saw that regular journals of the denomination, a monthly paper especially adapted for the wants of the army. Bibles, Testaments, and tracts were sent to camps and hospitals from their center of operations. The Soldiers' Tract Association of the Methodist Church was organized early in 1862 and disseminated millions of pages of reading material, including two semi-monthly papers, of which 40,000 copies were regularly distributed throughout the army. Of the many independent organizations which distributed religious literature to the soldiers, the most prominent was the Evangelical Tract Society, founded in Petersburg, Virginia, in 1862. Its contribution consisted of more than a hundred different tracts and a religious newspaper, *The Army and Navy Messenger*, which achieved a wide circulation.[53]

The most numerous and most influential of religious publications issued to soldiers were those which came under the head of tracts. Every major denomination and several interdenominational agencies took an active part in the distribution of this form of religious reading. The output from all sources totaled hundreds of millions of pages. The Baptists were particularly zealous in this work. The Virgina Sunday School and Publication Board alone published over thirty millions of pages of brochures. Among the independent publishers, the Evangelical Tract Society and the South Carolina Tract Society were out-

[51] Jones, *Christ in the Camps*, pp. 148-151.
[52] Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, p. 176.
[53] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, pp. 72-76.

standing in this field.[54] A great majority of the tracts were pointed spiritual essays prepared especially for soldiers by eminent southern theologians. The publications were pocket-size and the usual length was four pages, though some contained as many as sixteen, and a few ran as high as twenty-four. Some emphasized the importance of conversion; others told how to seek religion; many warned against specific sins; a few gave practical advice; and a great number had as their central theme the danger of procrastination. A favorite technique was the use of personal incident and experience. Washington, Cromwell, and various heroes of the Confederacy were cited as examples of Christian fortitude. Military allusions and analogies were frequently used. The style of writing was usually unctuous.[55]

One of the most popular of all tracts was an eight-page pamphlet called "A Mother's Parting Words to Her Soldier Boy," written in letter form by J. B. Jeter. In the first year of publication, about 250,000 copies were issued to soldiers. The style is direct, crisp, and unencumbered by the unctuous sentimentality that mars many tracts. In the beginning a good tonic for morale is administered: the mother professes to give her son without reluctance because he goes to support a righteous cause. In this sacred cause, the mother implores her son to be a good soldier, obedient to his superiors and courageous in battle. Then follows practical advice as to religion in camp; the son is urged to become a Christian, lest his soul perish; but the argument is made with restraint and without appeal to fear. He is then admonished to keep his Christianity: guard against drunkenness and avoid profanity. He is assured that piety is not effeminate: some of the bravest soldiers in the world have been humble Christians. Finally there is a benediction and a commitment of the son to the providence of the Almighty.[56]

In this phase of religious work in the army, the work was again cooperative rather than sectarian. It was alleged during the course of the war that the Baptist Society was circulating tracts among the soldiers justifying their position on the subject of baptism. A similar charge was brought against the Methodists issuing their views *contra* on the same question. An in-

[54] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, pp. 151-156.
[55] Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, p. 176.
[56] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 171 ff.

vestigation of the evidence, however, proved this report untrue. The publications of this class during the war avoided disputed points and taught the cardinal doctrines and duties of Christianity.[57]

Distribution of Bibles, tracts, and other religious publications was accomplished through special agents called colporteurs, through chaplains, and through interested soldiers. One chaplain appointed a man in each company to ascertain the need for Testaments, circulated a subscription for a supply of religious newspapers, and recorded the distribution of one "cargo" of seventy Testaments, forty hymnals, and about one hundred prayer books among his men.[58] The soldiers were often the best distributors of religious literature. Those who received denominational newspapers from home usually shared them with their comrades.[59] One private, on his own initiative, returned from a furlough with thirty-four copies of the New Testament and distributed them among the members of his company.[60] Another, who was enlisted in a Virginia regiment, sold the daily papers during the time that his command was near Richmond, and with the profits bought tracts which he gave to his acquaintances in the army.[61]

The disseminator of tracts was a welcome visitor in the camps. The Rev. J. W. Jones writes of his wanderings:

> I had a pair of large saddle-bags, which I used to pack with tracts and religious newspapers, and with Bibles and Testaments when I had them. Thus equipped, I would sally forth, and as I drew near the camp, someone would raise the cry, 'Yonder comes the Bible and tract man,' and such crowds would rush out to meet me that frequently I would sit on my horse and distribute the supply before I could even get to camp. . . .[62]

Even the most irreligious officers welcomed these tract distributors to their camps. "Sir," said a notoriously cross and profane general to a colporteur, "you have come, I hope, to do all the good

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[57] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, pp. 279-280.
[58] McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections*, p. 239.
[59] H. M. Wagstaff, ed., *The James A. Graham Papers*, p. 184 (hereafter cited as *The James A. Graham Papers*).
[60] McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections*, p. 74.
[61] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 83.
[62] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 155.

you can;" and he showed his sincerity by inviting his visitor to eat at his mess and share his tent.[63]

Hospitals were favorite resorts of colporteurs, and no charge seems to have been made for literature distributed to the sick and wounded. One colporteur wrote of his work in the hospitals around Richmond in 1862:

> I have conversed with, addressed, and prayed for many hundreds of invalid soldiers during the month, and given to each of them a tract, a religious newspaper, or a New Testament, and have received from all great respect and from many the most tender expressions of gratitude. . . .[64]

Another related a touching scene in a field hospital near Winchester, Virginia:

> There, stretched out before me on coarse, hard beds, lay perhaps one hundred sick soldiers. . . . As I would go from cot to cot, leaving a tract or a Testament and speaking of Jesus, it was not uncommon for some sufferer to call from another part of the room, "Bring me one." . . .[65]

The interest of soldiers in religious reading material often caused them to send donations for its distribution out of their scant pay. A captain in the Twelfth Georgia Regiment testified that his company raised sixty dollars on a single day as a contribution to a regimental fund for religious literature.[66] A chaplain with a cavalry regiment under General Early in the Shenandoah Valley during 1864 recorded a collection of one hundred six dollars from two camps for the same purpose.[67] The popularity of religious literature was due as often to a dearth of reading matter in general as to a genuine interest in spiritual instruction. Captain Lewis Minor Coleman testified that one of his men who made no pretension to Christianity read the Psalms and New Testament through twice during a month's encampment because he had nothing else to read.[68]

The agencies responsible for the distribution of religious literature encountered great difficulties both in supplying the demand

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[63] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 140.
[64] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 155.
[65] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 140.
[66] Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, p. 179.
[67] McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections*, p. 239.
[68] Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, p. 180.

and meeting the costs involved. So acute became the shortage of Testaments that appeals were made to relatives of those killed to contribute the Scriptures of the deceased for redistribution. Ministers sent out to raise funds for colportage had a good store of incidents at hand, telling of the conversion of hardened sinners by tracts that came accidentally into their possession. Typical of these was the story of a wounded officer who was awakened and led to Jesus while in camp by a fragment of a religious tract which he had picked up in an adjoining grove.[69]

Religious services in the army consisted largely of preaching and prayer meetings, which were held under a wide variety of conditions. The usual time for the former was Sunday morning, but the demands of campaigning and the shortage of chaplains caused frequent changes in the schedule. Prayer meetings were more frequent than sermons and were usually held at night. The popularity of such services was widespread, both because of the genuine religious interest and the entertainment afforded to drive off the ennui of camp life.

When conditions permitted, chapels were constructed to serve as centers of worship. When the army went into winter quarters along the Manassas lines in 1861, a few commands erected crude shelters. General Jackson took great pride in the fact that the Stonewall Brigade was among the first in providing a place of worship for its men.[70] Chapel building reached its climax along the Rapidan in the winter of 1863-64, when over forty chapels were constructed. There were a large number along the Richmond-Petersburg lines the following winter, although the men were obliged to carry logs sometimes for great distances because of the scarcity of timber.[71] Two or three regiments usually cooperated in the construction of a chapel. Tall trees were cut and brought to the spot by teams of the Quartermaster Corps. Walls and chimneys were made of logs and plastered with clay. The structure was roofed with clapboards and furnished with crude benches formed from the split bodies of trees. To save labor and heat, these camp churches were built three or four feet below the surface of the earth. They were

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[69] Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, p. 180.
[70] Dabney, *Life and Campaigns of Lieutenant-General T. J. Jackson*, p. 650.
[71] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, pp. 260-62.

used not only for religious meetings but also for lectures and other forms of entertainment for the men.[72]

In the midst of a campaign services were held when and where the opportunity presented itself. When the army was on the march, they were necessarily held at night. On such occasions illumination was afforded by a flickering camp-fire or the light of the moon. The minister took his place in the open, with his congregation clustered about him on stumps, logs, or on the ground. A Methodist preacher thus described such a meeting:

> In the evening, at the close of dress parade, the drums would beat the church call. . . . From all directions they come. . . . A clear, strong voice starts a familiar old hymn; soon thousands of voices chime in. . . . The preacher now enters the stands. A thousand hearts are hushed to hear the word of the Lord. . . .[73]

When a battle was impending, religious leaders attempted to invoke a benediction on the troops before they went into action. Chaplains often addressed large groups on the evening before the fight. Stiles tells of an amusing incident during the course of the Seven Days' battle near Richmond in 1862, when federal batteries opened fire on a Confederate prayer-meeting. Many of the pious men thought it would show a lack of reverence to open their eyes, and were observed crawling around and groping for cover, their heads still bowed in prayer.[74] During a later battle a service was being held in the proximity of an artillery duel. A rifle shell burst in the midst of the congregation during the last hymn. Even then, the meeting would have been concluded in the same spot had not the colonel suggested that the worshipers move to a more sheltered position.[75]

Hymn-singing played an important part in most religious services in the army. The favorite hymns for camp and field were those endeared by associations of home and childhood. A study of correspondence, diaries, and camp hymn books reveals that the following ranked high in soldier esteem: "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name;" "Amazing Grace;" "How Firm a Foundation;" "Jesus, Lover of My Soul;" "Just As I Am;" "Nearer,

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[72] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 414 ff.
[73] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 247.
[74] Stiles, *Four Years Under Marse Robert*, 114.
[75] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 253.

My God, to Thee;" "O Happy Day;" "On Jordan's Stormy Banks;" "Praise God, From Whom All Blessings Flow;" and "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross."[76] The enthusiasm with which the soldiers sang made this portion of the services always a rousing one.

Topics of sermons by chaplains, visiting ministers, and missionaries were usually practical in nature, having to do with the immediate concerns of the men. A correspondent of the Louisville *Courier,* reporting a service in the brigade to which he was attached during the early months of the war, stated that the chaplain had preached a very able discourse to over three thousand men present on the advice: "Be ye men of Good Courage."[77] The patriotic theme of love for country was often exploited by the camp minister, as is indicated by the notes of a sermon delivered in 1864. The subject was "Divine Providence in Human Affairs," and the text Psalms 97:1, 2: "The Lord Reigneth. . . ." The thought development was thus recorded:

> What practical effect should belief in God's universal providence have on us? We should rejoice. Innocence will be vindicated and right will at last be might, because "The Lord reigneth." . . . We have arrived at the crisis in the fate of our beloved country. Whatever the result, the Christian need not fear. The doctrine of divine Providence should also make us tremble lest we resist His will and bring down His vengeance upon our guilty heads. . . .[78]

A graphic indication of the types of services held and the topics of sermons may be found in excerpts from the diary of the same chaplain:

> Thursday, Sept. 15: morning prayers at seven; preached at sunset on the Fall and its Consequences. . . . Friday, 16th.: evening service at sunset and address on Abraham's Intercession for Sodom as inciting Christians to pray for country. . . . Sept. 17th.: held meeting of Christians at nine. Usual large attendance at evening prayer. . . . Sunday, Sept. 18th.: ordered off at daylight. Held eleven o'clock service and preached on John III:5. . . . Returned to old camp at 3:30 P.M. and preached again at night on John III:5. . . .[79]

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[76] Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb,* p. 186.
[77] Jones, *Christ in the Camp,* p. 135.
[78] McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections,* pp. 251, 252.
[79] McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections,* pp. 221, 222.

Diaries and letters of soldiers often recorded the texts of sermons heard, together with references to their scriptural sources. Bartlett Yancey Malone, a private in a North Carolina regiment, was particularly persistent in this habit, as excerpts from his diary of one month in 1862 indicate:

> The 6 day of April which was the Sabath [*sic*] was a beautiful Spring day. And I went to Fredericksburg to meeting and the Preacher's text was the first book of Kings 18 chapter and 21 virse. . . . The 29 of April was a beautiful day . . . and the Reverant Mr. Stewart from Alexander preached in our camp this eavning and his text was: "I am the Lord of Host." . . .[80]

An officer, writing to his North Carolina home in October, 1863, penned the following lines:

> I heard a first-rate sermon last night by the Rev. Mr. Ewing, Post Chaplain at this place, from Isaiah 55:6. "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found; call ye upon him while he is near. . . .[81]

This practice, in addition to furnishing some interesting evidence as to the nature of Civil War sermons, recalls a time when it was considered a cardinal sin to be unable to quote a preacher's text.

Prayer-meetings were more frequent than formal sermons. Scripture readings, hymn singing, and prayer usually constituted the bulk of the service. Usually there was a brief commentary on some Biblical passage or spiritual topic. These meetings were led by chaplains, missionaries, or visiting ministers when they were available, but in the absence of preachers some laymen would be called upon to direct the exercises. McKim describes the development of such services in 1862:

> At first we met in private tents, but finally we procured a tent for the purpose, and fitted it up with rude benches as to accommodate twenty-five or thirty men. Gradually our numbers had increased, and this would hardly give seats to as many as would come. Among the attendants were some from other companies of the regiment. Giraud and I used extempore prayer; the others the forms in the prayer-book. . . .[82]

An entry in his diary several months later reads:

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[80] W. W. Pierson, ed., *The Diary of Bartlett Yancey Malone*, p. 32.
[81] *The James A. Graham Papers*, p. 156.
[82] McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections*, pp. 60, 61.

Read, talked, and prayed with about fifteen men at a log house near camp. Gave them tracts. They asked my name and on my return, as I was riding by, they stopped me to ask what chapter it was I had read them. . . .[83]

Sometimes the meetings were very small and informal, having as their participants six or eight men forming a mess or groups drawn together by convenience or congeniality. During periods of revivals, experience meetings were common. Every such season of intense spiritual awakening was accompanied by a succession of baptizings. Dr. Jones describes a baptism which took place in the Rapidan during the winter of 1863 in full view and easy range of the pickets on the opposite side. The men in blue did not take advantage of the situation, but rather looked on in mute wonder as the solemn ordinance was administered.[84]

In most army services denominationalism was minimized. On one occasion a visiting minister reported: "We had a Presbyterian sermon, introduced by Baptist services, under the direction of a Methodist chaplain, in an Episcopal church."[85] But it was difficult for preachers steeped in sectarianism to avoid offending soldiers sensitive to doctrinal differentiation.

General Lee and the other officers of his command regularly encouraged religious services. In July, 1862, a general order was issued to the effect that all duties except those of inspection would be suspended during Sunday to afford troops the opportunity to rest and to enable them to attend religious services.[86] On February 7, 1864, the commanding general issued another order in reiteration:

> The attention of the army has been called to the obligation of the proper observance of the Sabbath, but a sense of its importance, not only as a moral and religious duty, but as contributing to the personal well-being and help of the troops, induces the commanding general to repeat the Orders on that subject. He has learned with great pleasure that in many brigades, convenient houses of worship have been erected, and earnestly desires that every faculty consistent with the requirements of discipline be afforded to the men to assemble themselves for the purpose of devotion. . . .[87]

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[83] McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections*, p. 136.
[84] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 254.
[85] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 223.
[86] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 49.
[87] *O. R.*, I, XXXIII, 1150.

On several occasions when fighting interrupted scheduled services, General Jackson set aside the time immediately following the battle for that purpose.

The soldiers responded to the services with large attendance and enthusiastic support. As illustrating how the men would come out to preaching under difficulties, one of the chaplains reported that one Sunday early in the winter of 1863 there came a fall of snow, which he supposed would entirely break up the Sunday service, as they had no chapel. At the appointed time, however, a large congregation had assembled, and he preached to men who stood in snow several inches deep, among whom he counted fourteen barefooted men. Services in hospitals were particularly well received. A sermon on "Peace in Christ" to a group of veterans in all stages of illness had, according to one observer, the most attentive audience he had ever witnessed."[88]

To promote spiritual fellowship and religious constancy, Christian associations were formed in many brigades. Rev. D. W. Chambers, writing to the *Biblical Recorder* in 1862, reported that an association had been organized in his Thirty-Seventh North Carolina Regiment, composed of 132 members from eight denominations, the colonel included.[89] In the Fourteenth South Carolina Regiment the Christian Association had as its purpose, as the Constitution declared, "to use all means in our power to grow in grace, to promote grace in each other, and to be instrumental in bringing others to a saving knowledge as it is in Jesus."[90]

Religious work in the army, then, centered in the presence and influence of chaplains and their associates, the distribution of religious literature, and the various types of religious services held. Out of this work and the bloody experiences of war emerged a spiritual movement whose effects were unique in the history of armies.

It would be impossible to arrive at any accurate estimate as to the total impact of religion upon the soldiers of the Army of Northern Virginia; yet there is much evidence that it was unusually strong. The "Great Revival," an evangelistic outgrowth of the religious work described in the preceding chapter, swept

[88] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 217.
[89] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 39.
[90] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 311.

the southern armies in the latter years of the war and was particularly potent in General Lee's command. As casualties increased and the prospect of death became terrifying in its imminence, the southern soldier turned his attention more and more to spiritual matters. Taking the cue from his devout commanders, he came increasingly to depend on the providence of God for the preservation of his life and the victory of southern arms. It appears that religion as experienced during the war had its permanent effect on many of the men. A large number became ministers and more faithful church members. Some ascribe the remarkable patience with which the southern veterans endured the indignities and hardships of the Reconstruction period largely to the religious nature of their army life.

The "Great Revival" in the southern armies was a religious phenomenon unique in the history of warfare. Evidences of it can be found in the wake of the first battles, but the initial period of intensity came during the winter of 1862-1863, following the battle of Fredericksburg. Thereafter the revival fervor came in cycles, losing momentum during the months of active campaigning and returning with new strength when the army paused for rest and reorganization. It reached its climax in the camps along the Rapidan during the winter of 1863-1864 and broke out again among the troops in the siege along the Richmond-Petersburg lines just a few months before the final surrender.

A number of factors may be suggested as contributing to this religious awakening. To an extent it was the result of a widespread and well organized denominational propaganda, or the ultimate success of southern churches in providing the army with tracts and preachers. A second cause may be found in the character of the southern soldiers: most wearers of the grey came from communities where the church was fervid, aggressive, and influential and where revivals were common. A third cause lay in the state of mind which pervaded the army and the citizenry after the second year of the conflict. The series of setbacks following the early victories deflated the extreme confidence of the Confederates, and churches began to sound the note that military defeats were punishment as a rebuke to sin and to the overweening confidence in the strength of man. A

fourth and final factor was the increasing prospect of death which confronted the soldiers as the war went into its final years.[91]

The fountainhead of the revival seems to have been in the military hospitals. A correspondent thus described the spirit in the hospitals in one of the Richmond papers early in 1862:

> At no time do men feel more grateful to the giver of all good, and are more likely to become pious, than when in recovering from long spells of sickness. . . .[92]

In Richmond alone there were many thousands of sick and wounded in the hospitals at this time. Daily meetings were being held at Camp Winder, just outside the city, and a number of converts reported. Similar reports came from hospitals in Petersburg, Lynchburg, and Farmville.[93]

The return of the army to Virginia following the campaign in Maryland in September, 1862, set the stage for the first important period of revivalism in the camps. The necessary rest and reorganization of the army gave the chaplains and interested soldiers their opportunity to capture the attention of the men. The response of those appealed to was quickened by reminders of the bloody experiences from which they had emerged and the dangers they had escaped.[94] In Jackson's corps there was a particular emphasis on the need for a spiritual awakening, and the general continuously prodded the chaplains to their duty.[95]

It was following the battle of Fredericksburg in December of that year, however, that the evidences of revivalism became abundant. The center of the movement seems to have been in the town of Fredericksburg itself, and the brigade in which it began was that of Barksdale's Mississippians, whose chaplain was the Rev. W. B. Owens.[96] The Baptist church in the city had been so damaged in the bombardment that it could not be used. The meetings were first held in the Presbyterian church, then in the Methodist church, and finally they were transferred to the Episcopal church, which was the largest in the city and

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[91] Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, pp. 183, 184.
[92] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 210.
[93] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 211 ff.
[94] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 204.
[95] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 293.
[96] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, pp. 246, 247.

accommodated from 1,000 to 1,200 men.[97] In addition to the regimental chaplains, the ablest and most distinguished ministers from over the South were present and assisted in the meetings. Dr. J. C. Stiles, an eloquent preacher of seventy years who served on General Jackson's staff as a scout, visited numerous camps and preached with remarkable results.[98] Perhaps even more effective than the formal services were the simple song, prayer, and experience meetings of the men, held usually an hour before the preaching began.[99]

From the city the revival spread into the neighboring camps and fields and absorbed the interest of the men with increasing response, except for the interruption of the battle of Chancellorsville, until the army began its march into Pennsylvania in the early summer of 1863. One of the most powerful revivals of the period was in Thomas's Georgia Brigade, which began in February. It was led by the Rev. J. J. Hyman, chaplain of the Forty-Ninth Regiment, who preached from four to six times a day and was about to break down when a neighboring minister came to his assistance.[100] After the great victory at Chancellorsville the fervor of revival was more intense than at any time previous. Only minor military movements were undertaken for some weeks as the army lay along the south bank of the Rappahannock, and the opportunity was well used by the religious workers in the camps. A circular sent out by the Chaplains' Association gave a favorable account of the general revival spirit. In almost every regiment reports of chaplains and colporteurs were enthusiastic.[101]

The religious and often the secular papers filled columns with the news of this spiritual awakening among the soldiers. An editorial in the Richmond *Christian Advocate* early in 1863 waxed eloquent:

> Not for years has such a revival prevailed in the Confederate states. Its records gladden the columns of every religious journal. Its progress in the army is a spectacle of moral sublimity over which men and angels can rejoice. Such camp meetings were never seen before in America. The bivouac of the soldier never witnessed such nights of

[97] Stiles, *Four Years Under Marse Robert*, p. 140.
[98] Stiles, *Four Years Under Marse Robert*, p. 139.
[99] Stiles, *Four Years Under Marse Robert*, p. 141.
[100] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 306.
[101] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 308 ff.

glory and days of grandeur. The Pentecostal fire lights the camp, and armed hosts of men sleep beneath the wings of angels, rejoicing over many sinners that have repented. . . .[102]

A soldier in General G. T. Andersons Georgia Brigade wrote home at this time as follows:

We recently broke camp where, for four weeks, we have enjoyed unbroken rest; and it has been one long camp meeting—a long revival season—during which we have held divine services daily. . . . A great revolution has been wrought in the moral tone of the brigade. . . .[103]

Carefully compiled statistics indicate that, in the winter and spring of 1863, there were at least 1,500 conversions in the Army of Northern Virginia.[104] One chaplain reported 500 in his brigade alone, though it appears that his estimate was probably exaggerated.[105] Beyond the numerical tabulation of the effects of the revival of this period, religious workers frequently indicated in their reports the marked improvement in moral conditions among the soldiers.

The campaign into Pennsylvania, climaxed in the battle of Gettysburg, greatly impeded the progress of the revival for several months during the summer of 1863. With the return of the army to Virginia and the establishment of winter quarters along the Rapidan, however, spiritual enthusiasm broke out with new force. Writing to his mother from one of the camps in October a North Carolina private stated:

The revival is still going on in our Brigade and there are a number of converts every day and almost everybody is becoming serious. Instead of hearing swearing all the time you seldom hear an oath in our Reg't now. . . .[106]

In General Gordon's command revival services continued night after night for long periods, increasing in attendance and interest until they brought under religious influence the great majority of the men.[107] At the Chaplains' Association meeting of March 23, 1864, it was reported that there had been seventy-

[102] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, pp. 322, 323.
[103] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 310.
[104] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 307.
[105] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 285.
[106] *The James A. Graham Papers*, p. 156.
[107] Gordon, *Reminiscences of the Civil War*, pp. 229, 230.

one conversions during the preceding six weeks in one brigade, though it had been on picket and without the benefit of a chapel for meetings. In another brigade the report showed a total of 428 Christians, of whom 190 had been converted since the beginning of the war.[108]

The active campaign against General Grant in the Wilderness during the following months again diminished the intensity of the revival, though many soldiers were converted on the march, in the trenches, and in the hospitals. With the beginning of the siege along the Richmond-Petersburg lines in the autumn of 1864, however, there was another wave of religious enthusiasm as powerful and general as it had been at any previous time, which only ceased when the army was disbanded the following April at Appomattox.[109]

The estimate of one writer places the total conversions in the Army of Northern Virginia during the four years of the war at a minimum of 50,000 men.[110] Dr. Jones, however, made a careful compilation, based on the minutes of the Chaplains' Association, the testimonies of other chaplains and missionaries, and statistics from the files of religious newspapers, and reached what seems to be a more reasonable aggregate of 15,000.[111] Such a tabulation, of course, cannot be considered a barometer of these periodic spiritual eruptions, but it does give an indication of the large number of men affected. Writing a number of years after the war, one minister was convinced that these army conversions were more permanent in their effect as a whole, than those under ordinary circumstances.[112]

As a matter of fact, evangelistic outbreaks in the army seem to have been of a restrained character emotionally. Certainly they were accompanied by much less bombast than some of the revivals in hinterland areas earlier in the century. Perhaps audiences made up of hard-bitten campaigners were less susceptible than civilian congregations to such fervid exercises. Few camp ministers attempted to work up an emotional lather among their hearers. Seekers of religion were rarely brought up to a mourner's bench and subjected to long sessions of praying,

[108] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, pp. 373, 375.
[109] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 353.
[110] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, pp. 412, 413.
[111] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, pp. 390, 391.
[112] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 403.

high-pressure exhorting, and beating on the back. The most common procedure was for declarations of faith and repentance to be made by the simple expedient of walking up to a rostrum and shaking hands with the preacher.[113]

The conviction of southern people that theirs was a righteous cause, supported by Almighty God, was a potent source of confidence in the army throughout the war and particularly when Confederate military fortunes were at an ebb. The note of reliance on God for ultimate success was sounded in the midst of over-confidence following the early victory at Manassas by a Christian congressman, who proposed that the hand of the Most High God be recognized in the victory and that the people of the Confederacy designate the following Sunday as a day of united thanksgiving.[114] To bolster the general morale and particularly the endurance of the soldiers, President Davis at intervals proclaimed special days for "fasting, humiliation, and prayer." It is interesting to note that these were always called following reverses on the fields of battle.[115]

Nowhere was the religious nature of the generals of the Army of Northern Virginia more clearly evident than in their expressed reliance on God, both in military success and failure. General Lee, in his orders and reports, always recognized "the Lord of Hosts" as the "giver of victory." Announcing his notable triumph at Fredericksburg, his despatch to President Davis contained the brief but significant sentence: "Thanks be to God." An extract from the order to his troops not long after this battle breathes this spirit of dependence:

> The signal manifestations of divine mercy that have distinguished the eventful and glorious campaign of the year just closing give assurance of hope that under the guidance of the same Almighty hand, the coming year will be no less fruitful of events that will ensure the safety, peace, and happiness of our beloved country. . . .[116]

Distress brought a change of tone, but not of faith. In reporting the death of his "right arm" a few months later, he stated:

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[113] Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, pp. 182, 183.
[114] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 112.
[115] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 44-46.
[116] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 55.

The daring, skill, and energy of this great soldier are, by the decree of an all-wise providence, now lost to us; but while we mourn his death, we feel his spirit still lives, and will inspire our whole army with his indomitable courage and unshaken confidence in God, our hope and our strength. . . .[117]

His private correspondence while in command of the army illustrates the intimate and pervasive quality of this spirit. As he faced the uncertainties of the campaign of 1864, he wrote the following lines to his cousin Margaret:

You must sometimes cast your thoughts on the Army of Northern Virginia and never forget it in your pious prayers. It is preparing for a great struggle, but I pray and trust that the great God, mighty to deliver, will spread over it his Almighty arm and drive his enemies before it. . . .[118]

General Jackson always invoked God's blessing and protection on his army when it entered into battle, and when a contest was concluded the same rigid remembrance of divine power was observed. Indicative is his general order following the victory at Winchester during his amazing Valley campaign of 1862:

The chief duty today of the Army is to recognize devoutly the hand of a protecting Providence in the brilliant successes of the past three days, which has given us the result of a great victory without great losses, and to make the oblation of our thanks to God for his mercies to us and our country in acts of heartfelt religious worship. . . .[119]

The general's perpetual state of prayer became particularly evident on these occasions of military crisis. His Negro servant Jim, when asked if he knew when a battle was impending, replied that there was one indication that was always certain. When he saw his master arise several times in the night to pray, he would go immediately and pack his haversack, because he knew the general would call for it the following morning.[120]

It is a curious fact that Jackson's army was repeatedly forced to fight on the Sabbath, which upset the general no end. Writing

[117] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 307.
[118] A. S. Long, *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee*, p. 350.
[119] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, pp. 91, 92.
[120] Dabney, *Life and Campaigns of Jackson*, p. 492.

to his wife in explanation of his Sunday attack on Kernstown, he revealed a troubled conscience:

> I felt it my duty to do it, in consideration of the ruinous effect that might result from postponing the battle until the next morning. So far as I can see, my course was a wise one; the best that I could do under the circumstances, though very distasteful to my feelings, and I pray my Heavenly Father that I may never again be circumstanced as on that day. I believe that so far as our troops were concerned, necessity and mercy both called for the battle. . . .[121]

A marked characteristic of Jackson's piety and sense of dependence was the humility with which he regarded the exploits of his army. Returning from the pursuit after Second Manassas, one of the staff remarked that the battle had been won by the determination of the soldiers, to which the general replied: "Don't forget; it has been won by the help of God."[122] When General Lee's message of commendation was read to him following his masterpiece at Chancellorsville and as he lay mortally wounded, he remarked: "General Lee is very kind; but he should give the glory to God."[123] So convinced were his soldiers of "Stonewall's" combined piety and military adroitness that some claimed in all seriousness that the Lord had to remove the general before the Yankees could triumph.[124]

As the war progressed, the sanguinary battles and uncertainty of life turned the minds of the soldiers increasingly toward religion as a source of security. A private thus described his experience following a battle:

> The moment the thing was over, I just took out and ran as hard as ever I could into the deep, dark woods . . . and went right down on my knees. . . . The Lord never held it against me at all, and we settled it right there. . . .[125]

A member of the Second Palmetto Regiment wrote to the *Southern Christian Advocate* early in the war that God had given his group "a grateful sense of security" while in an advanced post for weeks in the face of the enemy.[126]

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[121] Dabney, *Life and Campaigns of Jackson*, p. 330.
[122] H. K. Douglas, *I Rode with Stonewall*, p. 141.
[123] Dabney, *Life and Campaigns of Jackson*, p. 710.
[124] McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections*, p. 95.
[125] Stiles, *Four Years Under Marse Robert*, pp. 141, 142.
[126] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 381.

From all indications, this turning to religion had a genuinely salutary effect on the rank and file in such practical matters as discipline, morale, and conduct under fire. A widespread reform of morals occurred in the repression of drunkenness and profanity. The army became outstanding in its honesty and respect for women and children.[127] Commands noted for their religious zeal sometimes showed extraordinary trustworthiness under fire. The brigade of Barksdale, the focal point of the Great Revival, held its ground admirably under the great bombardment at Fredericksburg.[128] It was observed that in a brigade in which a revival had been recently held, the two regiments which had not participated broke in the ensuing battle, while the three which had taken part stood firm and won a special commendation from the commanding general.[129]

Even the northern leaders recognized the power of religion as a source of resistance in the southern armies. In an interview with a committee sent by a convention at Chicago, comprising Christians of all denominations, to urge the abolition of slavery, President Lincoln stated that there was nothing more discouraging to him than the effect of the rebel soldiers' prayers on their fighting spirit.[130] A northern minister thus described this quality in the enemy, as a result of his observation at the battle of Gettysburg:

> Every soldier is taught to feel that the cause in which he contends is one that God approves; that if he is faithful to God, His almighty arm will protect and his infinite strength insure success. Thus believing that God's arm of protection is thrown around him, that God's banner of love is over him, that God's eye of approval is on him, the southern soldier enters the field of battle nerved with a power of endurance and a fearlessness of death which nothing else can give. . . .[131]

As the war entered its final stages and material resources dwindled, soldiers came to rely almost exclusively on divine power to bring peace and victory. A private in a North Carolina regiment described how a day of fasting, proclaimed by President Davis early in 1864, was observed in camp:

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[127] McCarthy, *Soldier Life in the Army of Northern Virginia*, pp. 222, 223.
[128] Dabney, *Life and Campaigns of Jackson*, p. 657.
[129] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 381.
[130] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 227.
[131] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 367.

Everybody seemed to be impressed with the solemnity of the occasion, and you could hear none of the noise about camp that you hear on every other day, even on Sundays. The camp seemed almost deserted for most of the men stayed in their tents and kept very quiet. I think at least two-thirds of our Reg't fasted, and I believe all Reg'ts did equally well. . . .[132]

In the final siege during the following winter the army practically subsisted on prayer. At a meeting held near General Gordon's headquarters there was the peculiar sadness significant of a brave despair. A private who had not the benefit of an education voiced the feeling of all when he prayed: "Oh Lord, we are having a mighty big fight down here, and a sight of trouble; and we hope, Lord, that you will take a proper view of the matter, and give us the victory." On another such occasion a one-legged veteran did not like the prayer which a comrade led for more manhood, more strength, and more courage, and called out from his seat: "Hold on there. Don't you know you are praying all wrong? Why don't you pray for more provisions? We have more courage now than we have any use for!"[133] According to one writer, a sort of religious ecstacy took possession of the army at this time, a wishful hope for a miraculous interposition of supernatural power. Men in this mood made the best of soldiers, and at no time were the fighting qualities of the southern army better than during this siege. Disaster seemed only to strengthen the faith of many. They saw in it a needed lesson in humility and an additional reason for believing that God meant to bring about victory by his own and not by human strength.[134]

The manner in which many southern soldiers died is further indicative of the profound effect religion came to have in the army. Chaplains reported numerous instances where men met death with a smile, sending messages to loved ones that everything was all right. A recurring sentence in such death scenes was: "Tell all my friends to meet me in heaven." An officer, passing over a battlefield after the fighting, saw a soldier kneeling with his eyes and hands upraised to heaven; on approaching and touching him, he found him dead.[135] Such courageous depar-

[132] *The James A. Graham Papers*, p. 185.
[133] Gordon, *Reminiscenses of the Civil War*, pp. 416, 417.
[134] Eggleston, *A Rebel's Recollections*, pp. 240-242.
[135] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, pp. 162-164.

tures were frequently used by military pulpiteers to inspire those living with like courage and faith. These experiences, both witnessed and heard, made a deep impression on the minds of the men.

The conditions which surrounded the Confederate soldiers when they were disbanded and the manner in which these men met those conditions give evidence that their profound religious convictions, deepened in the camps, had a potent influence on their conduct. Accustomed to the restraints of the most rigid regulations for four years, they were suddenly granted a complete freedom. Penniless as they were, with entire economic and social system disrupted most of them went to work without complaint. Under a political regime which taxed their patience to the extreme, they kept the peace and lived circumspectly, though always strong in their insistence upon law and order.[136]

The unusual number of soldiers in the Army of Northern Virginia who entered the ministry after the war gives weight to the evidences of the permanent effect of war-time religious experiences. A report of the Chaplains' Association early in 1864 showed that in one brigade alone more than twenty men, from colonel to private, were known to have the ministry in view and were studying to that end.[137] Statistics from colleges and seminaries in the years following the close of hostilities indicated that a large number of soldiers were in preparation for preaching and that most of them had decided on the ministry while in the army.[138] An interesting example of this type is General C. A. Evans, who was a Methodist class-leader before the war, volunteered as a private in the Thirty-First Georgia Regiment, distinguished himself in many battles, and at the end was in command of General Gordon's division. During the course of the war he experienced the call to preach and was licensed as a minister in the Methodist Church soon after his return home.[139]

A compilation of letters received from pastors and college presidents throughout the South some three years after the war brought the conclusion that nearly all army converts were maintaining their profession and were faithful church members. The

[136] Gordon, *Reminiscences of the Civil War*, pp. 233, 234.
[137] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 375.
[138] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 463.
[139] Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival*, p. 249.

Rev. R. H. Bagby reported that of the twenty-seven members of his church who returned at the close of the war, all but two came back more earnest Christians and more efficient church members than they had been.[140]

Out of a religious background, the soldiers of the South had entered the war with the confident assurance that victory would be theirs under God. Though dismayed by the defeat of their country and cause, they did not lose faith in their religion. On the contrary, many of them accepted the outcome as an indication of God's will and took the lead in a movement of reconciliation with their former enemies. In the years of destitution which followed, religion continued to have a place of eminent importance in southern life and thought.

[140] Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, p. 396.

INTEREST IN THE SOUTH IN LANCASTERIAN METHODS

Edited by EDGAR W. KNIGHT

It has been noted often that, historically viewed, education ranks in conservatism along with such other deep-seated human interests and activities as religion, politics, and economics. Notwithstanding its alleged conservative character, and even allowing for the obvious values of intelligent experimentation, education in this country has often seemed rather naively susceptible to innovations and to untested theories. There is some evidence that few if any such deep-seated human interests have been more sensitive than education to exaggerated proposals, waves of opinion, fashions or fads, especially if these promise promptly to work magical reforms. Movement after movement, scheme after scheme, experiment after experiment, device after device in education in this country have had their day and then have ceased to be. Among these educational novelties was that extraordinary mode of teaching "invented" by Joseph Lancaster, which also furnished another illustration of the ancient truth that "there is no royal road to learning."[1]

Considerable contemporary controversy raged around the question of priorty in the discovery or invention of the "mutual tuition" of pupils or the monitorial method of teaching. Lancaster (1778-1838), a Quaker, claimed to be its "inventor" as did also Andrew Bell (1753-1832), Anglican divine, or his friends for him. Lancaster organized and conducted on the monitorial plan, a school of more than a thousand pupils for the purpose of trying to remove or at least to reduce illiteracy and vice among underprivileged youth of Southwark, London. To promote the system the Royal Lancasterian Institution was established in 1808, later known as the British and Foreign School Society, but Lancaster fell out with the organization and in 1818 came to America. Bell served as a tutor in Virginia and then as superintendent of an orphan asylum in India. A scarcity of teachers there caused him to resort to the method of mutual

[1] This is said to be a misquotation of a remark by Euclid to Ptolemy of Egypt, who wished to learn geometry and asked the great Greek mathematician if the subject could be acquired without the intellectual inconvenience of going through the thirteen books of his *Elements*. Euclid is reported to have replied: "There is no royal road to geometry."

instruction of the pupils; and after his return to England toward the end of the eighteenth century he described this method in a little book called *An Experiment in Education.* But it seems that little public notice was given to monitorial devices until Lancaster had opened and conducted his school on principles set out by Bell. The British and Foreign Society continued and enlarged its monitorial educational activities, on a non-sectarian basis in management and in religious instruction, whose features enlisted the sympathy of Jeremy Bentham, the English philosopher and jurist, James Mill, Scottish philosopher, historian, and political economist, and other liberal thinkers of the time, but aroused the anxieties and opposition of religious and political conservatives. As a result the Church party founded the "National Society" to use monitorial educational methods to provide opportunities for poor and otherwise underprivileged children. Rivalry between the two groups naturally developed and so also did claims of priority in the discovery of this method of teaching.

Both Bell and Lancaster and those who fell for this pedagogical fad made high claims for its wonder-working powers. Bell claimed: "Give me 24 pupils today and I will give you back 24 teachers tomorrow," a promise for pedagogical acceleration almost as lofty as that made nowadays to candidates for master's degrees in education in American summer sessions.

Lancaster, who had published in 1803 a book on the subject under the title *Improvement in Education,* is said often to have lost himself in "dreamy calculations" of the time required to educate all the people on earth by the monitorial plan. And the announcement of his lecture "at the Fremasons' Tavern, Great Queen Street, Lincolns Inn Fields, on the Evening of the Day called Monday, the 1st of *Seventh Month* (July) 1811" was certainly not unduly modest. There Lancaster claimed that under this system:

> one master (often a lad from fourteen to eighteen years of age) can be rendered competent to the government of a school containing from 200 to 1,000 scholars. The expense of Education for each individual will also diminish in proportion as the Number under the care of the same master increases.
>
> The System of Order and Tuition serves in lieu of experience and discretion in the Teacher, whose qualifications consists only of a small

degree of Elementary Knowledge. Five Hundred children may spell at the same time. A whole school, however large, may read and spell from the same book. The Master will be wholly relieved from the duty of Tuition[2] and have for his charge that of frequent inspection of the Progress made by the Pupils.[3]

The Lancasterian scheme seems to have quickly caught on in the United States after Lancaster's arrival here in 1818, to stimulate and promote interest in his method of teaching. In 1821 he published *The Lancasterian System of Education, with Improvements by the Founder,* which seems to have been rather widely read and to have increased his publicity, for which he apparently was not altogether lacking in genius.

There was much interest in North Carolina in the monitorial system of education, before Lancaster came to the United States. As early as 1814 the editor of a newspaper had congratulated

> our fellow-citizens on the prospect of establishing in the Preparatory School of our Academy, the highly approved mode of teaching children the first rudiments of Learning, invented by the celebrated Joseph Lancaster of London, by which one man can superintend the instruction of any number of scholars from 50 to 1,000. At the monthly meeting of the trustees of the Academy on Saturday last, a favorable Report was made by a Committee who had been appointed to consider this subject, from which it appeared, that when this plan shall be introduced, the children of all such parents in the city and neighborhood as are unable to pay their tuition, may be taught without additional expense, so that this institution will answer all the purposes of a Free School.[4]

The report was unanimously accepted, the sum of $200 was promptly subscribed by the trustees, and the editor expressed the view that a sufficient fund would be raised immediately to send "a fit person to the District of Columbia (where there is a school of this kind in operation under the direction of one of Mr. Lancaster's pupils)[5] to receive the necessary instruction, and return hither for the purpose of undertaking the contemplated School, which it is proposed shall open with the ensuing

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[2] An early example of classroom "escapism" by teachers, who may nowadays find a measure of escape in the fashionable "panel discussion."

[3] See Sir Josiah Fitch, *Educational Aims and Methods,* p. 356. Quoted in William A. Maddox, *The Free School Idea in Virginia Before the Civil War,* pp. 26, 27.

[4] *The Raleigh Register,* April 1, 1814.

[5] Robert Ould.

year." Those benevolent people who were willing to help in spreading the benefits of education "amongst the poorest classes of the community" were requested to express their interest by placing their names to a subscription paper in the hands of the treasurer of the academy.

Another Raleigh newspaper later announced that "Mr. Lancaster's celebrated mode of teaching the elements of the English language will go into operation in the Preparatory Department of the Raleigh Academy on Monday next."[6] And a few weeks later the secretary of the trustees of the Raleigh Academy wished "it to be generally known, that the new and highly approved Plan of teaching the first Rudiments of Learning, invented by the celebrated Joseph Lancaster of England, is now in operation in their Preparatory School." Among the "great advantages" claimed for the scheme were "that a Teacher can instruct any number of Children that his School Room will hold; Children are taught the Rudiments of Learning in a much shorter time than in the usual way (the youngest learning to read and write at the same time); it is much cheaper than the old mode, the price being $10 a year only, and no Books are required." Children of indigent parents would be received without expense." No one except the trustee to whom an indigent would apply and the treasurer of the academy (not even the Teacher) know which of the Scholars are paid for and which are taught gratis."[7]

Archibald D. Murphey, "the father of public schools in North Carolina," in his distinguished report to the General Assembly of that state in 1817 recommended the monitorial system for primary schools and believed it could be successfully introduced in the academies and the university. The success which had attended Lancaster's methods "has been astonishing," wrote Murphey, who believed that in time the Lancasterian system would "become the universal mode of instruction for children." It was "equally distinguished by its simplicity, its facility of application, the rapid intellectual improvement which it gives, and the exact discipline which it enforces. The moral

[6] *Raleigh Star*, February 10, 1815.

[7] *The Raleigh Register*, March 17, 1815. In the *Star* of November 17, 1815, William Hill, secretary of the trustees of the Raleigh Academy, made a report on its use of the Lancasterian methods and stated that about 200 pupils had attended during "the late session of the Academy. A large portion of these were young ladies, not only of this but of several of the Southern States . . . . The Lancasterian school has been ably and attentively managed by the Rev. Mr. Evans, and contains upwards of 100 scholars."

effects of the plan are also astonishing . . . it has often been remarked, that out of the immense number of children and grown persons instructed in Lancaster's schools, few, very few have been prosecuted in a court of justice for any offense." He recommended that the system be adopted in North Carolina "whenever it is practicable." President Joseph Caldwell, of the University of North Carolina, in his "Letters on Popular Education, Addressed to the People of North Carolina" in 1832, looked with high favor on the work of Bell and Lancaster.[8] In 1826 Maryland established a state system of Lancasterian schools, but abandoned the undertaking two years later.

Lancaster visited and lectured in some of the principal cities of Virginia where he seems to have been warmly received and where wide interest developed in his methods. He lectured in Richmond in early November, 1819, and his audience was made up of some of the most distinguished people of the city, including the governor, the Episcopal bishop and many members of the General Assembly.[9] On a visit to Washington he was accorded the privilege of the speaker's chair, and a newspaper in Baltimore made the following comment which was reprinted by the *Virginia Herald* (Fredericksburg):[10]

Mr. Lancaster and Mr. Speaker Clay

When slim Speaker Clay, looking up at his chair
Saw that very fat man Joseph Lancaster there,
He said, while with pleasure the pun through him thrilled,
"Sir, I never before saw that chair so well filled!"

The Teacher, well pleased, to reply was not slow;
For witty, though serious, was dignified Jo.
He mildly remarked in the same punning way,
"He who fills the chair is no better than *Clay*."

While Lancaster was in this country he received and wrote many letters on his system.[11] Some of those written by

[8] Murphey's report and Caldwell's letters are given in Charles L. Coon, ed., *The Beginnings of Public Education in North Carolina: A Documentary History, 1790-1840:* Murphey I, 123-146; Caldwell, II, 545-613.

[9] Maddox, *The Free School Idea in Virginia Before the Civil War*, pp. 25-30.

[10] April 21, 1819.

[11] In the library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, are "at least a dozen large folio boxes" containing the papers of Joseph Lancaster. The originals or the letters that follow are the property of that society and are used here by its permission. Microcopies are in the library of The University of North Carolina. It is believed that some of these letters have not before been published.

southerners and given below indicate that the people in Virginia had wide interest in Lancaster and his scheme, and that in that state he "aroused enthusiasm among people hitherto indifferent. Virginia cities were among the first to interest themselves in this new scheme of cheap popular education that answered their need but did no violence to custom . . . to have schools but to avoid public taxation for them."[12] This interest may have been stimulated by Lancaster's lectures and also by the nearness of an approved school at Georgetown, in the district of Columbia, for the training of teachers in the monitorial methods by Robert Ould, "an American disciple and personal representative of Joseph Lancaster,"[13] Ould's first report reflected the interest in the South in the monitorial devices, and pointed out that Alexandria in Virginia had built a house and engaged a qualified teacher capable of taking care of 360 children and a lady of that town became interested in the monitorial system and organized a school capable of taking care of 450 children. Besides these, schools were reported in Petersburg, Winchester, Fredericksburg, and King William County. On June 27, 1816, the corner stone of a Lancasterian school was laid in Richmond where the "children of the Wealthy are taught on most moderate terms and those of the Poor, gratis." The next year Reverend Samuel Low of the Episcopal Church of Norfolk made an address at the laying of the corner stone of "The Norfolk Lancasterian School," founded by the council of that city. David Anderson had left by his will of June 18, 1812, the sum of approximately $20,000 for the support of a free school in Petersburg. The fund became available in 1820 and the income from it was combined[14] with the town's quota of the Literary Fund of Virginia which had been established in 1810 and was used largely for the education of poor children. It was reported that Petersburg's quota of that fund was being used in 1822 for 130 poor children in "Anderson Academy," a monitorial school. Norfolk also used its quota of the Literary Fund to aid a Lancasterian Society in that city.

The letters[15] given below should speak for themselves. Among the most interesting perhaps are those from Alexandre Deblieux

[12] Maddox, *The Free School Idea in Virginia Before the Civil War*, p. 27.
[13] One of the letters below seems to indicate that Lancaster got at odds with Ould.
[14] Note the suggestion of Elisha Wales in his address to Mayor Thomas Wallace. March 10, 1821, pp. 392-396, below.
[15] No attempts are made to correct or modernize the spelling or grammar in these letters.

and his address to the public in Louisiana; from James Stevenson; from Joseph C. Cabell,[16] a close and faithful worker with Thomas Jefferson on plans for public education and the university of Virginia; from a committee of students in The College of William and Mary; from Elisha Wales and his address to the mayor of Petersburg; from John C. Calhoun; and the statement from Governor Thomas Mann Randolph of Virginia. And perhaps the saddest of the letters here used are those Lancaster wrote Elizabeth, "my dear Lady Treasurer" which, while disclosing affection for his daughter, seem also to exhibit his visionary and improvident as well as his mercenary traits.

Natchitoches Louisiana 24 December 1818.

Revered Father

It was as late as 1812 I had the first notice of your admirable system of Education. I was an enthusiast of it. I was at that time a merchant resident in Georgia. Sometime afterwards I lost my wife— I knew that education was much neglected in Louisiana. I could not practise in G[ia] not being conversant in the english language. I came . . . (illegible) this state with the remnant of my family— The french population, moreover their professors themselves knew nothing about the System. After a proper Communication I hinted the adoption of the institution. I was Discouraged every where; then, I determined myself to open a school. I had deeply meditated on your method, . . . (illegible) crossing the State of Tennessee. I had observed a Lancastrian school in operation in Nashville. The 11[th] of november 1814 in New Orleans I addressed the public as you will see in the copy[17] here enclosed.

I was alone without support; the trial was vain, and besides a little time after the english invaded this country. twelve months after, supported by the recommendation of the first public functionnairies chiefly of the judiciary, for the second time I opened my school. the trial succeeded pretty well; never before such proficiency in learning had been seen; the improvement of habits was astonishing.

[16] Cabell was also interested in Pestalozzian methods of teaching. In the interest of his health Cabell was in Europe from 1803 to 1806 when he visited Pestalozzi's celebrated school at Yverdun in company with William McClure, who brought Joseph Neef, once an assistant to Pestalozzi, to Philadelphia in 1806 where he opened a school; and as secretary of the board of school commissioners of Nelson County, Virginia, Cabell reported in 1824 that the teachers of that mountain county were acquainted with the Pestalozzian system about which he was himself enthusiastic. In that report he said that in Pestalozzianism was "a sure cure for the miserable conditions most of our schools have fallen into . . . . The new system has been adopted by the WHOLE of our public schools, and from present indications, it promises in the course of another year to become the exclusive and universal method." In 1830 the board of school commissioners of Washington County, Virginia, suggested in its report that the General Assembly of that state provide for the establishment of a school on the Pestalozzian plan in each county "for the education of young men as teachers."

[17] This address follows this letter. See below, pp. 385-387.

a letter is not a convenient way to enter to the particulars of the struggles which have been my lot. they could fill up a book. I have kept up my school 18 months. I have shut it, a month after I opened it again; and finally, exhausted with fatigue & vexation. I have been compelled to give over my establishment, not without injury to my meagre purse.

I gave over my establishment, but hope was never lost. in the course of my life, never had I a thought of being a school master but I found the amiable love of my children so sweet a reward, that I could not brook the idea to quit my darling project forever. I expected much of time. The news spreading more and more every day of the adoption of your method in france, with a sort of enthousiasm —gained ground in the mind of a few of reflecting people, but the worship to fortune and dissipation stifles benevolence amongst the multitude. Yet, I believe the happy moment arrived to prepare for a successful trial. those I have made, although unsuccessful, have made a favorable and deep impression on my character. I feel bound in duty to avail myself of this honorable distinction, of which after God, I am indebted to you, my dear father.

A circumstance which has much injured the institution in this state is a lame american school, directed during two years by a young man making money. the families have been deceived because they have not inspected properly or at all this establishment. but in a contry where the qualifications imparted to Lancastrian teachers is an object of traffick, no less mischief ought to be expected; and where bank business and dancing, rule every things, the mischief shall not be avoided, unless the utmost efforts, and the most judicious be made with perseverance.

as very few people knows the numerous obstacles I have experienced, I have generally been charged with inconstancy: that reproach, although unmerited, could be a now obstacle unconquerable, if I offered myself for the third time, here is my present determination.

Next march I will go to france; there, I will myself make choice of a maried french teacher. I will return with those two persons, to work united for the benefit of the two sexes. I think this the sole course practicable by me, being 58 years old.

You will no doubt, remark in the inclosed address, that I said not a word about religion. I am of opinion that it will do sooner to bring them towards this sublime feeling in avoiding to hurt the dominant propensities; the sole suspicion of bigotism, or only of the design of establishing the sway of a religion, in their estimation too much severe, could produce disgust only, and should strengthen malice then armed with ridicule, they are very sick indeed, but not in state of despair; they deserve the pity of all benevolent men. in seizing the youth, we are certain of success, & by the children, with the female part we my bring the fathers & brothers to think about their perilous situation.

My first step will be as before the establishment of a french school. if, as it is to be hoped, I meet with success one will be able to unite two schools, American & french; in mixing in that way the youth of the two parties the advantages are evidently invaluable.

As in this country most part of the inhabitants are able to defray the expences of education, and besides, on account of habits and other motives, a very numerous school is not necessary. In New Orleans, schools for 150 scholars at most, would be sufficient. I'll find, no doubt, in France many articles concerning improvement you have added to your method. I want before my departure of your direction on the construction of school rooms. Will you have the goodness to send it to me. I intend the building for 300, 150 boys at one end, 150 girls at the other. You perceive this information is very urgent. I have two two books only. Improvements in education, printed in New York 1807, and the epitome printed in Georgetown, published by T. W. & W. P. 1812.

For the accomplishment of the object I have in view, the choice of two persons, I presume it will be necessary to consult some of the promoters of your method in France. A word of introduction of your hand would be a favor of infinite value. My obscurity and my long absence of my native country are my motives to beg of you so high a support.

I have enlarged a little on the subject of the general disposition prevailing in this country, because I consider you as the Supreme Legislator in the reformation of mankind: being certain beforehand of your discretion.

If you think these lines merit an answer, pleace direct it at New Orleans. I will send you the cost of any things you could send me, the charge by sea or land are nearly the same, by the post-office would be surer.

God bless you my reverd Father
With respect I am your most humble
and affectionate servant
Deblieux (alexandre)

to the public—the great cause which agitates the world since the dawn of Nort American independence, can be decided but by a means quite opposite to that which has always been followed by former governments. their maxim was, to keep the people in ignorance. The most lucid opinion is now that light must be diffused: and I even think that the bloody contest will not end, until instruction will have made its way to the most obscure ranks of society.

The eminent advantages reaped from the first labours of the College of New Orleans have been strongly felt, but that is only a privilege for the richest families—other distinguished schools are intended for families of less fortune, but yet in easy circumstances. I make offer

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of my humble services to that multitude without fortune, which is more important than might be thought to recover from revolutions of empires—for sixteen years, a man dear to humanity has occupied himself constantly in England in the education of less fortunate class. I have a foresight that among the future and grateful generations, the names of Pitt, Fox and others will humble themselves before that of Joseph Lancaster author of this system. Intelligence to know what is right, virtue to do what is good, such is the aim of that benevolent man— the Lancastrian System has penetrated into America, and already it promises the happiest success in several States of the Union. I propose to introduce it into this— Louisiana, England and the Northern States of the Union make provisions for the time to come; think of yourselves, it is yet time; the ignorant people disgrace themselves and are always overcome by the instructed. If J. Lancaster had been born a century sooner, Europe could not have poured on America that deluge of vices and calamities which have put herself on the bring of ruin. had such System been introduced into America at the time of her independence, that independence and the public liberty would not now be seen in danger, as the consequences of the calculations and success of avarice. I return to my object—I propose myself to establish simply a primary school, where the learning will consist of reading, writing and the elements of arithmetic; to which branches will *essentially* be added moral instruction. Grammar will be an object apart, the mode of teaching described and practised by the author, to warrant rapid progress it presents a great economy in paper and other small articles, for, the State supplies it for a great while.—the great means are: a mutation, the attraction of reward and fear of shame, an absolute exclusion of every Corporal—punishments; the pupil cannot be idle or inatentive under the eye of alternate monitors, who, directed by the master, improve yet more when occupying this temporary employment,—. The necessary limits of this sketch do not permite to enter on the particulars of many things which are to promote order in the school and the good conduct of the scholar elsewhere. after . . . months of practice the public may judge of the establischment;— the scholars who frequent the stablished schools are not those I solicit, but those whose parents cannot bear that expence according the old way and who do not go for that purpose, the price will be two dollars per month for reading and writing (. . . (illegible) scholar begins together according to the System) and three dollars on adding arithmetic; that price will be reduced in proportion to the . . . (illegible) number of pupils, if it should take place; and if the institution . . . (illegible) deserve success, neither the son of the family quite need, or the daughter orphan would be excluded from it.— I can teach, for the present but the french langage but I can teach it to the americans and spaniards. teach to the multitude to know its duties, let every man delight in fulfilling his, from that moment, tyranny is

banished from the earth. from that very moment, the Chiefs of nations will make their glory and their happiness, in fulfilling those which providence prescribes them; as to us, let us think upon what will keep us from perishing, it is all we can do. but if we are Compassionate, the time past at the present warn us enough of our first duty, that of taking better care of our prosperity.

Signed
Deblieux

Wellsburgh B. C., Va 13 February 1819

Dear Sir

My object in writing this letter is to know if I could by going to that place, (or any other,) be instructed by you on your System of Education and if so on what terms and how long it would take to acquire a knowledge of the system. What branches of education are taught and if a knowledge of the languages is necessary? What the probable expense to furnish a school room for two hundred or two hundred and fifty schollars &c.

I have been engaged for nearly two years in teaching and with tolerable success. My desire is to be usefull as a teacher. and from what I have heard of your system I am led to believe that to be able to teach it well is the way to become most usefull.

I have to regret that my circumstances at present will not allow me to spend much time or money perhaps not enough to acquire a compotent knowledge of the system.

I had thought of going to Cincinnate (from whence I have encouragement) where a school has been established said to on your System by a Mr Dawson; but seeing your publication respecting a Mr. Edwards I have given up the thoughts of going there lest I should be imposed on.

Should the terms be such that I can comply with I will endeavour to be there or wereever I could get the necessary instruction some time in May perhaps April. Another Person expects to go with me on the same errand Your answer will be a favour conferred on

Yours &c
James Stevenson

Mr. Joseph Lancaster

Warminster. Virginia. 1st July. 1819.

Sir.

There was scarcely any one in this country more gratified by the intelligence of your arrival in America than the stranger who now has the honor to address you. The perusal of various articles in the Edinburgh Review, & some of your own writings had inspired me with a high respect for the Author of a system of elementary instruction by

which one man is competent to teach a thousand pupils more rapidly than the smallest number can be advanced in the ordinary method. As I understand your object in coming to the United States is to be useful thro the means of the diffusion of your new plan of education I hope I shall not trespass too far on your valuable time in addressing you a letter of enquiry in respect to it. That your system is immensely valuable in large towns where great numbers can be brought together into one school, no doubt can be entertained. But as we have but few of these in the United States, and as the greater part of the population, especially in the Southern section is thinly scattered over a vast extent of territory, the value of the system to this nation, will depend essentially upon its applicability to small Country Schools. Upon this point it is that I am particularly desirous of information. The Edinburgh Review states that "the Essence of the new method consists in economizing the expence of education by teaching very large numbers at once. Beautiful & useful as it is, when applied to schools of a certain size, it is wholly inapplicable to small seminaries; at least it loses all its advantages. One teacher now superintends a school of 1000 or 1200 children. Yet in pa: 137 of your work entitled improvements in education you say "The System of tuition & rewards which are described in the former part of this work, will be found well adapted to initiatory schools," and in pa: 135 you observe that "the number of children that attend a school of this class is very fluctuating, and seldom exceeds thirty." I have no recollection of anything in the context either of the Edinburgh Review or of your works, which would put this subject in a different point of view. There seems to me to be a plain difference of opinion between yourself and the Editor of the Review: and I hope you will be found to be correct, because upon this question depends almost the whole value of your system to the American people. Of this you will be satisfied when I inform you that of the Rural initiatory schools in Virginia hardly one in a hundred consists of more than thirty scholars. I am of the opinion they would not average more than twenty: yet I believe that schools of thirty children. male & female, could be made up generally over the country if the introduction of an improved method depended on the presence of that number. Altho' in such small seminaries the economy of the system would in a great degree be lost, yet I hope the rapidity might be retained. If your present vocations allow you time to answer this enquiry, I should be exceedingly happy to hear from you: & should you give me the information I expect & desire, you may enable me to be of service to my country.

I am, Sir, with great respect, your obt. servt.

Joseph C. Cabell

Mr. Lancaster

William & Mary College. 17th Novr. 1819

Esteemed Friend,

Having been appointed a committee for the purpose, we beg leave to tender, in the name of the Students of this College, our respectful acknowledgments for the very polite invitation to your lectures—Be assured we have derived much pleasure from attending the development of your deservedly celebrated system of education, & your lucid lecture on the rise & progress of knowledge, & its importance in a national point of view.—We believe that Vice is the associate of ignorance, & that the growth of Virtue is always promoted by the diffusion of the lights of Science. As friends then to the cause of human happiness, we cannot withhold our small tribute of respect from one, who has the consoling belief that he has been instrumental in removing, in a good degree, the film from the eyes of thousands. The reflection, that such is the constitution of our Civil Government that Learning & Morality are its peculiar & stable props, impresses more forcibly on our minds sentiments of gratitude for your meritorius labors in facilitating & economizing the instruction of American Youth.—Future ages will register your name with those of Howard & Franklin, in consideration that you are one of the few who deserve the preeminent distinction of "amicus Humani generis"—Carry with you our fervent wishes for the more extensive success of your philanthropic exertions, & for your individual prosperity.—

Jno. N. Stratton
Geo. E. Dromgoole
Committee

Richmond Febv 20, 1820

Thomas Mann Randolph (Governor of Virginia) acknowledges having received a letter from Joseph Lancaster, author of the Lancasterian System of education, containing proposals for publishing, without delay, a cheap elementary work, explaining the principles upon which his plan of Universal Instruction is founded.

T.M.R.will, with great satisfaction, avail himself of his situation as President of the Board of the Literary Fund of Virginia, to make an endeavour to procure for the work, as soon as he can have the opportunity of laying it before the Directors, such encouragement as an Institution of so great importance is always able to afford if willing. It will give him great pleasure to be able to inform Mr. Lancaster of the success of the endeavour as soon as it is determined.

He begs leave to assure Mr. Lancaster of the strong sense he cherishes of the high distinction in society such an invention gives, and of his sincere participation in the feelings of gratitude with which such radically useful labour must inspire all patriotic, philanthropic and benignant minds.

Richmond 25th Feby 1820

Your kind favours of the 2ond Inst came safe to hand. It affords me great pleasure to subscribe my name as one of the patrons of the valuable work you are about to publish upon the subject of general instruction. Every friend to the human family should ardently wish to see a general defusion of correct information, to consummate this grand object, appears to be your laudable design. I entertain the pleasing anticipation that your exertions will be realized. It is particularly desireable in this free & happy Country that the people should be well informed, for this is the only sure basis, upon which rests a perpetration of our Religious, political, and civil rights.

Yrs. very resplly
Linn Banks

N.B. I subscribed to the list held by your friend Col. Bassett for 20 copies which he will return to you.

L. Banks.

Department of War 13th March 1820

Sir,

I havent been able to examine your letter of the 21st.. Ult. containing proposals to compile and publish a book for the use of Indian Schools, wch you handed to me, until very recently, and I find there is no information as to the plan of the book, to enable me to judge of its usefulness in the way contemplated, and of the propriety of affording its publication the encouragement which it is asked for. If you will furnish me with an outline of the book, an early answer upon the subject will be given.

I have the honor to be, your mo obt. Sert.

J. C. Calhoun.

Joseph Lancaster — Petersburg 12th mo. 5th 1820

Respected Friend

This is to introduce the bearer Elisha Wales to thee, who wishes to qualify as a Teacher, under thee, if you can agree, I have not been much acquainted with Friend Wales although I have known him as a respectable inhabitant of Petersburg for a number of years, at the request of Robert Ritchie one of the most respectable citizens of this place, I give this letter to Friend Wales, under an assurance that he is a respectable worthy man. Any favors thou mayest feel free to show toward Elisha Wales, will be grateful to the feelings of my Friend Robert Ritchie and to thy Friend

Ebenezer Thomas

Department of War, 16 May 1820—

Sir

Your letter of the 1st has been received. I am satisfied that the book which you propose to publish could be found very useful in the schools for the education of Indian children, and there is no objection to subscribing for the number of copies you propose, but they will be useless to the Department unless the Societies under whose patronage these schools are, or may be, established, could be induced to adopt your method of teaching in them. The School at Brainard, in the Cherokee Nation, is the only one now established on the Lancasterian plan, and judging from the success which has attended it, I have no doubt, if it were more generally introduced, that it would be found, not only the most agreeable to the Scholars, making their progress more easy, and rapid, but highly advantageous for the interests of the institutions themselves. The Department has no control over these benevolent societies as to the mode of teaching which they shall adopt in their schools, but it would be much gratified if they would cooperate with you so far as to adopt your plan in them generally, and in that case it would have no hesitation in taking any number of copies of your book that could be usefully disposed of among them; and it is very probable, if you were to open a correspondence with them, they would have no objection to acceding to your views. Should you be inclined to commence a correspondence with them upon this subject,—to give you an opportunity, I annex a list of the societies the most actively engaged in the cause of civilization.[18] An early communication of your success will be received with pleasure.

The Letter which you enclosed for Sarah Corbet, was forwarded to her agreably to your request. As soon as I get through with the press of business left by Congress, I will see whether her wishes can be gratified. I have the honor to be your obt. Ser.t

J. C. Calhoun

Petersburg Dec. 6th. 1820

Dear Sir

These few lines will be delivered to you by Mr Elisha Wales a citizen of Petersburg, he has resided here a considerable time, and I can with propriety say both from observation & report Mr Wales has supported a good character and that I believe him to be a deserving Man, Mr. Wales is desirous of being instructed in the general system of your mode of Education, and with a sincere wish to see the Lancastrian system of learning florish in Virginia, I do now introduce Mr Wales to

[18] The societies listed by Calhoun were The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Worcester, Salem, Massachusetts; The Missionary Society of New York; The United Foreign Missionary Society of New York; The American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions; and The Society of United Brethren, Salem, North Carolina.

your notice, and any information & civilities you may extend towards him will be gratefully acknowledged by

Your Friend & well wisher,
Robert Bolling

Petersburg 8th March 1821

Dear Sir

I had the pleasure of addressing a few hasty lines to you, some two or three weeks since. Since that time, I have received your pamphlets. My object in this communication is more particularly to acquaint you with the measures that have been taken, and are still progressing, in order to establish a school upon the Lancasterian System in this town. No doubt you feel a deep interest as well as myself, in supporting the respectability and usefulness of the institution, and while I look to you as my guardian on this subject, you will probable receive this communication with some degree of pleasure, and render such assistance as you deem most conducive to its welfare—Upon my arrival here I found the Common Hall had held a meeting upon the subject; but as there were no plans brought forward some confusion took place, many ideas were suggested but without any System. Thus they left the business, and thus it remained till some time after my return from Baltimore. At the first meeting of the Common Hall after my arrival I addressed a communication to them, and in order to give you the whole ground of the business, I herein insert it verbatim,

"Petersburg March 10th 1821

To Thomas Wallace Esq. Mayor of the Town of Petersburg—

Sir

Sensible as are the inhabitants of Petersburg of the importance of education; appreciating as do they, a republican form of government, the social, civil and religious institutions dependent upon its maintainance; knowing as they do that Education is the main pillar in its perpetuity, and the richest legacy that the present can bestow upon the rising generation, it would be superfluous if not arrogant in me to attempt a description of it —

Much has been said, and apparently it is the wish of all that a school may be established in the town upon the Lancasterian System, and it is believed that the present time and circumstances are peculiarly favorable to such an undertaking. It is from these considerations, and a wish to see so valuable an institution established in Petersburg that I make the following remarks—In order that an institution of this kind should meet the desires of the inhabitants of the town and prove beneficial to the rising generation, it will be necessary to mature and adopt plans, best calculated to extend its usefulness and secure its popularity

Institutions founded upon narrow and contracted principles often fail of the good intended, when otherwise they would have succeeded and proven beneficial, had their liberality been equal to their usefulness

A School gotten up exclusively for the poor, at this time and in this place, it is believed would be unpopular, and would not insure that advantage to the poor themselves as it would do, were it upon a more extended & liberal plan—The poorer class are not without their feelings, and generally possess pride in as high degree as the more wealthy, and are equally as tenacious of their sense of respectability, they are loath, and even sometimes refuse to send their children to school merely because it is called a poor or charity school. It is believed they might participate in a school upon the Lancasterian System with the more wealthy, with double advantage to themselves, and at the same time, without the least disadvantage to any: Genius would be classed with genius, and a degree of sociability and sympathy excited: the one would feel a degree of emulation to equal; and the other to excel which would be of mutual advantage to both. The Lancasterian System is certainly the most economical mode of instruction, and perhaps better calculated to advance pupils than any that has yet been made known. The . . . (illegible) which has served to impede its progress, rather than to display its usefulness; notwithstanding, it is becoming very popular, and probably will be adopted by most schools in our Country—It is presumed the following plan if adopted by the Common Hall, will secure the contemplated advantages; lessen the expences of the wealthy; increase the privileges of the poor, and become an institution respectable and useful to the town

First let the donations of Mr Anderson[19] and the Literary fund be united and a School be established upon the Lancasterian System. As the advantage of the poor would be increased by this plan no doubt can arise, but that the desires of the benevolent Anderson would be more fully met than in any other way; and the inhabitants of Petersburg are bound as well by obligation as interest to adopt the best mode for meeting his wishes. The literary funds for the City of Richmond are appropriated to the Lancastrian School, besides which the Common Hall have appropriated six hundred dollars annually.

In the next place let the Common Hall appoint a board of nine or twelve trustees, with certain powers & duties—With power to controul and appropriate to the best advantage the funds of the institution; to procure a suitable house and the necessary apparatus; to appoint a teacher & determine his salary; to appoint a President, Secretary & Treasurer, or such officers as they deem necessary; to adopt such rules, regulations or bye laws for the management of the school as they deem most expedient for its best interest. Let it be their duty to look out and procure scholars from every class in town; to make out a detailed

[19] See p. 382, p. 14, above.

report of the finances, progress and situation of the school annually or oftener to the Common Hall—

That the . . . (illegible) it the duty of their Secretary to keep a Journal . . . (illegible) their proceedings; that the board also make it the duty of their Treasurer to keep an accurate account of all receipts and expenditures, and that it also be his duty to issue tickets of admission to each and every schollar; That the officers of the board of such as they choose to appoint, constitute a Committee for examining the school from time to time; for admitting all such applicants as they deem proper; determine the price of tuition, having regard to the pecuniary circumstances of the applicants—

In making the above arrangements it has not been done without visiting and consulting the institution at Richmond, and although not precisely the same is an improvement upon their plan. Should the Common Hall adopt the foregoing plan, the way will be prepared to become an incorporated body, and a foundation laid for its extention perpetuity & usefulness. As every schollar would be furnished with a ticket of admission and no one but the committee or board know who or how much was paid for it; the name of poor or Charity school would not be known; thus its popularity would be secured. The System is peculiarly calculated to admit a large number of schollars, and it is presumed the funds already anticipated, together with what will arise from tuition fees, will be more than sufficient to support the institution. Nevertheless in commencing so important an undertaking the Common Hall would probably very cheerfully appropriate a sum equal to the necessary fixtures and apparatus of a school room, and become the holder of that property and should they contribute a small sum annually, it is probable its funds would soon be adequate to building a house for the purpose. The Common Hall of Richmond besides the annual sum of six hundred dollars authorised the Chamberlain to sell lands and pay over to the trustees of the Lancasterian School, the sum of five thousand dollars if so much was required to build a house for the institution—Confident that the means, the enterprise, and the liberality of the Citizens of Petersburg were not behind those of other places, and that they would assuredly establish a school upon the Lancasterian System—I have been at considerable pains and expense to acquire a thourough & practical knowledge of the System from under the immediate tuition of its founder; nor I am I yet to be pursuaded but that they will establish the school, and upon such liberal principles as that its utility can be fairly proved; if so, having the recommendation of Mr. Lancaster, I shall offer as a candidate for the mastership, and should I have the honor of the appointment, my best exertions will be made to render the system both respectable & useful

Elisha Wales.

This address was received with much encomium, and had the appointment of a teacher then taken place, there probably would not have

been a dissenting voice. The Hall completely met my wishes upon the subject; appointed twelve trustees with full powers to establish and manage the school, and also granted the sum of three hundred dollars for the purpose of renting and fitting up a house and the necessary apparatus. The Hall having so completely met my views and circumstances being thus situated, you may readily suppose my anticipations and prospects were bright. They were truely so no merely because I was to have the appointment of teacher, but with that the foundation was laid upon which the school would so be built, as to be iminently useful, an honor to the founder of the system, and a satisfaction to the teachers as well as a benefit to the rising generation and an honor to the . . . (illegible) But Sir! much to my mortification, and that of others; measures have been taken, which if persisted in, will cripple and impede, if not destroy its usefulness; and probably bring a reproach upon the system—Some of the trustees not acquainted with establishing schools upon liberal principles, are vindicating very narrow and contracted ideas. They say the school must be exclusively for the poor; everything must be conducted upon a parsimonious plan, which by the way, is to keep the poor still poor, and the ignorant still ignorant.

Shortly after the trustees were appointed a certain gentleman of the town of the Methodist persuasion (who I am told has several times attempted to get a common school and after having obtained a few schollars, very shortly lost them again)—has with some of his friends been round to the trustees individually, and obtained assurances from many of them that if he would qualify for the mastership they would support him; he has accordingly left town and gone to Richmond and from thence is going to Norfolk to finish his qualifications and knowledge of the Lancasterian System. Some of the trustees are methodists and will use their influence and support their Brother at all hazzards; the place will very well suit the man, but how well the man suit the place is very *doubtful.* Thus public utility is to be sacrificed at the Shrine of individual favoritism—Some of the Trustees are gentlemen of information and liberal sentiments, they are highly mortified and are endeavouring to counteract these things, but I am somewhat apprehensive that prepossession and superstition have already taken such deep root that it will be of little avail. at the same time I cannot but hope the majority will rise above this groveling disposition.—already do they think they have been premature in locating a house, and will probably attempt to get one more central and convenient—

Thus, after having accomplished my most sanguine wishes; I am likely to be debarred from a situation in which I was in hopes to have been eminently useful to the rising generation and to have supported the dignity of your System of Education; these were determinations in my own mind, to accomplish which, would have been my highest ambi-

tion, nor would any exertions within the compass of my abilities have been wanting—

Now while you respect the good of mankind and particularly the rising generation, and the creditability of your System of education, I wish you to write me upon the subject, with an address to the trustees, with such reflections and remarks as you think best calculated to maintain the respectability and usefulness of your System, at the same time requesting them not make use of it in such a manner as may bring a reproach upon it, and with such observations and recommendations as you think your humble servant . . . (illegible) to, The board have organized themselves by appointing Mr. John Grammer, President, Lewis Mabry, Secratary . . . (illegible) Robert Ritchie, Treasurer. They have adopted regulations for their government, which upon the whole are pretty good and can be altered whenever it is found necessary to so do. The appointment of teacher is to take place in the course of two or three weeks, it is thought the other gentleman will be qualified by that time—

Accept the assurance of my regard—

Elisha Wales

So Carolina
Charleston 15th May 1821

Mr. Joseph Lancaster

Sir.

You will I hope excuse the liberty I have taken in addressing one with whom I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance. Your name however is as familiar to me as the names of Washington, Locke, Newton, Jenner, or any other benefactor of mankind—

No subject has occupied my mind more than the Education of youth; & (since I have become the Father of six) none has given me more uneasiness—I have always been convinced that the *tyranny* practiced in our schools, illy suited the infant mind; that children were to be governed by *love* not by the rod—Had I ever doubted, the perusal of your System of Education alone would have produced conviction.

A work of yours, called "Lancasterian System of Education with Improvements" fell into my hands a few days since—It was in a very mutilated state, & some pages missing. All that was of it, I read with much delight, & am firmly of the opinion that you have pursued the only true plan—I know not where this work is to be procured & therefore have to request you to forward me a copy, & any other writing of *yours* which may give me light on this important subject, as I have

resolved to become the Instructor of my own Children, & a few of my Friend's, until some one more competent shall adopt your method—

I am very respectfully etc.

W. F. Shackelford

The cost of whatever you may be pleased to send me shall be speedily remitted.

Harpers' Ferry, 30, July, 1821

Sir

Your letter has just been received—The intimation of visiting us, an occurrence I had scarcely ventured to hope for, will, if put in execution, do away the necessity of writing to you so fully upon the subject as I must otherwise have done—In addition to the advantages of personal observation over those of written communications in a case of this kind, your presence may tend to the *speedy* removal of obstacles to the *general* introduction here of your method of teaching which might otherwise prove very troublesome & greatly retard its progress—

Harper's ferry is situated at the junction of the Shenandoah with the Potomack where they pass through the Blue ridge—the views are very striking & are mentioned by Mr Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, as worth a voyage across the Atlantic,— It is about sixty miles from Baltimore— The road to it passes through Frederick town an agreeable place about eighteen miles from the ferry— A visit to this more healthy & elevated region, at this season, might prove beneficial on the score of health—

In reply to your enquiries— 1st The number of pupils at the school in which I am more immediately interested is fifty.

2nd. Its affairs are managed by a Committee of three persons (of which I am one) chosen annually by those parents whose children attend at it—

3d The room is on the ground floor of a very poorly constructed building, erected for a very different purpose—Its size is about 15 feet by 30 feet—

4th The Committee would exert themselves to have either that room or a better put in proper order for one of your Schools upon being authorized to do it by the Superintendent of the Armoury—

5th There are four schools at this place all under the direction of the Superintendant of the Armoury—

6th Each teacher receives about four hundred dollars per year—

Harper's ferry is the seat of one of our National Armouries— It is under the immediate care of the Superintendant (James Stubblefield) & contains about thirteen hundred inhabitants, the greater part of whom are connected with the Armoury. They live in houses built at the Public expense—Formerly they paid no rent, but, a few years since, a moderate one was laid on each tenement & the proceeds have

been applied to the instruction of the Children—The amount thus raised (about 1600 doll. per annum) is divided between four schools of about 50 scholars each— In consequence of which division each teacher receives an amount far below what a good one ought to—

If the whole of it were to be applied to one School on your plan, under a good teacher, the Children would be much better taught than they have ever yet been & in much less time, & with much more economy, for (judging from my own children) the waste of Books & Stationary is extravagantly great

The Teachers' Salary under such an arrangement might be made adequate to the merits of a good one & the remainder would furnish the means in conjunction with those already existing, for erecting a good building & providing all such things as are necessary for such an establishment.

There are obstacles in the way to suc(h) general change which without your personal assistance can only be overcome by slow degrees but with it may, perhaps, be removed in a shorter time & without much difficulty—

If you should conclude to visit Harpers ferry we should be happy to have your company at our house during your stay & should take much satisfaction in contributing to render it as agreeable to you as possible

With the highest esteem
Your obt. servt.
John H. Hall

Mr. Joseph Lancaster

Harpers' ferry 10. Aug. 1821.

Sir:

As I have not received any notice of the safe arrival to your hands of my letter of 30. July 1821. In reply to one from you on the subject of a teacher for this place— I am apprehensive of something impropper respecting it. I would ask the favor of you to inform me whether there is any ground for such suspicions—

Your obt. servt.
John H. Hall

Mr. Joseph Lancaster.

Harper's ferry 20 May 1822.

Sir

Mr Stubblefield requests me to inform you that the School-room will not be ready untill the first of June—It will be a good one in most respects has a brick floor & desks (making) according to your directions— We do not perceive that you make any difference in the height of your desks would not a little be advantageous? As there will be 12, suppose the one which is farthest from the master should be 2 feet 4

& the others diminish successively in height ½ inch each—& the forms ⅝ inch each, leaving the front desk 1 foot 10 inches in height & the front form 10½ inches

Mrs Hall & Miss Preble join me in respects to you & yours—

Respectfully
Your obt. servt.
John H. Hall

Mr. Joseph Lancaster

Harper's Ferry 2. June 1822.

Sir

We perceive with much regret, by your letter of 24th Ult. that you too have been visited with sickness— Unless you are too weak for it an excursion to Harper's ferry might conduce to your more rapid restoration— The air on our hill, at this time, seems like salubrity itself & with the attentions we should be happy to pay to our visitor we cannot but think would prove of some service to him—

As to arrangements for slates & it appears to me advisable not to make any call upon the subscribers to the Lancasterian school untill the room is completed when we will have another meeting & endeavor to excite, anew, an interest in its favor which at present is almost extinguished by the base surmises & gross misrepresentations of its enemies— It would be better to lose a week then than now to risque more serious consequences by such a call in the present state of their feelings, while the school room remains unfinished, & it will remain so at least two weeks longer— Every uneasiness on the part of the subscribers is fomented with the utmost perseverance by every art which desperate worthlessness can practice upon suspicious ignorance —But these practices will, I trust, recoil upon their abettors & in the end more effectually secure their own defeat— In the meantime it is desirable that we should ascertain the amount at which the slates & pencils for our school may be procured including commissions, that, at a more favorable time, we may be prepared to obtain them with the least delay possible. The cost of the lessons we have already received from your letter of— Will you do us the favor of ascertaining that of slates &?

Accept our best wishes
Respectfully
Your obt. servt.
John. H. Hall.

Mr. Joseph Lancaster

I have just seen Mr. Stubblefield & upon a representation of the general feeling, at this moment, in respect to the school he consents to be responsible for the Lessons, untill the money can be repaid him from our subscribers—

J. H. Hall.

Fredericksburgh 10mo 26 1819

Dear Elizabeth,

I arrived here this morning—visited School today—lecture here *tonight,* and tomorrow pass on to Richmond Virginia—address there. I find that Robert Ould has made *200$* in *fees* for training *teachers*—Yet to borrow a dollar of him would be little better than attempting to bleed a stone. I have found a friend whose heart is open, and his hand stretched out. I have no doubt of *the Rent* being received *by ye 31* (I mean one quarter)—if I can command both, which I think likely will.

And now, my dear Darling, write to me and cheer up; I work for One who has never left or forsaken me, and *I believe never will. Confidence in Him in gloomy times,* has always been my consolation and my Crown. May it be thine! and may'st thous learn it early, for in this wild and wicked world, Sin and ingratitude require that our Souls should find shelter from their efforts, *in the Rock of Ages.* Remember that all we can ever suffer *here,* is *short* of what we merit from Omniptence: and that our great afflictions are *light* compared with the *awfulness* of our final change—which *future* hope alone can make easy, and render our career triumphant over the Grave in His faith which hath said, *"Oh Death I will be thy Death"*— My heart has been touched by Divine Love— Oh for *early* dedication and *lasting* faithfulness! I had the God of thy Father, and they Father's Father, bless-comfort and keep they by night and by day! I implore His blessing on thy head, and never cease to love thee *all the day long.*

Be assured I shall not travel long—I feel that I *must* settle; the Lord direct me! and *may I never succeed* but in the *right place!*—that, I believe, is somewhere in this country, perhaps *in* Virginia. *Ere long I shall know.* My love to my Brother and the young men, tell them to dismiss alarms-fear God and take *courage,* and all will be well. Tomorrow I shall write again with some of the needful.*

Tell R. Jones, *Cook* is a *noble fellow*—he will see it; but *Ould* is a selfish contemptible *miser,* I have found him out completely.

*I shall then give further directions. Give my love to thy Mother—remember me affectionately to Robinson. I shall now be at work, *lecturing,* which will cheer my heart, and, I hope, fill thy pocket, my dar Lady Treasurer, after *all* and in *all,* everything I have known to be done by my beloved child, in my absence, has met my approbation. I was delighted to see thee again,—to see thee *so much* lika a woman. I bless the Lord *for* the *firmness* of thy *mind.* May He be thy support and bless thee, is the prayer of

thy affectionate father

Jos Lancaster

Richmond/Virginia, 10 mo 28—1819

My Dear Child,

I lectured twice at Fredericksburgh—*only 84 people* attended, *but the produce was 42* dollars—at 50 cents each person: of which I remit 15—Jones will be able to get them changed at 3 or 4 cents discount, as they are very good Notes and in high repute—I have not time to get them exchanged for United States money—but will do so with my next.

There is a place *here* called the Capitol (in allusion to the Capitol in which the *Senate* of ancient Rome used to meet) where the Legislature of this State usually meet. Formerly, it was not uncommon for Lectures to be given it—latterly, it has been forbidden; but the Governor and Council have unanimously granted it in my favour—an *honour unexpected*, and *one* which will have its *due* effect in *Richmond.* Tomorrow (7th day evening) *2nd day* and *3rd day are fixed for Lectures here,* and 4th day, I trust, *at Petersburgh.*

The *Legislature* does not meet here for a month, when I hope to be among them—and afterwards (the next week to my being here) in Washington. *The people here are not like the Bostonians;* they do not put in *buttons*—bad silver and copper—*forged* notes and *bits of tin;* but they pay their *50 cents* each and *call* it *cheap.* I am told, that at Charleston in Carolina they think nothing of *a dollar* for *a Lecture,* but I am not yet disposed to try Charleston.

Respecting the *Rent,* I have no doubt that the Landlord will be easy a *few days,* for his own credit sake.

The next Post, or perhaps two, I expect you will receive from two friends of mine, 50$, and as much more from myself, which will meet the Rent: the present is for my house and family.

I can have little doubt (from my Lectures in the Town of *Fredericksburgh* and the expectation here) *but that* the Scene is changed, and you may all hope for the best. Expect to hear from me every Post, and believe me with Love *to all* and true affection

thy loving Father

Joseph Lancaster.

Direct to me

Post Office Norfolk, Virginia

Richmond 11 mo 2 1819

My dear Elizabeth,

The enclosed will shew thee that the door of hope is opening bright—tomorro's post will bring as much more. It is to thee I send my money, *it* being part of my plan of education, to *accustom thee to the use of it;* and I *shall be very uneasy* if I do not *receive letters from thee in thy own hand.* I hope thou will always write thy letters to me without allowing *any* one to take them-and put them into the Post

Office thyself—write me along letter and tell me thy heart. *Remember,* I have given thy uncle no *authority* over *thee*-he has no power to exact obedience-thou art mine, and I allow none to control thee but myself; thou knowest I love thee; and do not let the fear of grieving me add *to my troubles,* by keeping thee silent. I know that thou wast—unhappy at the thought of thy uncle coming to the house—be assured I shall very soon be in Philadelphia if anything unpleasant occur—that I would be *near* thee and not allow of separation, but there seems a bright prospect here.

My lectures have produced within a week above 90$—the enclosed makes 45$ I have sent home; I hope to send more tomorrow. Do write to me and tell me how thou art.

I have requested Friend Robinson to burn *the deed*—see it done if needful; I apprehend it is not legal and may do harm—*I see* we must trust in God and not in man for our prosperity—*we shall prosper* but not by that means.

I hope 'ere long to assist thee in a Girls School in this place. Thou knows how to treat thy Uncle with proper respect—but thy *obedience* to him is thy own pleasure, for I have full confidence in thee.
direct Post Office Norfolk Virginia if write immly.

[No signature]

Petersburgh, Virginia 11 mo 4, 1819

Dear Child,

I wish thee to write to me at length, and *put* the letter in the P. Office *thyself.* Give my love to thy mother and tell *her* to write to me *also,* and to entrust the letter *only* to thy care to put in the Post Office. I am quite uneasy that I had no letter from thee at *Washington or Richmond,* do let me have letters by Return of Post P. O. Norfolk.

Enclosed are 20$—more will come after my next lecture tonight. . . .

BOOK REVIEWS

Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Duke University Library. By Nannie M. Tilley and Noma Lee Goodwin. Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XXVII-XXVIII. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1947. Pp. viii, 362. $2.00.)

More than fifty years ago a collection of manuscript materials was begun by the Trinity College Historical Society under the leadership of John Spencer Bassett. Spasmodic and unorganized at first, the project was nevertheless carried on by the zeal and labors of others, such as William Kenneth Boyd and R. L. Flowers, and by the substantial financial assistance of William Washington Flowers and has by now been expanded into the very significant manuscript collection of Duke University library. Today this collection numbers approximately a million and a half items and continues to grow at the rate of sixty thousand to seventy-five thousand items yearly.

For almost forty years these materials remained only a mass of unaccessioned and uncatalogued manuscripts, largely unknown, and scarcely used except by those scholars who had participated in their accumulation. But in 1931, by which time the collection had begun to increase in scope and significance as well as in numbers, the task of recording and arrangement was begun and has culminated in the present *Guide,* in the making of which many persons have participated.

The *Guide* reveals that the Duke manuscript collection is strongest in the field of southern history, and especially strong in records pertaining to the Civil War. These records consist of countless diaries and letters of soldiers, both federal and confederate, many of them having been written by soldiers of no rank and little education. Also there are military reports, rosters, a large set of court records, and numerous letters and papers of executive departments of the Confederate government. From these materials may be gleaned much information on such subjects as slavery, plantation life, agriculture, manufactures, mercantile pursuits, literature and literary figures, education, and religion in the South. Included are original manuscript census returns for four southern states from 1850 to 1880, portraying faithfully social and economic life in Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, and Tennessee. Geographically, the most numerous and important sets of papers relate to the history of Alabama,

Georgia, South Carolina and, above all, Virginia, concerning which the collection is probably richest of all. There are many collections pertaining to North Carolina, but they do not match the papers relating to the states just named either in size or in comprehensiveness. These southern materials are so numerous and of such importance that they cannot be ignored or neglected by any serious student of the history of the South, especially in the period of the Confederacy.

But the collection contains many manuscripts of great value in addition to its southern materials. There are papers which relate to a number of English literary figures, including Southey and Tennyson, a substantial Whitman collection, and even a few medieval manuscripts. Among the non-southern materials doubtless the most important of all the collections are the records of the Socialist party of America, containing 95,000 items and including the unpublished records of party councils and proceedings and the official files of the party from 1900 to 1938.

There are 1896 collections analyzed and described in this volume. For each one the general contents are summarized, the number of items noted, and the inclusive dates covered by the materials therein are stated. In a work of this sort the index is a peculiarly indispensable feature. This one is very comprehensive, being admirable conceived and efficiently executed. The student of southern history who goes to this *Guide* to discover what fruit the Duke collection may contain for him will be more than apt to find something of significance for his work; he may be doubly sure that if material pertinent to his project is there he will be able easily to detect it from this admirable *Guide*.

Frontis W. Johnston.

Davidson College,
Davidson, N. C.

A Century of Legal Education. By Robert H. Wettach. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1948. Pp. viii, 146.)

In this modest little volume, the University of North Carolina Press has rung the bell again. The scope and contents of the book are clearly stated in this extract from the publisher's blurb: "*A Century of Legal Education* pictures the growth of the legal

profession in the state, from the first recorded law suit in the colony in the late seventeenth century to the present School of Law of the University of North Carolina with its reputation for high achievement in both the state and the nation. This vital history of the School of Law includes the development of the library, reminiscences of the early twentieth-century Law School, a discussion of the teaching theory and practice of law, the changes brought about by World War II, and an evaluation of the future of the Law School as an integral portion of the State University." Dean Wettach contributes a brief but excellent foreword; Chief Justice Stacy writes a felicitous but even briefer salutation. Then follow six chapters, each by a different author, and a good index adds no little to the value of the book.

Three men who have risen high in the law-school world, all former deans of the Law School of the University of North Carolina, contribute a brief chapter. Dean Merton Ferson, just retired as dean of the University of Cincinnati Law School, writes on "Teaching Theory and Practice in the New Day"; Dean Leon Green, of the Law School of Northwestern University, discusses "Legal Education After the War"; and Dean Charles McCormick, of the Law School of the University of Texas, treats "The Place and Future of the State University Law School." These three articles, compact and incisive, lend the desired cosmopolitan touch to the book and merit careful reading.

Here in these United States it is a distinction in itself for a law school to have lived a hundred years. Such American juristic centenarians are very few and exceeding far between. But the Law School of the University of North Carolina is more than venerable. It can point with just pride to a century of constructive service and can becomingly boast of a far-flung army of alumni, in whom the ancient spirit of the oldest of American state universities became incarnate at high and fine levels, because under that spirit they craved guidance and within it they sought light.

Of peculiar and distinctive interest, therefore, are the first three chapters in the volume. In just twelve pages Lucile Elliott, the present Law School librarian, describes the beginnings and growth of the Law School library. In even shorter compass Thomas Ruffin tells something of the early days of the Law

School and reminisces interestingly of it during the first decade of this century. Mr. Ruffin, now a member of the Washington (D. C.) Bar, was formerly professor of law and acting dean of this Law School. He, accordingly, writes with authority.

Professor Albert Coates, though, must be accorded the centre of the stage. His article covers, in actual pages, more than two-thirds of the book. Its title is "A Century of Legal Education." This is broken down into sub-titles: 1. Beginnings of the Legal Profession in North Carolina; 2. Beginnings of Legal Education in North Carolina; 3. Evolution of Legal Education in the University of North Carolina; 4. The Law School at the Crossroads; 5. The Modern Law School; 6. The Law School Faces the Future.

Lack of space prevents a detailed appraisal of this fine achievement of Professor Coates. As one who has rendered and is still rendering yeoman service to his school, he naturally writes *con amore;* yet he has constantly paused to dip his trenchant pen into the ink-wells of discrimination and perspective. He sees (very properly) his own institution through glasses softly tinted with rose, but he cannot with justice be accused of suffering from either of the twin sins of legal myopia or juristic astigmatism.

Not always has this law school been able to follow a pathway of roses. Agony and bloody-sweat it has known. Nor could it have been otherwise. But, to the credit of the University of North Carolina, it can truthfully be said that sweet have been the uses of adversity. With fascinating faithfulness our chronicler has recorded how the Law School rose triumphant from the ashes of adversity to earn national distinction and to attain an honored place in the sun of modern legal scholarship.

Professor Coates ends on a note of prophecy, as he envisions for the University of North Carolina a future more glorious than its past. Prophecy is always a difficult field, even a dangerous indoor sport. Yet if there be validity in Patrick Henry's dictum that the best judge of the future is the past, this measured optimism rests on very substantial foundations. Certainly it is the fond hope, even the fervent prayer, of this reviewer that the years which lie ahead will prove this prophecy true to the smallest jot, even to the veriest tittle.

Armistead M. Dobie.

United States Circuit Judge,
Charlottesville, Virginia.

This Troubled Century: Selected Addresses of Henry Louis Smith. Foreword by Rupert N. Latture. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1947. Pp. vii, 203. $3.00.)

This volume is made up of twenty-six public addresses by Henry Louis Smith, since 1929 president emeritus of Washington and Lee University. These are arranged in five groups ranging from "Educational Problems" to "America Today and Tomorrow," but only three are positively identified as to date and place. The work begins with Doctor Smith's inaugural address as president of Washington and Lee, May 7, 1913, and follows up immediately with his inaugural address as president of Davidson College, May 29, 1901. It reaches its highest point of literary excellence and philosophical interpretation of "this troubled century" in an address at Trafalgar Square, June 30, 1921, presenting a bronze replica of the Houdon statue of Washington to the British people. The remaining addresses cover too wide a range of subject matter for effective analysis, since they represent a sampling of the topics of interest to the varied groups addressed by a prominent scientist and educator during almost half a century. All of them are characterized by qualities that incline a typical sitter-in at academic and ceremonial occasions to wish that all such speakers would read Doctor Smith's book and ponder its content with care. As his speeches appear on the printed page they are remarkably lucid, timely, and thought-provoking. The best of them are directed to college people and are challenging in their plea for active and effective leadership by intellectually capable people.

The first impression of the book on the reader is the apparent contradiction in the first and second addresses. In 1901 Doctor Smith stated confidently that the highest and chief task of the liberal arts college was the promotion of Christian scholarship. Twelve years later this simple *credo* had expanded into a somewhat complicated statement of the obligations of higher education to society in such matters as broadened curriculum, personal and social development of students, athletics, and vocational preparation. The value of the book would have been considerably enhanced if Doctor Smith had inserted something of his own personal reaction to the events and circumstances which brought about this change in his thinking. Such a memoir

would have been an interesting commentary on this dynamic period of transition in higher education.

In another sense, however, this seeming contradiction is but the expression of a dualistic theme that permeates the entire work. The highest ideals of society may be attained by wisely conceived education, though man is by nature depraved; idealistic religion and practical business can both be consecrated to human betterment; though man's control of nature has outrun his social intelligence and democracy has reached a premature triumph, civilization is still in the morning of its existence. Such a faith is the best possible testimony to the type of leadership which Doctor Smith described in 1901 and has urged by precept and example in the subsequent decades.

Only two errors in the mechanical construction of the book were discovered. One that may cause some confusion in the reader's mind is the obvious printing of "1904" for "1914" (p. 144); another that may halt his thought temporarily is a misspelling of the word "glorious" (p. 150).

Paul Murray.

East Carolina Teachers College,
Greenville, N. C.

Benjamin Mosby Smith, 1811-1893. By Francis R. Flournoy (Richmond: The Richmond Press, 1947. Pp. viii, 153. Illustrations. $2.00.)

This biography will be of particular interest to those students interested in nineteenth century education and religion in Virginia and the eastern United States in general, for here we have portrayed the life of a man who was most assuredly one of the foremost intellectual leaders of his day.

Benjamin Mosby Smith was born into a Virginia family of rather meager circumstances in 1811. After graduation from Hampden-Sydney College where he had won the admiration and assistance of several faculty members, Smith accepted a teaching position at the academy at Milton, North Carolina, between the Virginia line and Hillsboro. His Milton stay was short, for his long-held aspiration of entering Union Theological Seminary was fulfilled in 1831, and Smith, the theologian, begins to emerge. After graduation and two years' teaching at Union, Smith, in

1836, accepted an opportunity of a year's study and travel in Germany.

Returning to his native Virginia, Smith held Presbyterian pastorates in the Virginia cities of Danville, Tinkling Spring, Waynesboro, and Staunton, until in 1854 he accepted a teaching position at Union Seminary, then located at Hampden-Sydney. This marked the beginning of his lengthy and fruitful years of service to Union. From 1854 until his death in 1893, Smith's first consideration appears to have been the work at Union, and he almost single-handedly reconstructed the seminary during the trying post-Civil War days.

One of the most amazing features of this story is Smith's success in soliciting funds for Union, and foremost among the benefactors was another native of Virginia, Cyrus McCormick. Service to God and to his fellow-men were the principal watchwords of Benjamin Mosby Smith, and author Flournoy may well be proud to be a grandson of his subject.

This biography fills a small gap in the intellectual history of Virginia and the United States. No outstanding discoveries are here set forth, and Professor Flournoy's volume will never be close to a best seller or even a popular "scholarly" book. He simply tells the story—or as much as he can piece together from the fragmentary evidence—and leaves the reader the task or privilege of passing judgment on Smith. Little if any criticism —favorable or otherwise—is in evidence, and the present reviewer feels that Professor Flournoy was indeed wise to tell the story as he did and let it go at that.

In general, it may be said that this biography is a contribution which will attract very limited interest, but that the intellectual record of the past is richer and more complete due to Professor Flournoy's efforts.

The author was not overburdened with source material in this writing of his grandfather's biography. The volume contains an index but no bibliography nor a sketch or photograph of Smith after he was twenty-six.

Robert M. Langdon.

United States Naval Academy,
Annapolis, Md.

The Face of Robert E. Lee in Life and Legend. By Roy Meredith. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1947. Pp. 143. $5.00.)

Roy Meredith conceived the idea of preparing this pictorial record of Robert E. Lee while he was at work on a life of Mathew B. Brady, the great photographer. Beginning with the notable photographs of the Confederate general in the Brady collection, Meredith collected likenesses of Lee from other sources. He arranged them in this book, *The Face of Lee*, in two groups: first, those certainly or probably done from life; and secondly, the imaginative "artists' conceptions" which have contributed to the development and nature of the Lee legend.

On three occasions Lee's portrait was painted from life in oils, the artists being William E. West, Robert W. Weir, and Frank Buchser. Only once, and that in the last year of his life, did Lee sit for direct portrait sculpture, the sculptor being Edward V. Valentine. The photographers of Lee were Brady of Washington, Boude & Miley of Lexington, and three Richmond photographers: Minnis and Cowell, Vannerson, and Davies. For some of these he sat on more than one occasion. The works of these three painters, the single sculptor, and the five photographic firms are the primary sources of information about the appearance of the great Confederate leader; and in large measure these are the sources drawn upon for imaginative portrayals by those who never saw the face of Lee.

While these portraits of Lee must in large measure speak for themselves, Meredith makes a number of revealing comments about them and their subject. He regards Lee as the most photogenic but among the least frequently photographed of all Civil War generals, North as well as South. His aversion to having his portrait made explains something about the nature of the man and, according to members of his family, his aversion to posing explains the gravity and reserve apparent in nearly all of his portraits.

Inasmuch as most of the likenesses were made during and after the Civil War, few people now know that he was clean shaven except for a moustache until the summer of 1861. During much of the war he was known in the North chiefly through reproductions of a Brady daguerreotype made several years earlier. Though his Northern opponents therby missed the Jovian quality

of the bearded Lee, they had full warning that he had a strong, fighting chin.

The completeness of this collection can be judged in the future better than at present. Meantime, it contributes to an untangling of the legendary from the real in Lee portraiture; it illustrates various kinds of portrait reproduction at a transitional period in the evolution of this art; and it whets the appetite for more studies of the faces of eminent Americans.

Charles S. Sydnor.

Duke University,
Durham, N. C.

The Atlantic Frontier. Colonial American Civilization. By Louis B. Wright. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. Pp. 354. $3.40 text, $4.50 trade.)

Professor Wright has succeeded well in his attempt to give colonial American history an interesting retelling based on the most recent research and stressing especially the cultural development of the English and Dutch seaboard colonies. His appraisals are generally cautious and judicious and it is difficult to take exception to his conclusions. He disagrees, at points, with historians Wertenbaker (Bacon's Rebellion) and Morison (Harvard's purpose), but his departures are well buttressed with references.

The freshness of his chapter on Virginia owes much to his former *First Gentlemen* and could scarcely be improved. There is less that is new and there are some omissions in his treatment of the Carolinas. How John Barnwell and William Rhett escape mention at the pen of a fellow South Carolinian is difficult to explain, especially when such relative unknowns as William Pratt, Thomas Nairne, and Alexander Cuming come in for a paragraph or two on their own. It is to be hoped that Professor Wright may some day do for low-country Carolina what he has so admirably done for Tidewater Virginia in his *First Gentlemen.*

With respect to the first settlements in Carolina (p. 263), W. P. Cumming's "The Earliest Permanent Settlement in Carolina," in the *American Historical Review* of October, 1939, would have been of assistance. Whether a survey such as this should legitimately include a fuller discussion of the several

"rebellions" in the Albemarle colony is debatable, but the reviewer was disappointed not to find it.

A more serious omission, in view of the subtitle of the book, is the total lack of any evidences of "civilization" in the author's discussion of Carolina north of the Cape Fear River. In comparison with the Charleston region the northern settlements were admittedly backward, but recent research has done a good deal to level off the "valley of humility." Bath and Wilmington are not mentioned. Edenton (overlooked by the indexers) is dismissed with an uncomplimentary observation by William Byrd (p. 283) whose accuracy is open to question. And New Bern figures only as the site for de Graffenried's Swiss settlement.

The book is difficult to classify. Chapter divisions are inconvenient for a text, and the almost exclusively geographical rather than topical treatment would probably confuse the beginner. Statements respecting charter, proprietary, and royal governments assume a certain amount of prior information on the part of the reader. The same is true of the activities of the Board of Trade and other economic controls. Civilization in the Spanish and French colonies which later became British is ignored.

Obviously the work is designed to be read and not used for reference. This poses the problem of who can profitably read it. It misses the popular appeal of such works as *The Epic of America* without being as academically instructive as the excellent colonial texts by Nettels, Chitwood, and Savelle. There are too many illustrative digressions for the memorizing student and too few for the history-taster. An intelligent college graduate who wishes to refresh his memory on courses in colonial history should find *The Atlantic Frontier* ideal. Most professional historians will discover much they did not know before. All readers of *The North Carolina Historical Review* should find it worth their time.

Chalmers G. Davidson.

Davidson College,
Davidson, N. C.

Graduate Work in The South. By Mary Bynum Pierson. (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press. 1947. Pp. 265. $4.00.)

The author of this volume has presented a very careful and thorough study of graduate work in the South—its history, its present status, and its future prospect. Throughout the attempt is made, and made successfully, to relate the development of graduate work to the changing social content of the South and to appraise the varied influences in this country and from abroad as they have advanced or retarded provision for graduate study.

The first two chapters, one devoted to graduate work in the United States before 1900 and one to the beginnings of graduate work in the South before 1900, provide the historical perspective needed for a better understanding of more recent developments. These are followed by an analysis of the influence of various associations, conferences, foundations, research institutes, and university presses. For college and university presidents, deans, and others actively concerned with developing and expanding graduate work in the South the chapter devoted to organization and administration will prove exceedingly helpful. An excellent chapter appraises the record of providing graduate and professional work for Negroes.

The system of undergraduate education in the South is both extensive and effective. Creditable and sometimes very superior graduate and professional work is being carried forward in a number of institutions. But at the post-high school level the great need of the South is for more adequate facilities for graduate and professional study. All who are actively concerned with this problem will surely want to read this volume.

Newton Edwards.

The University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill.

The Diary of James T. Ayers, Civil War Recruiter. Edited with an introduction by John Hope Franklin. (Springfield: Occasional Publications of the Illinois State Historical Society. 1947. Pp. xxv, 138.)

Material in print relating to the Negro's role in the Civil War is all too scanty. For this reason, Professor Franklin and the Illinois State Historical Society are to be commended for making available the diary of James T. Ayers, a Civil War recruiter of

Negroes. The diary covers the period from late December, 1863, to May, 1865.

The diary contains day-by-day entries which not only depict the problems incident to the recruiting of Negro soldiers for the Union army but reveal much of the personality and character of Ayers. Ayers, who was a Methodist lay preacher in Illinois from the early 1840's to 1862, hated slavery and the South with a violence and passion unrestrained either by reason or compassion. One need only read his comment (p. 101) on the capture of President Jefferson Davis of the Confederacy to see to what extremes of expression his emotion led him: "pore Coward puppy, two mean to Live, two mean to Dy—A man Starver, A soal killer, A dastard Rascal, A midnight assassion, A thief, A Rober, A Liar, A forsworn vilian, A Confirmed Traitor, A Slave Driver, A nigger breeder, A negro Equality man mixing his own Blood with niggers. He ought to hang. . . ."

As for Ayers, as Professor Franklin points out in his useful introduction to the diary, he was a person of limited education and fanatical zeal. He had no real liking for the Negroes and did not want them in the North. He wanted the slaves freed but wanted them to remain in the South. Most of Ayres' recruiting was in the north Alabama area along the main line of the railroad connecting Memphis with Chattanooga. Early in 1865 he was with Sherman's army in its northward march from Savannah into South Carolina and North Carolina. His comments on the behavior of some of Sherman's troops are confirmation of the generally accepted view of their wanton destructiveness.

The editor's introduction contains a good brief account of Negro recruiting, a brief sketch of Ayers' life, and notes on the nature and characteristics of the diary. Although the document is not of major historical significance, it presents an interesting picture of one phase of Civil War history. There is a useful index and also an appendix.

J. Carlyle Sitterson.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Lakanal the Regicide: A Biographical and Historical Study of the Career of Joseph Lakanal. By John Charles Dawson. (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1948. Pp. xvii, 213. $5.00.)

Professor Dawson's biography of Lakanal (1762-1845) is the first full-length account published in English of a most interesting Frenchman whose range of cultural and political activities in France and America was truly amazing. Also, in many of his interests Lakanal was a dilettante; in some respects he was little more than a dabbler. He was robust, restless, energetic, and ambitious. He always sought recognition and support of his actions. He possessed little humor. During the French Revolution he was a zealous reformer; like most revolutionists he had little time for frivolity; he was a propagandist; and he was an ordained priest turned Deist. At the age of seventy-six he took a mistress and the next year had a son!

During his tenure as a deputy to the National Convention, beginning in September, 1792, and through his service as president of the Committee of Public Instruction in the Council of Five Hundred, from which he resigned in 1798, Lakanal was an active and recognized leader in the cultural revolution accompanying the better known political and economic revolutions in France. More than any other individual he seems to have been the founder of new French school systems, primary, secondary, and normal; and in the period of the Directorate he drew up regulations for the famous French Institute. He advocated a national university. He worked diligently to execute his own ideas and those of Mirabeau, Talleyrand, Condorcet, Sieyès, and other educational and scientific colleagues. He sought assiduously to remove all Church control of education. Intermittently he held appointive administrative positions in several provincial Departments. He was never an avid Montagnard. Being at the time a staunch republican and disapproving of Napoleon Bonaparte's ambition and usurpation of power, he was allowed to hold only positions of minor importance from 1799 to 1815.

Fearing proscription by order of Louis XVIII following that Bourbon's restoration after Waterloo, Lakanal fled to America in 1816. He settled first among French refugees in Gallatin County, Kentucky, where he resided and traveled exclusively for six years. Disliking Napoleon less than the Bourbon whose brother

he had voted to guillotine, he intrigued with compatriots in one of the abortive efforts to rescue the Corsican from St. Helena and to set up a French empire in Latin America. In May, 1822, Lakanal became president of the College of Orleans in Louisiana and enjoyed a most successful administration until July, 1823. Presumably, he resigned because of religious differences with some of the important supporters of his institution. He then moved to Mobile, Alabama. In 1831 he was operating a small cotton and sugar plantation near Mobile. After the accession of the Orleanist, Louis-Philippe, to the French throne, Lakanal was free to return to France honorably. Having retained both a passionate love of France and his French citizenship, he returned home in 1836. From that date until his death he worked with and was honored by a small circle of friends and associates in educational, cultural, literary, and scientific institutions in Paris. Some of his greatest honors came many years after his death.

In collecting material from widely scattered sources and introducing Lakanal to a wider American reading audience, Professor Dawson has performed a good service. The chief criticism to be made is the author's laboring sympathy for Lakanal, his repetitions, his use of such words as "here," "we," and "our," and the glaring gaps in descriptions of his subject's American residence. The index is of the biographical type and therefore is not entirely satisfactory. Appendices are included. The account is amply footnoted and contains an extensive bibliography, mainly of French publications. Translations are excellent and they should be since the author is a former professor of Romance languages at the University of Alabama. The biography will be of special interest to students of the French Revolution and of cultural history.

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Since 1900: Illustrations, Maps, and Reading Lists. By Oscar Theodore Barck, Jr., and Nelson Manfred Blake. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. Pp. 863. $4.75.)

The most valid reason for writing a book on the recent history of the United States is not that the history is recent but that it

is unique. It has two main themes lacking in earlier history: the increasing adoption of socialism and the increasing abandonment of isolation. Both began to be made manifest about 1900, and out of the two today come the most pressing of our current problems. *Since 1900* differs materially from other books on this period only in its size. Its facts are the same, its judgments orthodox. It is as free from bias as a writing of human origin can be, and its style, if not good, is certainly no worse than that of a score of other books of a similar nature.

The architect, although not the originator, of government regulation and imperialism was Theodore Roosevelt. Although his motives were shallow—"love of power and love of applause"—and his abilities limited—compounded of "vanity, bellicosity and impulsiveness"—he stirred public opinion and set it on the twin paths from which it has not rested since. The authors of *Since 1900* are not impressed with Roosevelt's achievements as was Roosevelt himself, who had a tendency, they suggest, to see himself as the hero of every action during his administration. They minimize his trust-busting, hint that his mine seizure threat was a bluff and his Venezuelan blockade threat imaginary. They refuse to believe him even when confessing sin, as in the rape of Panama. But his Square Deal stimulated the growth of government regulation at home, while his Open Door and corollary led us further into the delights and dangers of global politics. Taft was a reformer whom the reform movement outran and whom disaster followed fast and followed faster because of his political ineptitude.

The New Freedom of Woodrow Wilson required for its operation an equal quality, if not quantity, of government regulation as the Square Deal did. In his foreign policy, the intervention in Haiti, Nicarauga, and Mexico reveals that he was unable to fuse his practices with his professions or even with his ideals. His involvment in World War I came, however, not voluntarily but by outer force; he was driven from his sincere neutrality by the German resumption of submarine warfare. Neither British propaganda nor American investments influenced Wilson or public opinion. If the authors of *Since 1900* have any explanation for the abrupt repudiation of Wilson by the American people they have kept it for private gratification.

As a result of excessive indulgence in Square Deals and New Freedoms the American people took the pledge of total abstinence and devoted themselves to "normalcy." In the incredible period of Harding and Coolidge, the spirit and practice of laissez-faire gave business free license to go its way unchecked into the Slough of Despond, and the spirit of isolation kept us out of the League and gave us rare opportunities for the irresponsible promotion of peace with platitudes.

Normalcy ended in, if it did not lead to, panic and depression which in turn brought forth Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. Conceived, perhaps, as an agency of relief the New Deal speedily became a weapon of reform. Joined in unique wedlock with the Doctrine of the Good Neighbor, it secured a more militant partner when the United States was forced into World War II and isolation again gave way to global thinking. The account of the New Deal and the war is prudently factual, but there can be no doubt that the war promoted socialism in the United States quite as much as it discouraged isolation.

One of the three chapters on the period since Roosevelt is entitled "The Tribulations of Truman." In view of recent happenings, the reviewer suggests that the chapter might have been greatly extended.

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Historical Background of the World Today. By the History Department of Duke University. By Harold T. Parker and Theodore Ropp. (New York, Rinehart and Company, 1947, Pp. ix, 128.)

During the last two decades most American colleges and universities have given a large measure of attention to their introductory courses in history and the social studies. As was to be expected, a rather wide variety of general orientation courses have developed.

Historical Background of the World Today is a synopsis of the new introductory course in history at Duke University. This little volume summarizes the cardinal facts in the sixty-four topics, that have been selected for consideration in the survey course in history. It opens with a brief summary of the chief

characteristics of "Medieval Society" and closes with the "Bases of the Peace Settlements" after the Second World War. The other sixty-two topics, which fall between medieval society and the present quest for peace, deal with the highlights of the political, economic, and social institutions, forces, and problems which are the heritage of the West today. While the reviewer would have placed the emphasis differently here and there, he has a firm conviction that here is the basis for an excellent introductory course.

The themes which are most stressed are the expansion of European culture, the origin and development of national states, the relations of these states and the problems of war and peace, economic theories and practices with special emphasis on capitalism and proletarianism, and the faiths and philosophies by which western man has lived in the modern epoch.

This synopsis is well done. It is nicely balanced, and the topical summaries are clear and accurate. In reading it one has the feeling that several specialists have had a hand in its construction. The reviewer feels that from the standpoint of balance, clarity, and accuracy, he has seen no better synopsis of modern western history. The young student who feels the need of an integrating summary can do no better than choose this little book.

C. H. Pegg.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

Mr. Walter Whitaker of Graham has been employed by the Chamber of Commerce of Burlington to write a history of Alamance County. Mr. Staley A. Cook and Mr. Howard White of the *Times-News*, Burlington, will assist in the preparation of the book which is expected to be ready for distribution during Burlington's centennial celebration next summer.

Dr. S. C. Deskins of Elon College has been appointed a professor of history and head of the department of history at High Point College, where Dr. Helen R. Bartlett will continue to serve as a professor of history.

On May 21 Dr. Richard Henry Tawney, a British lecturer, author, and professor of economic history at the University of London, gave the first of three lectures of the annual series of Weil lectures on citizenship at the University of North Carolina. The general theme of these lectures was "Social Democracy in England."

Mr. Alfred J. Henderson of MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Illinois, is visiting professor of history in the first term of the summer school at Duke University.

Dr. Charles Sackett Sydnor of Duke University has published a volume in the series on history of the south entitled *The Rise of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848.*

An historical marker erected to the memory of Joseph Gurney Cannon, a member of Congress and speaker of the House of Representatives, was unveiled on the campus of Guilford College on May 14. Mr. Joseph W. Martin, Jr., of Massachusetts, speaker of the House of Representatives, made the principal address. Mr. Farrar Newberry of Omaha, Nebraska, president of the Woodmen of the World, presented the marker and Dr. Clyde A. Milner, president of Guilford College, accepted it.

On April 14 Washington and Lee University conferred the degree of doctor of letters on Dr. Charles Sackett Sydnor of Duke University and on Dr. Urban Tirner Holmes of the University of North Carolina.

The annual convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution was held in Washington, D. C., beginning April 20. Miss Gertrude Carraway, State Regent for North Carolina, made a report on activities in the state. Mr. Kenneth Royall, secretary of the Army, delivered an address on the National Defense Program.

The Greensboro Historical Museum has added several items to its collections such as a Civil War drum, replicas of military uniforms of the type worn by American soldiers in the Revolutionary War period, and uniforms of World War II. Trophies from the old Eagle Hose Company which were donated by the Greensboro Fire Department have also been added to the collections.

Dr. W. S. Jenkins of the University of North Carolina is continuing his State Documents Microfilming Project which the Library of Congress and the Library at the University of North Carolina initiated in 1941. The goal of this program is to discover and microfilm the complete official records of every state and territory in the United States and to make these records available for investigation by students, historians, and other interested persons. Dr. Jenkins and his assistant, Mr. Peter L. Long, have completed the microfilming of the records in the State Department of Archives and History.

The Cool Springs Baptist Church, located six miles from Jonesboro in Lee County, on May 8 celebrated its one hundredth anniversary with an all-day program including a dinner served on the grounds.

The Julius Rosenwald fund announced on May 6 its awards for the coming year. Three North Carolinians were given fellowships as follows: Mr. Eugene Pendleton Banks of Brevard

will continue his study of anthropology at the University of New Mexico; Mr. Charles Morgan Clarke of the University of North Carolina will collect information on the efforts of the philanthropic foundations in the education of public school teachers in the South; and Mr. Claude Flynn Howell, free lance writer of Wilmington, will use his award for traveling and painting.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians on April 18 made a tour of Lee, Moore, and Chatham counties. The group which made the tour consisted of Mr. Malcolm Fowler, president of the group; Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Mr. Charles M. Heck, Mr. F. L. Morris, Mr. James G. W. MacClamroch, Mr. Paul Barringer, Mr. A. B. MacArtan, Mr. Leon McDonald, Mr. Edward Cameron, Miss Mary Galloway, and Mrs. Blanche Johnson. The group visited Buffalo Presbyterian Church near Sanford, which dates from 1756; White Hall; the tomb of Benjamin Williams in Moore County; the House in the Horseshoe, formerly the residence of Philip Alston, where occurred a skirmish between a band of patriots under Col. Alston and the Tories under David Flanning; the Devil's Tramping Ground in Chatham County; Glenn Coal Mine which is reopening for work; Lockville on Deep River; and Haywood at the confluence of Deep and Haw rivers which form the Cape Fear River. Lockville and Haywood are two ghost towns in Chatham County.

On June 2 Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Miss Nell Hines, Miss Manora Mewborn, Miss Frances Harmon, and Miss Dorothy Reynolds of the State Department of Archives and History attended the historical pageant, "Shout Freedom," presented near Charlotte by the Mecklenburg County Historical Society.

Miss Eva J. Lawrence of Murfreesboro has been employed on a temporary basis to copy manuscripts for publication by the State Department of Archives and History. Miss Lawrence has been copying the papers of John Gray Blount and Thomas Blount which are being edited by Dr. Alice B. Keith of Meredith College and the diary of Catherine Ann Edmondston, which is being edited by Miss Beth Crabtree.

The State Department of Archives and History and Meredith College have initiated this year a program of training and internship for students who after graduation expect to pursue graduate studies in archival work. These students are majoring in history at Meredith College.

On May 8 the university and college teachers of history and others interested in history held their annual dinner at Duke University, the host institution. Those present and the institutions represented were as follows: Miss Frances Acomb, Mr. Paul H. Clyde, Mr. Joel G. Colton, Mr. Arthur B. Ferguson, Mr. W. F. Givan, Mr. Irving B. Holley, Mr. John Tate Lanning, Mr. Alan K. Manchester, Mr. Ernest W. Nelson, Mr. Harold T. Parker, Mr. Henry Stevens, Mr. Joseph C. Robert, Mr. Charles S. Sydnor, Mr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., Mr. Robert H. Woody, and Miss Alice Baldwin of Duke University; Mr. Christopher Crittenden, Mr. W. F. Burton, Jr., Mr. D. L. Corbitt, and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan of the State Department of Archives and History; Mr. Richard Bardolph, Miss Elizabeth Cometti, Mrs. Caroline Daniel, Miss Bernice Evelyn Draper, Miss Josephine Hege, Mr. C. D. Johns, Miss Vera Largent, Miss Zoe Swecker and Mr. E. E. Pfoff of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina; Mr. Howard K. Beale, Mrs. Howard K. Beale, Mr. R. D. W. Connor, Mr. M. B. Garrett, Mr. Fletcher M. Green, Mr. Cecil Johnson, Mr. Hugh T. Lefler, Mr. L. C. MacKinney, Mr. A. R. Newsome and Mr. C. H. Pegg of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Mr. James W. Patton, Mr. Preston W. Edsall, Mr. L. Walter Seegers, Mr. Charles M. Brown, Mr. Charles F. Kolb, and Mr. Rex Beach of North Carolina State College; Miss Alice B. Keith, Miss Sarah Lemmon, and Mrs. Lillian Parker Wallace of Meredith College; Mr. Chalmers G. Davidson, Mr. Alex McGeachy, Mr. Edward O. Guerrant, and Mr. Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College; and Mr. Forrest W. Clonts of Wake Forest College.

The historical highway marker program, conducted jointly by the Department of Archives and History, the Department of Conservation and Development, and the Highway Department, which was interrupted by the war, is again in operation. Twenty

markers have been erected to replace those broken or removed since 1941 and forty-five new ones are on order at the foundry. It is expected that approximately sixty-five markers will be received during the current fiscal year.

Among those markers recently authorized by the committee of historians from North Carolina colleges and universities which approves all markers before they are erected, are those for the following prominent men in various phases of the life of the state: William A. Graham, Leonidas L. Polk, James O'Kelly, Hutchins G. Burton, Curtis H. Brodgen, Augustus S. Merrimon, James Turner, Dempsey Burgess, John Harvey, Henry William Harrington, William Hawkins, Josephus Daniels, Isaac Gregory, William Miller, Calvin Graves, Plato Durham, and S. B. Alexander.

Other points of historical interest currently being marked are five different locations of the Bingham School, the Warrenton Male Academy, and Oxford College; several spots where modern highways follow or cross the routes of the old plank roads; Smiley's Falls locks on the Cape Fear River and the Roanoke Canal (two markers); the site of a Revolutionary paper mill near Hillsboro; the Egypt Coal Mine in Lee County, which supplied coal for Confederate blockade runners; the Fourth House in Winston-Salem; Third Creek Church in Rowan County; Kittrell's Springs; "Land of Eden"; the Bragg home in Warren County; and Fort Point in Craven County.

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, head of the division of public displays of the State Department of Archives and History, attended on May 27, 28, and 29 the annual meeting of the American Association of Museums at Boston.

Recent accessions to the Hall of History include the bell of the United States Destroyer, *Worth Bagley,* named in 1900 in honor of Worth Bagley and given by David Worth Bagley of Bremerton, Washington; an oil portrait of Richard Dobbs Spaight given by Charles S. Bryan of Asheville; and relics from the James

Iredell Waddell family given by Miss Rebecca Cushman of Asheville.

Mr. John Littleton, graduate student, and Mr. John Sanders, undergraduate student, in history at the University of North Carolina, have been employed by the Department of Archives and History for the summer to work with the Emergency Relief Administration records stored in the department's records warehouse at the State Fairgrounds. It is expected that these records, covering the years 1933-1935, will soon be made available for administrative and research purposes.

The North Carolina Department of Archives and History is in the midst of installing new equipment in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts. The air conditioning equipment is now being improved by the addition of a refrigeration unit and extension ducts which will facilitate the flow of air through the stacks in the lower levels. Also the contract has been let for new stack equipment for about one-third of the archives areas.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its regular spring meeting in Raleigh on April 17. Elected to membership were Dr. Guion Griffis Johnson, Chapel Hill, and Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History. The program consisted of a paper by Dr. C. C. Pearson of Wake Forest College on "What is Wrong With Current Research Work and History?"; an address by Bishop Howard W. Rondthaler of the Moravian Church on "Four Boundaries and a Straight Line"; and a chapter from the *Rise of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848,* read by the author, Dr. Charles Sackett Sydnor of Duke University.

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THE NEGRO IN THE THINKING AND WRITING OF JOHN SPENCER BASSETT*

By WENDELL H. STEPHENSON

John Spencer Bassett, pioneer in the origins of southern historical scholarship, was also an advocate of liberal thought on the race problem in the South.[1] As the nineteenth century drew to a close, he expressed himself frankly on the political and social questions of the day and urged fellow Southerners to break with tradition and face practical realities. From the vantage point of a professorship in history at Trinity College, he preached a doctrine of liberalism to students who came under his tutelage, and he aroused the ire of conservative politicians, editors, and churchmen. The Negro was not a central theme in Bassett's varied activities as teacher, researcher, editor, and lecturer, but the subject was of sufficient importance to merit careful examination.

His paternal ancestors, Bassett asserted in a brief memoir, were antislavery in their views despite the fact that they were slaveholders on a small scale in Virginia and North Carolina. His grandfather, Richard Bassett, carpenter and contractor at Williamsburg, was faced with the dilemma of purchasing a cook who had served him faithfully as a hired slave for many years or of seeing her sold to an unacceptable master. He chose the former alternative. Richard's son, Richard Baxter Bassett, followed his father's trade and purchased skilled laborers to promote his business. According to the memoir, neither father nor son was an agitator in the antislavery cause. Richard Baxter served the Confederacy, first as a soldier and then as a manufacturer of

* This article is a sequal to the same author's "John Spencer Bassett as a Historian of the South," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXV (July, 1948), no. 3. Editor.

[1] Much of the material for this paper was assembled in 1944-1945 while the writer held a research grant from the General Education Board, to whom thanks are gratefully acknowledged.

army supplies, and emerged from the war slaveless and "practically empty-handed."

How relevant these statements are in explaining Bassett's own attitudes is problematical, but at least one point is clear: he believed that he was emulating the example of his forebears. He emphasized the democratic spirit which made them "unwilling to ignore the rights of inferior people." Of his father he said, "He was an ideal democrat."[2] It is possible, too, that the influence of a piedmont environment in his formative years accentuated his faith in the common man, whether black or white.

It should be noted also that graduate work at the Johns Hopkins University prepared Bassett's mind to challenge conservative thought and traditional belief. His greatest teacher there, Herbert B. Adams, inspired an openmindedness that was determinative, and the atmosphere of the whole history and political science department gave him a critical and impartial approach in the treatment of past and present.

It was not unusual in the 1890's for Hopkins graduates in history to return to Baltimore to address the Seminary in History and Politics or to deliver formal lectures before larger groups. Adams inspired his students by example as well as by precept, and the appearance of former scholars in the role of lecturer had a stimulating effect upon his current group of doctoral candidates. Bassett was perhaps his most outstanding product from the South, and an assignment was not difficult to arrange. In 1899 the Trinity College professor wrote Adams that he was contemplating preparation of some studies on the Negro which would consider "his past, his present, and his future," and that he would welcome the opportunity to deliver them as lectures at the Hopkins. "I want to show," he said, "that the nature of the negro is such that he is destined—when he shall have been civilized and greatly developed—to be a great and valuable force in American society." He would probably prepare the studies anyway, but the prospect of presenting them in Baltimore would serve as motivation.[3]

Bassett received the invitation, but the lectures were postponed from time to time as a result of Adams' absence from the

[2] Typescript memoir, John Spencer Bassett Papers (in possession of Mrs. J. S. Bassett, Northampton, Massachusetts).

[3] John S. Bassett to Herbert B. Adams, June 21, 1899, Herbert Baxter Adams Papers, in Johns Hopkins University library.

University on account of illness and of Bassett's delay in completing them. Meanwhile, he kept Adams informed of progress, revealed his thinking on the Negro problem, and modified his organization. The series would use as a point of departure slavery's disintegration in the later period of the Roman Empire, and by analogy and contrast show how the South should develop "reliable freedom" among the former slaves. Even "the most blinded 'Bourbon' " could hardly disapprove an objective consideration of the Negro's accomplishments and potentialities.[4] Further maturity of thought eventually yielded lectures on "The Negro in Africa," "The Negro in American Slavery," and "The Negro in American Freedom," all with a "historical rather than sociological approach," though present-day problems were not ignored.[5]

One of the lectures, perhaps in greatly modified form, was published a few years later in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* under the title, "The Negro's Inheritance from Africa." It is not apparent what sources of information Bassett used in its preparation except that he referred approvingly a few times to Friedrick Ratzel's three-volume *History of Mankind*, published in 1896. Bassett's brief article was a description of the Negro's physical environment and its conditioning factors, a statement of his dependence upon simple agricultural processes, and an analysis of such institutions as the village community, the family, and religious organization. He did not indicate how the Negro's traits and habits of life were modified by two centuries of residence in the South.[6]

Soon after delivering the lectures early in 1901, Bassett conceived the idea of expanding them into a book and inquired whether Richard T. Ely might be interested in publishing it in the Citizen Series. The fifteen chapters into which the proposed study would be organized indicate a rather comprehensive view of the subject:

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[4] Bassett to Adams, October 23, 1899, Adams Papers.

[5] Bassett to Adams, December 7, 1900, in W. Stull Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876-1901: As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams* (Baltimore, 1938), p. 291. For other correspondence relating to the lectures, see Bassett to Adams, November 14, December 15, 1899; April 1, November 2, 1900; February 3, 1901, Adams Papers; Bassett to John M. Vincent, February 5, 1900; January 15, 1901, Adams Papers; Adams to Bassett, November 17, 1900, Bassett Papers.

[6] [John S. Bassett], "The Negro's Inheritance from Africa," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, III (1904), 99-108.

1. The Negro in Africa
2. Conditions of the Slave Trade
3. The Negro in Contact with the White Man in Africa
4. The Negro in American Slavery
5. The Iron Law of Slavery
6. Free Negroes in the South
7. The Negro in the Old Free States
9. The First Lessons in Freedom
10. The Debauching of Citizenship
11. The Negro in Modern Industrial Life
12. The Religious Progress of the Negro
13. The Educational Progress of the Negro
14. The Negro's Social Life
15. The Rise of a Negro Upper Class[7]

The volume did not materialize, either through failure to find a publisher or inability to carry out his resolution.

Bassett's writing before the turn of the century was concerned primarily with the history of North Carolina. Three of his monographs dealt with the institution of slavery and antislavery leaders: *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina* (1896), *Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina* (1898), and *Slavery in the State of North Carolina* (1899). Like most of Bassett's other early works, these were neither comprehensive nor exhaustive. Material was drawn from a limited number of sources, partly because there were few great collections available but also because historians of that day had not thought of rich mines of information that later scholars exploited. Despite inadequacy in this premise, the studies serve a useful purpose in revealing Bassett's thought in an important field of knowledge. Slavery in colony and state was presented in orthodox arrangement, with a revisionist point of view tempered by an appreciation of complex factors that collectively formed the warp and woof of the old regime. Interpretations and conclusions are illustrated by a sampling of his statements.

Despite disadvantages of slavery to both blacks and whites, "it is difficult to see how the aimless, good-natured, and improvident African could ever have been brought as a race to plow, to sow, to reap, to study, and at length to create thought, except for the tutelage of his slaveholding master." On the other hand,

[7] Bassett to Vincent, March 13, 1901, Adams Papers.

Bassett insisted that "the negro went side by side with the white man in the van of the civilizing forces of the country."[8] The harshness of slavery legislation from the 1830's forward did not emanate from "deliberate cruelty on the part of the slave-owners. There are throughout the period of greatest restriction enough humane laws and more than enough humane custom to show the contrary." Again, "the central idea of slavery in North Carolina was a determination to perpetuate the institution, whatever the price, and at the same time a disposition to make it as gentle as possible for the slave, provided that doing so did not tend to loosen his bonds." And, if Bassett "were defending a side of the never ended controversy about the treatment of slaves by their masters, it would only be necessary to point out here that the essence of the misery of slavery in the South and elsewhere was not physical suffering, however frequently or infrequently that may have occurred, but the mental and spiritual wretchedness that follow a loss of liberty." He concluded that "it was slavery itself that defeated the humaner forces of civilization."[9]

The second of Bassett's trilogy of studies on the Negro in North Carolina sketched the careers of five antislavery leaders: Hinton R. Helper, Daniel R. Goodloe, Eli W. Caruthers, Lunsford Lane, and Benjamin S. Hedrick. It is the least satisfactory of the three, for it represents only a modicum of research and the author did not always sense the true import of abolitionist literature. He correctly evaluated the political significance of Helper's *Impending Crisis of the South* (1857) and the *Compendium* (1860), but apparently he accepted at face value much of the economic fallacy that found its way into these publications. The fact that Helper was still living and that Bassett carried on considerable correspondence with him may account for the mantle of charity which covers the extremist and his works.[10]

The fate that befell Hedrick is of special interest because it paralleled in part Bassett's own experience at Trinity College a

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[8] John S. Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina*, Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, ser. XIV, nos. 4-5 (Baltimore, 1896), 12, 17.

[9] John S. Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, ser. XVII, nos. 7-8 (Baltimore, 1899), 10, 47, 90-91, 102.

[10] Hinton R. Helper to Bassett, May 16, October 21, November 2, 4, December 26, 1896; January 14, 1897, Bassett Papers. Helper supplied Bassett with considerable information about his efforts to find a publisher for the *Impending Crisis* and its reception in the South; and he also forwarded some papers relating to Benjamin S. Hedrick, the property of his son, Charles J. Hedrick, a lawyer of Washington, D. C.

few years later. Native of North Carolina, student of Louis Agassiz at Harvard, and professor of analytical and agricultural chemistry at the University of North Carolina, Hedrick admitted in 1856 that he would vote for John C. Frémont if Republican electors were presented in the state. His boyhood among antislavery farmers in the western part of North Carolina and his sojourn in the North had made him an abolitionist, albeit an inoffensive one. William W. Holden, editor of the *North Carolina Standard,* demanded that Hedrick be removed from his professorship. Feeling ran high, and eventually Hedrick replied in a statement published in the *Standard.* In it he said that he preferred Frémont because his views on the slavery issue were correct, and in his defense cited the antislavery opinions of western North Carolinians and also the attitude of such Virginians as Washington and Jefferson. But the president, faculty, and students favored removal, and the board of trustees in effect dismissed him.

Of Hedrick's first communication to the *Standard,* Bassett wrote feelingly: "In the light of present knowledge, the South knows that he spoke the truth, and one ought not to criticise a man for speaking the truth, especially if he be an instructor in an institution of learning, which ought at all times to be a leader of truth." Of a later exchange between Hedrick and Holden, Bassett said: "On the one side we have a clear, strong argument, unanswerable, a sense of outrage, a protest against passion; on the other we have an avoidance of argument in the beginning, a ruthless unwillingness to concede a desire for truth to the other side, an appeal to passion, and a supercilious tone of superiority."[11] Five years later Bassett found himself confronted with a similar situation and an equally determined purpose to remove him from his professorship.

Just before the opening of the twentieth century there was a revival of the Negro issue in North Carolina politics. The Old North State had recovered "white supremacy" in the 1870's, but a fusion of Republicans and Populists in the 1890's brought the Negro into politics again—and into public office. The Democrats

[11] Helper is discussed in John S. Bassett, *Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina,* Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science,* ser. XVI, no. 6 (Baltimore, 1898), 11-29. For Hedrick, see Bassett, *Anti-Slavery Leaders,* pp. 29-47, especially 35, 42. For correspondence relating to publication of the monograph, see Bassett to Adams, January 24, April 17, 1898, Adams Papers.

won the election of 1898 and set about to eliminate the Negro permanently. A constitutional amendment to that end was proposed and adopted. Soon after the Democratic victory, Bassett wrote Adams that North Carolinians were exulting because the issue had been solved. He was of the opinion that it had been temporarily shelved. Admitting that he did not concur with the majority of white people in the state, he suggested three alternatives with regard to the political future of the Negro: permit him to vote and hold office, "nauseating as the dose is"; administer impartially a literacy qualification; or use fraudulent and violent means of denying him office. Personally he preferred the second method, but a campaign of passion had produced the third solution and inaugurated policies which sensible government could not correct in a score of years. The recent Wilmington riot, Bassett asserted, resulted from attacks from the Democratic press against Negro misrule which did not exist. There were only a few Negroes in local offices, and they were "guided in their action by the advice of white men." He believed that the Negro had behaved admirably in the face of the newspaper onslaught. "Villified, abused, denounced as the unclean thing he has kept his peace; he has been patient."[12]

While Bassett spoke as plainly as a college professor could on a political issue, he feared his efforts would not promote reform. Apparently Adams gave acceptable advice when Bassett asked what remedy he would prescribe if he "were the physician," for Bassett wrote that his duty was now clear: "If I can set a limit to this wildfire of prejudice that is in the South I will do it. It is a difficult task, and a delicate one: the point is to come at the people—not through blows & kicks; but through kindness. Tell the northern philanthropists that *the way to help the Negro in the South is to educate the white man.*" If a "broad churchman" were available, reform could be promoted by the church, for the Southerner could be reached "through his religion." Returning to the subject of the Wilmington riot, he expressed the opinion that the difficulty would not "set us back any more than the social & intellectual conditions behind it—which we have had all along. I cannot believe that any outside capital will ever develop the

[12] Bassett to Adams, November 15, 1898, Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, pp. 257-259.

South: it must come from the Southern people themselves, if it comes at all."[13]

On May 3, 1900, Bassett delivered the commencement address at the Slater Industrial School, an institution for Negroes at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The invitation may have come as a result of his liberal attitude on the race issue. Promising Adams a copy of the address, he alluded again to the "commotion" that arose over the suffrage amendment. "On all hands the negroes are frightened—they know not what lies in the future for them. Out of it all the politician reaps fatness."[14]

Two of Bassett's *South Atlantic Quarterly* articles merit analysis, one because of its intrinsic value, the other because of the furor it aroused. "Two Negro Leaders," a contrast of Booker T. Washington and William E. Burghardt DuBois, was inspired by the appearance of the latter's book, *The Souls of Black Folk, Essays and Sketches* (1903). The president of Tuskegee, in *The Future of the American Negro* (1899) and *Up From Slavery* (1900), had revealed his emphasis upon an industrial education for the Negro, peaceful relations with white neighbors, abandonment of politics, and economic advancement to the point where it would be an honor to belong to the black race. DuBois, a New Englander, graduate of Fiske and Harvard, and author of scholarly books, repudiated economic self-sufficiency as the chief desideratum in favor of cultural development. The door of learning had opened to him Shakespeare, Balzac, and Dumas, and he drank at the fountain of Aurelius and Aristotle; yet race prejudice closed to him, from the days of his youth even in New England, participation in many aspects of life reserved for members of the white race.

Bassett saw no eternal conflict between the concepts of these leaders. The great majority of blacks—perhaps nine-tenths of them—needed just what Washington sought to give them, "industrial training and business competency." His policy of peace, despite caustic criticism of whites, was destined to make the Negro "more patient and self-controlled," and it would eventually win adherents among southern liberals. On the other

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[13] Bassett to Adams, November 15, December 16, 1898, Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, pp. 259, 261.
[14] Bassett to Adams, May 27, 1900, Adams Papers.

hand, the Negro needed leadership from his own race, and higher education should therefore not be discouraged. As Bassett saw it, there should be vocational education for the many, cultural education for the few; and a sympathetic attitude on the part of white people toward Negro advancement in both directions.[15] He was one of the first scholars to appreciate the significance of the two schools of thought that emanated from the teachings of Washington and DuBois, and one of the first to rationalize the variation.

In founding the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, promoting the "liberty to think" was a fundamental purpose; discussion of the race problem an incidental theme. Yet one will find in the issues during Bassett's brief tenure as editor from 1902 until 1905 considerable space devoted to slavery and the Negro. James C. Ballagh discussed "The Anti-Slavery Sentiment in Virginia";[16] Robert W. Winston, "An Unconsidered Aspect of the Negro Question";[17] Carl Holliday, "National Supervision of Negro Education";[18] and John C. Kilgo, "Our Duty to the Negro."[19] Bassett himself contributed, besides "The Negro's Inheritance from Africa" and "Two Negro Leaders," an editorial article on "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy."[20] Because of a provocative sentence that incited protest, the nature and content of the article require some discussion.

Published in the October, 1903, number of the *Quarterly*, "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy" was for the most part a dispassionate discussion of the race problem in the South. Bassett indicated how "present antipathy" emanated from the political issue and he traced that vexed question from colonial days to the past decade. The disfranchisement of the Negro eliminated him as a political issue, but "sensational appeals to the race feeling of the white man" supplanted it as a disturbing divisive factor. Bassett pointed to the progress some Negroes had made since the war, and to the retrogression of others into idleness, viciousness, and criminality. The optimist "was apt to point to Booker T. Washington as a product of the negro race."

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[15] [John S. Bassett], "Two Negro Leaders," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, II (1903), 267-272.
[16] *South Atlantic Quarterly*, I (1902), 107-117.
[17] *South Atlantic Quarterly*, I (1902), 265-268.
[18] *South Atlantic Quarterly*, III (1904), 356-360.
[19] *South Atlantic Quarterly*, II (1903), 369-385.
[20] [John S. Bassett], "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, II (1903), 297-305.

Then followed the sentence which aroused a storm of passion over North Carolina: "Now Washington is a great and good man, a Christian statesman, and take him all in all the greatest man, save General Lee, born in the South in a hundred years; but he is not a typical negro."[21]

Soon after the article appeared, the Raleigh *News and Observer* reprinted it, and through news stories, editorials, and headlines distorted the meaning and inflamed the public mind: "Professor Bassett says Negro will win equality"; "Southern leaders slandered"; "Dire predictions of coming conflict between the races"; "The people feel that Professor Bassett's utterances are an outrage." The author's name appeared as "bASSett," and the editor of the *News and Observer,* Josephus Daniels, alluded to him as a freak. Other newspapers published ebullient tirades, and many of them were reprinted in Daniels' paper. A few presses, such as the *Progressive Farmer,* the Charlotte *Observer,* the *Caucasian,* the *Biblical Recorder,* and the Durham *Herald,* defended Bassett and his article. He received hundreds of letters, some denunciatory and others commendatory. Friends in the historical guild offered sympathy and counsel. On November 10 Bassett published an explanation in the Durham paper. "Between the races," he said, "is a wide gulf and I should be the last man to try to bridge it. I had no thought of social equality in mind. I was thinking only of the industrial and civic outlook of the negro race." He explained the word *greatest* as the "capacity to break over fearful impediments and achieve success."

The attack spread to President Kilgo and the entire college; a boycott was proposed, and parents were urged to remove their children from Trinity. Under the circumstances Bassett submitted his resignation, and the trustees met in special session December 2 to consider it. President, faculty, and students appealed to the board, emphasizing the principle of academic freedom. Few of them could endorse Bassett's appraisal of Washington, but they could plead for a spirit of liberty and toleration. The trustees voted 18 to 11 not to accept Bassett's resignation. Trinity had a larger enrollment next year, and the college continued to grow in prestige and influence.

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[21] Bassett, "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy," *South Atlantic Quarterly,* II (1903), 299.

All of this is well known, for it has appeared in print many times.[22] Some men who knew Bassett well professed to believe that he was trimming his sails for a call to a northern university, following the example of William P. Trent, another southern liberal who had moved in 1900 from the University of the South to Columbia. It would be useless to speculate upon motive, for the historian is upon dangerous ground in attempting to read another's mind except as it is revealed in documentary evidence. Some recently discovered material in the Bassett Papers may offer a clue, though whether it tells the whole story is a matter of conjecture.

Despite abuse from the North Carolina press, Bassett declined then or later to defend his course in public, except for the brief explanation that appeared contemporaneously in a Durham paper. William K. Boyd urged him in 1908 to write up the "Bassett Affair," but the central figure of the controversy replied that he did not have all the documents at hand. "I did not write in the first instance," he said, "with the idea of raising a controversy, but to do a certain good in a certain situation; and in spite of the insane ravings of those whom I had hit, I think some good was accomplished. I always felt that the affair cleared the atmosphere to some extent with regard to the negro question. I think it showed some people in North Carolina that they were likely to get into trouble by cultivating the anti-negro spirit. It awakened to a saner position a certain influential minority who have in certain crises since then been able to hold down the radicals to a milder attitude."[23]

In private correspondence Bassett revealed several years after the incident the origin of the sensational sentence in "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy." Writing in 1909 to Edwin Mims, then coeditor of the *South Atlantic Quarterly,* Bassett urged him not to resign his position and suggested that he should write more for the magazine. Recalling his own contributions to the *Quarterly,* he came abruptly to the question, "Did I ever

[22] For "The Statement of the Trustees," "Memorial from the Faculty to the Trustees," and "Editorial in the Archive," the last representing student opinion, see "Trinity College and Academic Freedom," *South Atlantic Quarterly,* III (1904), 62-72. See also Josephus Daniels, *Editor in Politics* (Chapel Hill, 1941), 428-437; Edwin Mims, *The Advancing South: Stories of Progress and Reaction* (Garden City, N. Y., 1926), pp. 147-157; Virginius Dabney, *Liberalism in the South* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 339-341; "A Notable Victory for Academic Freedom," *World's Work* (New York, 1900-1932), 4284-4287; "In Memoriam—John Spencer Bassett," *South Atlantic Quarterly,* XXVII (1928), 114-115.

[23] Bassett to Boyd, October 11, 1908, Bassett Papers.

tell you why I put in the reference to Lee? . . . I had written several articl[es] which were calculated to make people think, but the papers would not notice them. I felt that they did not want a discussion. I put in the Lee reference to make them take notice. I remember well how, when it was written, I looked lovingly at it and remarked to myself, 'I guess that will wake them up.' As a waker it was eminently successful."[24]

In 1911 Bassett explained in a seven-page letter to Charles Francis Adams the origin of the Lee-Booker T. Washington allusion. "Your well known service to the cause of impartial history," Bassett wrote, "makes it pleasant to me to make this personal statement for your use." His object in establishing the *Quarterly,* he explained, "was to have a medium of expression for the more critical younger men in the South, and in each number I would have an editorial of about 2,500 words on some topic which seemed to me most timely. I wished particularly to counteract the reactionary feeling in the Southern press in matters on which tradition had developed ideas provincial and intolerant." His articles, particularly "Two Negro Leaders," attracted attention in the North, but southern papers ignored them. "I came to feel that the only way to be heard by my own people was to say something very striking, and the opportunity soon came."

In the summer of 1903 delegates returning from a Negro business men's convention in Chattanooga stopped for breakfast, by prearrangement, at Hamlet, North Carolina. The Negroes on the train, who were traveling by Pullman, were accommodated in the large dining room of an eating house, while the less numerous whites were crowded into a smaller room. Among the white passengers on the train was Senator Augustus O. Bacon, of Georgia, who created quite a stir. "State papers took it up in a most sensational way," whereas Bassett thought they "ought to seek to calm rather [than] raise the feeling that the incident aroused." He and some of his friends believed that the press was trying to make political capital out of the matter, and he felt obligated, "as an editor of a calm and enlightened journal, to raise my protest." The answer was "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy." It was written in haste and in an "exhausted

[24] Bassett to Edwin Mims, January 1, 1909, Bassett Papers.

state of mind and body" because of the death of his mother, heavy routine duties at the opening of school, and other pressing matters. Before sending it to the printer he concluded that, like preceding editorials, it would "fail to be noticed." So he added the fateful sentence. It "was not a sudden thought. Putting it into the article, however, was sudden."

It would be difficult to find a better statement of the case for Washington's greatness than the evidence cited by Bassett in his letter to Adams. He had long thought highly of the Negro's "constructive work." His "greatness consists in the success with which he has won the support of a mass of ignorant people, taught them to bear their burdens, and made them willing to labor hard and patiently while they lay in industrial and educational progress the foundations of their future progress. This seems to me statesmanlike. The fact that he has done this in the face of coolness from the Southern whites and for their indifference or contempt returned always words of gentleness, seems to me most Christian. Besides this, his oratorical and literary ability mark him for eminence in these two lines. I know not what recent Southern orator has been more influential than he through his oratory; I know not what Southern writer of recent years has been more widely read and appreciated; I know not what Southern minister has more fully exemplified the spirit of the patient and forgiving Christ; and finally I know not what leader of men in the South in all the recent school has shown a better grasp of the real secret of progress in the South. But Washington unites all these qualities in his own person. I remember talking these sentiments during the summer of 1903 to my friend, Frederic Bancroft, of Washington, and he agreed with me. His extensive research into the life of the Old South makes him worthy of all confidence on this subject."

And then Bassett came to the point about which he had written Mims nearly three years earlier: "I remember well how when I had written . . . [the sentence] I said to myself: 'I hope they will notice that'! I thought it might lead them to criticism from editors and other sensible people, calm and intelligent discussion, which I should have welcomed; and such would have been the result, could I have got a fair showing. There are in the South as many fair-minded men as elsewhere. I was and am as South-

ern in my feelings as any of them, even if I do not agree with them in the way to achieve the best interests of the section."[25]

In appraising Bassett's article and in evaluating his explanation of the provocative sentence, it should be remembered that in his earlier years, at least, his interests were varied and he used different methods of accomplishing his ends. In this instance he was writing not as a historian but as a crusader for independent thinking and for justice, as he understood it, for the Negro. A startling statement may provoke thought, arouse discussion, and thereby promote a discovery of truth. Certainly he was unhistorical in stating categorically who ranked first and who second among Southerners born during the nineteenth century. That is a subjective matter, impossible of accurate testing according to the principles of scientific criticism which Bassett had learned so well at the Hopkins.

Was Bassett an agitator for liberal thought because he loved the role of agitator? Few college professors leave their ivory towers of scholarly seclusion to mingle in the public forum of current issues. Of the scores of former students who corresponded with Herbert B. Adams, Bassett was one of the few who wrote on nonprofessional subjects. The North Carolina of his early years was a fruitful field for one who would convert the conservative and "Thinkless South," as Bassett's friend, William Garrott Brown, put it, into a region that contemplated its status and labored for improvement.[26] Yet Bassett, like Trent, eventually became discouraged with his dual role and welcomed an opportunity to move to the East.[27] To most of his correspondents he assigned as the chief reason for leaving the South the opportunity for research and writing that New England provided. To Dodd he wrote: "it was the conviction that I could not write history and direct public sentiment too that made me willing to come North."[28] To Boyd, who served as confidant on numerous occasions, he explained "that it is very well in the South to be an antiquarian but difficult to be a historian in a cosmopolitan sense. It is easy to do the work of popular 'arousement,' but

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[25] Bassett to Charles F. Adams, November 3, 1911, Bassett Papers.
[26] See Wendell H. Stephenson, "William Garrott Brown, Literary Historian and Essayist," *Journal of Southern History*, XII (1946), 337.
[27] Wendell H. Stephenson, "A Half Century of Southern Historical Scholarship," *Journal of Southern History*, XI (1945), 12.
[28] Bassett to William E. Dodd, May 7, 1907, Bassett Papers.

not that of mature and scholarly thinking. All the impulse to stir up something leads to a stage of achievement which a cultured community ought to have passed a generation ago."[29] And to Boyd he also wrote very confidentially on another occasion that it was fear of dissension among the faculty at Trinity College that caused him to leave. It was not a bigger salary at Smith College, nor a lighter teaching load, nor residence in "the most advanced portion of the country intellectually" that were decisive. "I merely wanted a peaceful atmosphere."[30]

Whatever Bassett's reasons for leaving North Carolina, his removal to a northern college deprived the South of the services of an able southern liberal. He remained at Trinity College long enough to indicate that a man of unorthodox views on southern political and social conditions could express himself freely and continue in his professorship. His writings on slavery and the Negro did not add substantially to the literature in those fields, and the tangible results from his preachments were slight if measured by a contemporary yardstick. After the lapse of nearly half a century it is clear that his pioneering efforts were an important landmark in the development of southern liberalism.

[29] Bassett to Boyd, October 11, 1908, Bassett Papers.
[30] Bassett to Boyd, January 2, 1912, Bassett Papers.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND THE NORTH CAROLINA FEDERALISTS

By GILBERT L. LYCAN

John Steele failed to win election to the United States Senate in 1792 largely because his opponents in the North Carolina General Assembly then meeting at New Bern charged that he was the devoted ———— ———— of Hamilton."[1] Steele considered it an honor to have his name connected with that of Hamilton. He opened a vitriolic correspondence with his most outspoken accuser concerning some of the other objections that had been brought against him in the General Assembly,[2] but he ignored the reference concerning his alleged affection for the great Federalist leader.[3]

This episode in the political affairs of the United States in the second decade of its independence is a part of the vast struggle of that age between the Federalists under the leadership of Hamilton and the Republicans under Jefferson. Many of the principles included in that gigantic contest have, by no means, ceased to exist. Any American who desires to understand basically the government of his country in the twentieth century will do well to study with care the problems over which the citizens of the young nation in the 1780's and 1790's labored so strenuously.

This essay is concerned with the Hamilton policies for the nation that attracted the particular attention of the people and leaders of North Carolina. This includes the treatment of the tories, the writing of the federal Constitution and the fierce controversy concerning its ratification, the proposal for the funding of the national debt and the assumption by the national government of the state debts, the excise tax, the establishment of the Bank of the United States, the tariff, Jay's Treaty, the preparations for war with France in 1798 and 1799 and the peace of 1800, and the Federalists reactions to defeat after the election of Jefferson.

The Federalists in North Carolina were nearly always on the defensive—theirs was an uphill fight. Most of the state, when

[1] William R. Davie to John Steele, Dec. 16, 1792, J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, "William Richardson Davie: a memoir followed by his letters with notes by Kemp P. Battle," *James Sprunt Historical Monograph*, no. VII (Chapel Hill, 1907), p. 26. The blank spaces are in the letter.

[2] Steele to Montford Stokes, Jan. 23, 1793, Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, ed., *The Papers of John Steele*, I, 91-94.

[3] Steele to Joseph Winston, Sept. 30, 1793; Wagstaff, *The Papers of John Steele*, I, 98-99.

the nation was young, was such as has often been characterized an "agrarian democracy."[4] The "federal men," later called "Federalists," were decidedly in the minority. Yet most of their leaders were well educated men. Many of them were lawyers. The bright road to power might open to them, it seemed, if they could allay the widespread passions resulting from the Revolution, or outlive those passions,[5] and then seek to appear as the natural leaders of the people and advocates of sound principles of government.[6]

Their courage and persistence, their general sincerity, their brief periods of success, and finally their overwhelming defeat constitute an interesting phase of American history. However much we may congratulate ourselves or our forebears on the victory of democratic forces, we must not overlook the fact that the Federalists were a worthy race of men, especially the Federalists of North Carolina; and the story of their downfall is not without its elements of pathos.

One of the most crucial problems growing out of the Revolutionary War was the disposition of tory property. The conservative groups, in North Carolina as elsewhere in the United States, usually exerted their influence for moderation.[7] This was not a clear, sharp issue between the rich and the poor, nor between the Federalists and the Republicans; but it entered extensively into the party struggles of the 1780's, and in some respects the issues lasted much longer.

It is believed that the tories comprised a larger proportion of the population of North Carolina than of any other state.[8] The Granville district, including almost half the total area of the state, the McCulloh lands, and other extensive areas were owned by persons whom the patriots considered tories, or at least enemies. From 1777 onward these properties became the object of a series of confiscation acts of the General Assembly.[9] The

[4] Delbert Harold Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina, 1789-1816*, p. 62; Louise Irby Trenholme, *The Ratification of the Federal Constitution in North Carolina*, pp. 11-60.

[5] Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX (Chapel Hill, 1910), no. 2, pp. 6-7.

[6] For the social, economic, and geographic background of the Federalist-Republican cleavage, see Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX (Chapel Hill, 1910), no. 2, pp. 11-36.

[7] William E. Dodd, *The Life of Nathaniel Macon*, p. 40.

[8] Robert O. DeMond, *The Loyalists in North Carolina During the Revolution*, p. vii.

[9] Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, pp. 33-37, 206.

peace treaty of 1783 did not bring even the limited relief which that document seemed to call for.

Hamilton's attempt to calm the fury of excited patriots in New York and the arguments he employed[10] are quite similar to the parallel efforts of the conservative leaders in North Carolina. The latter felt a bond of social affinity with the suffering landlords and sensed a need for their support to maintain a firm government in the state. Hamilton was not a man of wealth, but his political tenets impelled him in the same direction. It was obvious to him that whatever tory influence was not annihilated would find it expedient to support a policy of strengthening the national government and opposing the radical forces.[11] In the end the conservatives in all parts of the country were unable to attain more than a partial success in their attempts to procure leniency for the tories.

The effort to establish the more perfect union brought out in North Carolina, as in the whole nation, the expression of many divergent theories concerning the best form of government. It is doubtful whether any of the other twelve states witnessed such a clear, thorough, and deliberate debate on the merits of state rights versus federal union.

North Carolina was represented in the Federal Convention at Philadelphia in 1787 by William Blount, William R. Davie, Alexander Martin, Richard Dobbs Spaight, and Hugh Williamson. From the political ideas these men are known to have held[12] it is not surprising to find that the delegation was frequently on the same side of an issue as Hamilton. Yet they also spoke out for some principles which were sharply opposed to the Hamilton view.[13]

Hugh Williamson participated in the work of the Convention more actively than any other member of the North Carolina delegation. William R. Davie also made some significant contributions so that both these men left their imprint on the Constitution produced by the Convention.

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[10] See especially his "Letters from Phocion," written in 1784; Henry Cabot Lodge, ed., *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, IV, 230-290; and his speech in the New York Assembly, March 21, 1787, *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, VIII, 39.

[11] Nathan Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 170.

[12] Martin was the only radical among them, Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, p. 30.

[13] Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, pp. 77-99, discusses the general subject of their participation in the Convention.

Davie shared with Hamilton a lively suspicion of a "tumultuary assembly";[14] and, according to Madison, he appeared to think "wealth or property" ought to be represented in the Senate.[15] Williamson wished to strengthen the hand of the President by requiring a three-fourths vote of each branch of Congress to override his veto,[16] which inclined toward Hamilton's stand that the President should be given an absolute power of veto over the acts of Congress.[17] The North Carolinians would not follow Hamilton in his desire to confer upon the national government a veto power over all state laws.[18] Davie insisted that "the preservation of the state societies must be the object of the general government,"[19] and Williamson held that "the happiness of the people depended on" the secure existence of state governments.[20]

These ideas expressed in the Federal Convention are fairly illustrative of a number of the most significant positions held by the North Carolina Federalists throughout the period of their subsequent contest with the Republicans. They would work for an efficient, energetic national government, emphasizing the authority of the executive and the least popular branch of the national legislature. But they shared with their constituents a faith in the value of state rights that would yield to no arguments.

An extensive "educational" campaign was waged in the state as the voters of North Carolina prepared to cast their ballots to choose representatives to a convention to consider the adoption of the new federal Constitution.[21] Prominent federal men spent freely of their time and their money in writing and circulating pamphlets.[22] Copies of the *Federalist* essays, written by Hamilton and his colleagues, were industriously distributed.[23]

There are indications that the federals were aiming not merely at a favorable vote on the Constitution but also hoped to use the

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[14] Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, I, 498.
[15] Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, I, 542.
[16] Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, I, 301.
[17] Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, I, 107.
[18] Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, I, 165.
[19] Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, I, 498.
[20] Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, I, 407.
[21] Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, pp. 9-10.
[22] Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, p. 12.
[23] Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, pp. 31-32.

occasion as a means of gaining control of the state government as it would exist in the new union.[24] The chances of success in this effort seemed to brighten as more and more of the other states voted for ratification. This placed the antis in the disadvantageous position of having to oppose temporarily the step of federation which appeared to become increasingly more necessary.

The convention that assembled at Hillsboro in July, 1788, to consider ratification of the Constitution contained elements that were strikingly similar to those encountered by Hamilton in the New York convention that had met a month earlier.[25] It is not likely that Hamilton's *Federalist* arguments had any extensive effect on the Hillsboro meeting, though the most of the delegates must have been acquainted with them. Here the antis held a larger majority than the persons of that political faith had held in the New York convention, and they proved to be consistently unwilling to retreat before the carefully aimed verbal barrage of long-winded federals.[26]

Most of the issues subsequently involved in Hamilton's relationship with the North Carolina Federalists were broached in the convention in one form or another. The lines of future conflict on state and national problems were drawn. The discussions provide the historian an indispensable source for gaining an understanding of the Federalist-Republican contest in North Carolina.

The antis in the convention voiced the stock objection that the delegates at Philadelphia had exceeded their powers in writing a new constitution when they were instructed to revise the Articles of Confederation. Davie gave an eloquent refutation—emphasizing that they carried out what they considered their duty to provide the nation the best possible form of government.[27] His speech, incidentally, proved to be far more useful to students of American government than influential on the convention.

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[24] Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, pp. 9-10.

[25] Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, pp. 151-165, in discussing the Hillsboro convention, tries to divide the federals from the antis along economic, racial, social, political, and professional lines.

[26] Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, pp. 137-145, summarizes the disputations in the convention, but no summary, however ably presented, can be as rewarding to the student of history as a reading of the actual debates as given in Jonathan Elliott, ed., *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 1-252.

[27] Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 16-23.

State rights appeared to be almost an ever-present issue throughout the discussions. Even the nerveless Articles of Confederation had at an earlier time been denounced by some North Carolinians as an undue infringement on state sovereignty.[28] In 1788 the "spirit of particularism"[29] was truly in a virile condition. William Lenoir expressed the fear of many when he stated that the Constitution would not secure the "sovereignty of the states," but was calculated to "melt them down into one solid empire."[30] Whereas Davie and his North Carolina colleagues at Philadelphia had appeared as lusty advocates of state rights when compared to Hamilton or even less federally inclined men, a ponderous majority at Hillsboro sought to pillory them as men who would lightly cast aside the state's hard-won rights of self-government and embrace a national system beset with dangers for all liberty-loving peoples.

The first North Carolina convention, unlike the one in New York, refused to be impressed by the fact that enough other states had already ratified the Constitution to set the new Union in motion. Griffith Rutherford denounced the very mention of the fact as an attempt to "intimidate" the group, and he asserted they should make their decision "as if no state had adopted it."[31]

Other subjects discussed at length were the state debt and the probability of federal action concerning it if the Constitution were ratified, the powers of the national Congress to tax the people, and the question of paper money. Interest in the latter was intensified by the clause in the Constitution forbidding states to emit bills of credit. The record of the debates at Hillsboro is probably the best source available to students today to illustrate the ideas of the 1780's concerning the pros and cons of the issuance of weakly-secured paper money. These subjects are so closely interwoven with North Carolina's reaction to Hamilton's financial plans of the 1790's that, in order to be logical, even if not fully chronological, they are withheld for later discussion in connection with those plans.

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[28] Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, pp. 40-41.
[29] Dodd, *The Life of Nathanial Macon*, p. 51.
[30] Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 202.
[31] Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 15; Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, pp. 124-127.

The delegates at Hillsboro who were opposed to immediate ratification frequently stated they desired not disunion but the acceptance by the nation of a declaration of rights and numerous amendments to the Constitution in order to make the Union one in which they could feel that liberty would be secure. It becomes perfectly clear from a reading of the debates and other source materials that they positively looked forward to eventual ratification by the state.[32]

The long list of proposed amendments was similar to the Virginia proposals.[33] In following this course Willie Jones, the leader of the antis, said he was acting in accordance with Jefferson's advice to Madison.[34] He was unaware of the fact that Jefferson had already changed his view and was advocating that states ratify immediately and propose amendments in the same motion.[35]

The federal men at Hillsboro expressed apprehension lest postponement of ratification might make it subsequently impossible for North Carolina to enter the Union on a basis of equality with the other states.[36] Jones assured them that the amendments could be attended to and ratification effected within eighteen months. He further asserted, however, that he had rather see the state stand aside from the Union for eighteen years than to enter it "in its present defective form."[37] He gave various reasons for believing the other states would welcome North Carolina whenever she chose to federate with them. He was convinced that South Carolina and Georgia would be particularly solicitous of North Carolina's adherence at any time in the future to aid in the defense against the Indians. "The Creek nation," he confided, "would overturn these two states without our aid. They cannot exist without North Carolina."[38]

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[32] One is forced to dismiss for lack of sufficient evidence Dodd's thesis *(The Life of Nathaniel Macon,* pp. 51-54) that Willie Jones and his friends intended to make North Carolina forever independent of the other states, and that following the Hillsboro convention they worked out a plan for attaining economic self-sufficiency for the state.

[33] The proposed Declaration of Rights and the amendments are given by Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution,* IV, 243-247.

[34] Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution,* p. 135.

[35] Jefferson to Col. Carrington, May 27, 1788; Andrew A. Liscomb, ed., *The Writings of Jefferson,* VII (Washington, 1903), 36.

[36] Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution,* IV, 224, 231.

[37] Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution,* IV, 223-226.

[38] Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution,* IV, 226. For the hearty, congratulatory spirit in which North Carolina was later welcomed into the Union by President Washington, see *Annals of Congress,* I, 932, 935, 1052.

In the end the convention did not formally reject the Constitution. It voted that the latter should be amended and then given further consideration.

The period between July, 1788, and the Fayetteville convention of November, 1789, where ratification was finally voted, is of the nature of an anticlimax. The willingness of the other states to accept amendments—the Bill of Rights—met most of the anti-federalist demands. The federal men clearly had the better of the argument. There was some fear of the Indians, the Spaniards, and the British; there was the obvious need for uninterrupted commerce with the other states; many North Carolinians simply disliked separation from the Union; and there was much resentment against appearing in the company of Rhode Island, the only other state that had not entered the new federation.[39]

In spite of the apparent course of thought, the federals were afraid to take victory for granted. In June, 1789, we find Davie explicitly admonishing Madison that any communications from the national government should be addressed to North Carolina as though the latter were a fully sovereign country.[40] Nevertheless the forces favoring ratification won an easy victory at Fayetteville, and North Carolina formally entered the new Union.

A spirit of aloofness continued strong in North Carolina.[41] The people of the state still considered their state legislature "the exponent of their sovereignty."[42] For years the General Assembly continued giving "instructions" to the two Senators it sent to participate in the national government and "recommendations," by which were meant "instructions," to those elected to the federal House of Representatives.[43]

As North Carolina's first delegation to the new Congress prepared, early in 1790, to go to New York, then the seat of the national government, the Congress was in the throes of a raging controversy over the proposal of Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, to fund the unpaid national debt that had resulted

[39] These points are summarized by Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, pp. 197-202. For further information concerning the commercial aspects, see Charles Christopher Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789* (New Haven, 1936), especially p. 168.

[40] William R. Davie Papers, 1778-1817, in the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[41] Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, p. 242.

[42] Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, pp. 21-22.

[43] Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, p. 39n. See also Edwin Mood Wilson, "The Congressional Career of Nathaniel Macon," *James Sprunt Historical Monograph*, no. 2, p. 13.

from the Revolutionary War and to have the national government assume the unpaid state debts. At this point the North Carolina Federalists departed from the course Hamilton was advocating. North Carolina's particularism and the economic needs and inclinations of a predominantly agrarian people caused her political leaders, regardless of party affiliations, to take alarm at Hamilton's sweeping proposals. They greeted the debt funding and assumption plan, the Bank, the tariff, and the excise taxes with all but unanimous disapproval.

Members of Congress in 1790 who were opposed to the debt funding plan had even sought to postpone discussion until the arrival of the North Carolinians.[44] Both friends and foes of the measure knew the representatives from the Old North State would be opposed to it. William Smith, a Federalist from South Carolina and a zealous supporter of Hamilton, regarded the approach of the North Carolina members "an inauspicious event."[45] Samuel Johnston, usually regarded as the leading North Carolina Federalist, wrote in a congratulatory vein to James Iredell that "Bloodworth came to town to-day, which I hope will add one vote to the opposition."[46] Bloodworth was one of the most outstanding leaders of the antifederalist group in North Carolina.

This issue must have been embarrassing to Johnston and his friends. James Galloway, an anti, had predicted in the Hillsboro convention that a national government under the Constitution would try to take over and pay the state debts, and he anticipated with extraordinary accuracy the resulting activity of the greedy speculators in government securities and the losses to honest folk.[47] At that time Davie had emphatically replied that this would be the "last thing" that a national government would attempt to do, for "They have nothing to do with it," he insisted. "The general government cannot possibly interfere with such securities . . . . It will be left to ourselves to redeem them as we please. . . . The gentleman's alarms are groundless."[48]

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[44] Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 252.
[45] Smith to Gabriel Manigault, March 26, 1790, U. B. Phillips, ed., "South Carolina Federalist Correspondence, 1789-1797," *American Historical Review*, XIV (July, 1909), 778.
[46] April 6, 1790, Griffith J. McRee, ed., *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, II (New York, 1857), 286.
[47] Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 190-191.
[48] Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adopton of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 191.

When the members of the North Carolina delegation to Congress began appearing one by one at New York they found the House of Representatives so evenly divided on the assumption controversy that they would hold the balance of power. The House was reluctant to hear, at that particular time, further detailed discussion of the subject. Hugh Williamson, a man of wide experience in legislative chambers, appeared upon the scene as a Representative from North Carolina and strongly insisted on reopening the question. At the first formal mention of the subject after his arrival he was, according to the record, the first member of the House to speak. At first he merely stated that he was opposed to the bill and wished it all left open for discussion after the arrival of the entire delegation from his state.[49] Upon sensing the impatience of the House he requested five minutes of their time in which he stipulated he could demonstrate that federal assumption of state debts would "defraud the state of North Carolina out of half a million of dollars."[50] They agreed to hear him.

His arguments did not prove to be convincing at the time, and they do not sound logical when read today.[51] He was roughly handled, verbally, by Smith of South Carolina and Sedgwick of Massachusetts. His point concerning the half-million fraud was that his state must still redeem that amount of its paper money which had been printed and applied to the payment of a part of the state's debt, and the people of North Carolina would be required to pay their share of the federal taxes to discharge the other states' debts that were to be assumed. He did not successfully refute Smith's counter-contention that inasmuch as North Carolina still owed a large sum, federal assumption would bring her a gain rather than a loss—if the debt were to be paid at all.[52]

Williamson flayed the speculators who upon first hearing of Hamilton's purpose "flew to Carolina, and there bought up securities at 3 s in the pound"; and, apparently with some degree of petulance, he referred to the constitutional amendment unani-

[49] *Annals of Congress*, II, 1478.
[50] *Annals of Congress*, II, 1480.
[51] His speech is in the *Annals of Congress*, II, 1487-1490.
[52] *Annals of Congress*, II, 1500-1505.

mously recommended by the Hillsboro convention that would have precluded such action on the part of Congress.[53]

In retrospect, it is interesting to note that neither Hamilton nor Williamson was entirely frank concerning this subject. In his report to the House, January 14, 1790,[54] Hamilton spoke of the importance of establishing public credit, justice to the states and debtors, and convenience in the mode of repayment. A mere beginner in American history today knows his real motivation was his desire to centralize the national government, bind the financial class loyally to it, create a necessity for Congress to levy taxes, and enhance the prestige of the national government at the expense of the states. The report did not fail to mention these considerations, but they were far from the center of the argument. To have clarified his position fully in this respect would have invited certain defeat.

Similarly, the real conviction of Williamson and his colleagues arose not from consideration of the points they emphasized most heavily in the debates. They had fought hard to establish a national government that could stand on its own feet and execute positive action; but there was a vast gulf between their ideals and those of Hamilton concerning the authority the national government should have. This was the crux of the disagreement. They despaired of human liberty in a strongly centralized nation state, and they did not conceive that the general welfare of the people would be promoted by laws designed to stimulate commercial and industrial developments. They were cool toward landless men of high finance; they dreaded taxes; and they were unwilling to abandon state rights.

Following the famous "bargain" between Hamilton and Jefferson, placing the future capital of the United States on the Potomac, the House of Representatives reversed an earlier vote and accepted assumption of state debts. Every North Carolina Representative was in the minority,[55] and both the state's Senators, Johnston and Hawkins, also voted against the measure.[56]

Hamilton's success in getting this law enacted by Congress

[53] Smith rashly told the House that the Hillsboro convention had not intended that the amendment, if adopted, should have any bearing on such a question as the one under discussion. The amendment may be found in Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 247.

[54] Hamilton, *Works*, II, 227-289.

[55] *Annals of Congress*, II, 1712.

[56] *Annals of Congress*, II, 1016.

led to a violent anti-Federalist reaction in North Carolina.[57] The voters were displeased with their Federalist representatives even though the latter had opposed the plan and took pains to demonstrate the fact. John Steele, who was later appointed Comptroller of the Treasury at Hamilton's recommendation, sent his voting records in Congress and other information to be published in North Carolina to prove that he had opposed assumption at all stages. William B. Grove, a Federalist, helped him get these facts before the public.[58] Hamilton later expressed regrets that his program led to such results in North Carolina.[59]

Hamilton's request that Congress establish a Bank of the United States was an additional injury to the North Carolina Federalists. It was obvious then as now that the Bank, with limitations on its power to issue notes and advance loans, was a part of the perspicacious Secretary's general effort to place America's credit and finance on a firm basis. He always considered domestic credit "the nursery of resource" and therefore of greater importance for the new nation than foreign credit.[60] The people of North Carolina, as of the South in general, were inclined to regard the Bank proposal as too harsh for the non-mercantile classes, sectional in its advantages, if any, and extra-constitutional.[61]

As early as 1787 Hamilton had viewed with alarm the North Carolina propensity for paper money.[62] When the ratification of the Constitution was pending, William R. Davie correctly anticipated objections from the "Friends of *paper money*."[63] Of the four groups of opponents he mentioned, this is the only one he accentuated in his letter by underscoring. In the Hillsboro convention he boldly asserted that one reason favoring ratification was that the Constitution would free the people of his state from "laws which basely warranted and legalized the

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[57] Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, pp. 21-22.

[58] Wagstaff, *Papers of John Steele*, I, 73-77.

[59] William B. Grove to James Hogg, March 11, 1791, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon, John Steele, and William Barry Grove, with Sketches and Notes by Kemp P. Battle," *James Sprunt Historical Monograph*, no. 3, p. 83.

[60] Hamilton to Oliver Wolcott, April 10, 1795, Wolcott MSS. vol. VII, in Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford.

[61] Dodd, *The Life of Nathaniel Macon*, pp. 64-65.

[62] His speech on the revenue system, New York Legislature, 1787, Hamilton, *Works*, II, 215-216.

[63] Davie to Francis Child, Feb. 6, 1788, in W. R. Davie Papers, 1778-1817, in North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

payment of just debts by paper."[64] Apparently the majority was opposed to him, and number twenty-five of the constitutional amendments proposed by the convention would have denied Congress and the federal judiciary power to issue any law or decision to "interfere with any one of the states in the redemption of paper money already emitted."[65]

The Bank proposal might have been viewed differently by the Federalists of North Carolina had not the suggested measure been based, as it necessarily was, on the "implied powers" of Congress. This seemed to fulfill the direct predictions of Willie Jones and his friends that the national government under the Constitution would tend to draw all power unto itself. The North Carolina Federalists in general never became reconciled to the doctrine of implied powers.[66] Even as early as May, 1790, John Steele perceived danger in what he characterized as the "unconstitutional" powers that had already been delegated to President Washington.[67] Davie's bitterness and pessimism of later years derived partly from his observing that even the Republicans had accepted the principle of implied powers.[68]

The Bank was established in spite of the widespread opposition in the South.[69] And, as in the assumption controversy, Hamilton regretted the reaction in North Carolina.[70]

The House of Representatives pigeonholed Hamilton's main request for a higher tariff without debating it. It is clear that the sentiment in North Carolina was opposed to such a law.[71] Yet the North Carolina Representatives did agree later to some tariff increases to obtain national revenue for specific needs. After having voted in Congress for such a law in 1792, William B. Grove expressed his skepticism concerning the benefits of high tariffs in general. He commented that it was doubtful

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[64] Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 20. For further arguments of the point by delegates on both sides of the question, see Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 169-186. Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina*, pp. 163-167, describes the effects of paper money in North Carolina in the 1780's.

[65] Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 247.

[66] Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, p. 45.

[67] John Steele to Joseph Winston, May 22, 1790, Wagstaff, *Papers of John Steele*, I, 60-61.

[68] Davie to Steele, March 13, 1802; "William Richardson Davie: A Memoir followed by His Letters, . . ." *James Sprunt Historical Menograph*, no. VII, pp. 52-53.

[69] John Steele alone among the North Carolina Congressmen voted for the bank bill; *Annals of Congress*, II, 1960.

[70] Jefferson to Monroe, July 10, 1791, in Liscomb, *The Writings of Jefferson, VIII*, 209.

[71] Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, pp. 140-141.

whether in such matters two and two would always make four,[72] meaning that the higher rate might reduce the total amount of trade and thereby cause the revenue to fall short of expectations. It was on Williamson's motion that the House of Representatives struck out of a bill a clause empowering Hamilton to appoint the necessary number of clerks to attend to the collection of customs.[73]

Hamilton's request that Congress enact a high excise tax encountered much the same resistance from North Carolina as that experienced in connection with the assumption of state debts. It violated the idea of state rights common in North Carolina, and it stirred anew the fear of an imperious government.

The antis in the Hillsboro convention had made a determined attack against the power of Congress to levy any kind of tax. Samuel Spencer told the Convention that Congress, if authorized to tax the people, would subvert the state governments, oppress the people's liberty, and bring economic ruin through tax sales.[74] He concluded that "The most certain criterion of happiness that any people can have, is to be taxed by their own immediate representatives." Matthew Locke believed Congressional taxes would "render the state bankrupt."[75] The thought was, perhaps, more vividly expressed by Joseph McDowall: "If the tax gatherers come upon us, they will, like the locusts of old, destroy us."[76]

Among the constitutional amendments proposed by the convention was one—number three—that would have rendered tax or excise laws of Congress unenforceable in any state if the state legislature would enact a measure of its own to raise and deliver to the national government enough money to meet that state's quota according to its proportion of the nation's population.[77]

When the whisky tax bill was before Congress in 1791, both Steele, the Federalist, and Bloodworth, the Antifederalist, op-

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[72] Grove to James Hogg, April 20, 1792, Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, ed., "Letters of William Barry Grove," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, p. 49.
[73] *Annals of Congress*, I, 1587.
[74] Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 75-77; 80-81.
[75] Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 239.
[76] Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 88.
[77] Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 245.

posed it. Their arguments were similar. Steele was apprehensive that the law might increase the "fermentation which the people are in";[78] and Bloodworth called attention to the "universal opposition" in North Carolina to excise taxes, and he "dreaded the consequences of this measure."[79] The unfortunate results of this law indicate that these men understood the common people better than did Hamilton, its sponsor.

Open resistance to the law was more, however, than the North Carolina Federalists would countenance. When the "Whisky Rebellion" occurred they applauded the moves taken to suppress it. Davie praised the "decision and energy of the President";[80] Iredell congratulated Governor Lee of Virginia for the part taken by the governor and the Virginia militia in quelling the uprising;[81] and Johnston apparently struck a partisan note by hoping "the successful measures against the Western Insurgents . . . [would] confirm the friends, and overawe the enemies of the Government."[82]

In the field of foreign relations the North Carolina Federalists were frequently, though not always, on Hamilton's side. Considerations of party politics, the elements of social affinity, and the fear of the tumult of the masses are accountable for the similarity of their views, insofar as they were in agreement. The differences that sometimes appeared were chiefly due to the North Carolinians' preoccupation with domestic problems and their reluctance to become concerned with world affairs.

It is not uncommon to find statements of North Carolina Federalists of the 1790's expressing sentiments of extreme isolation. Upon hearing that Thomas Pinckney had been sent as minister to London, and Gouverneur Morris to Paris, John Steele expressed the opinion that the United States should have "as little to do as possible with foreign politicks [*sic*]." He was afraid "these embassies" would "produce more evil than good."[83] Williamson was interested in "extending foreign commerce" as a support for agriculture,[84] but he hoped the Americans would "never so

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[78] *Annals of Congress*, II, 1848.
[79] *Annals of Congress*, II, 1859.
[80] Davie to Iredell, Dec. 15, 1794, McRee, *Iredell*, II, 431.
[81] Iredell to Governor Henry Lee, Dec. 26, 1794, McRee, *Iredell, II*, 431-432.
[82] Johnston to Iredell, Dec. 10, 1794, McRee, *Iredell*, II, 431.
[83] Steele to Winston, Jan. 15, 1792, Wagstaff, *Papers of John Steele*, I, 82.
[84] Comments in the House of Representatives, Nov. 19, 1792, *Annals of Congress*, III, 693.

far lose sight of their own interest as to burden themselves with the expense of a navy."[85]

When the Nootka Sound controversy of 1790 between Spain and Great Britain set Hamilton's pen in motion enumerating for President Washington the advantages the United States might attain by clever diplomacy,[86] Steele referred to the episode with abhorrence and stated that the advantages that could be gained from "a state of neutrality" were so great that no consideration would cause him to consent to its abandonment.[87]

Grove, a Federalist who proved to be unusually successful at the polls, continued as a Representative of North Carolina in Congress throughout the period of Anglo-French strife of the 1790's. Frequently he assumed a tone of aloofness. At one time he commented casually that according to latest reports the Europeans were "as usual Fighting away like Mad."[88] He was pro-French in sentiment, yet he hoped the French and British navies would destroy "each others Floating War Machines down to a moderate number."[89]

When the American grievances against British maritime practices began to multiply, some of the Federalist leaders of North Carolina took a more advanced position than Hamilton in condemning the British and demanding redress. To obviate the evil of impressment Williamson proposed a tonnage duty on all American ships with a drawback of ninety per cent for each ship manned by a specified number of Americans.[90]

As the situation grew far more ominous in 1794 Grove was willing to consider a federal land tax in order to keep the nation from being left in a defenseless position.[91] Grove was a member of a committee in Congress that was looking for new forms of revenue. The initiative rested with Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the burden was heavy. Hamilton "ap-

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[85] House of Representatives, May 10, 1790, *Annals of Congress*, II, p. 1560.
[86] Hamilton to Washington, Sept. 15, 1790, Hamilton, *Works*, IV, 313-342.
[87] Steele to Winston, July 20, 1790, Wagstaff, *Papers of John Steele*, I, 71.
[88] "Letters of Nathaniel Macon, John Steele, and William Barry Grove, with Sketches and Notes by Kemp P. Battle," *James Sprunt Historical Monograph*, no. 3 (Chapel Hill, 1902), p. 115.
[89] Grove to Hogg, Jan. 21, 1795, Wagstaff, "Letters of William Barry Grove," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, pp. 56-57.
[90] House of Representatives, Nov. 19, 1792, *Annals of Congress*, III, 691-695. This was before the actual outbreak of war between France and Britain, and at that stage Williamson was assuming that the British captains would not impress native born Americans.
[91] Grove to Steele, April 2, 1794, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon, John Steele, and William Barry Grove, with Sketches and Notes by Kemp B. Pattle," *James Sprunt Historical Monograph*, no. 3, p. 110.

peared cursedly Mortified" when he came before the committee with recommendations.[92]

It was Hamilton's counsel, primarily, that guided the nation through the crisis. Washington accepted his urgent advice to send John Jay to London as a special emissary. His other recommendations—to create a naval and military force, search for additional revenue, confer upon the President special emergency powers, and avoid undue provocation of the British pending the outcome of the Jay negotiations—were accepted in part.[93]

Grove alone of the whole North Carolina delegation to the House of Representatives supported the Hamilton view in seeking to defeat a resolution calling for retaliation against British commerce.[94] When the House came to vote on non-intercourse with Great Britain—which Hamilton considered "inconsistent with [the] spirit of negotiation"[95]—all the North Carolina members voted with the majority in favor of the resolution.[96]

Within the populace of North Carolina the national government approached popularity as the country seemed about to go to war with Great Britain.[97] This was partly because the people of the state felt the same type of resentment as did other Americans toward the offensive British policy, but this feeling was intensified in North Carolina because of the prevailing pro-French sentiment. The General Assembly met and arranged for calling 7,331 militiamen—North Carolina's quota of the total of 80,000 which Congress had requested of the nation.

For a moment it seemed as though the Federalists also would gain popularity because of the situation.[98] At first thought this would appear illogical, for a war would place America on the side of the French. But, on the other hand, a war was expected to strengthen national solidarity, which had long been advocated by the Federalists; and the necessities of war were expected to deal a severe blow to the Antifederalist principles of state rights.

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[92] Grove to Steele, April 2, 1794, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon, John Steele, and William Barry Grove, with Sketches and Notes by Kemp P. Battle," *James Sprunt Historical Monograph*, no. 3, p. 109.

[93] Hamilton's position was clearly set forth in his long letter to President Washington, April 14, 1794; Hamilton, *Works*, V, 97-115.

[94] Grove to Steele, April 2, 1794, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon, John Steele, and William Barry Grove, with Sketches and Notes by Kemp P. Battle," *James Sprunt Historical Monograph*, no. 3, p. 102. In this letter Grove says Gillespie, another Congressman from North Carolina, at last came over to Grove's point of view—apparently after the controversy was practically over.

[95] Hamilton's views were given to the House in a speech made by his friend William Smith of South Carolina, April 14, 1794, *Annals of Congress*. IV, 582-585.

[96] *Annals of Congress*, IV, 602.

[97] Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, p. 12.

[98] James Iredell to James Wilson, Nov. 24, 1794, McRee, *Iredell*, II, 429.

Such hopes of the Federalists had not long to flourish. When Jay had completed his work at London and the terms of his treaty were revealed in a secret session of the Senate and immediately relayed to the outside world by Senator Pierce Butler and perhaps others, North Carolina gave forth a howl of protest. Throughout the state public meetings were held at which the people expressed their denunciations of the treaty.[99] Nowhere in the state was a "single influential voice . . . raised in its defense."[100]

Apparently North Carolina showed a more determined opposition than any other state. The nation as a whole was disappointed to find that Britain had not promised to cease all her objectionable practices injurious to American shipping; but in North Carolina the treaty was extraordinarily odious because it was feared that Article IX, extending to the nationals of each country reciprocally certain rights of land ownership, might have been designed to revive the question of ownership of the vast Granville lands taken over by the state during the Revolutionary War.

Nathaniel Macon, a Republican Congressman from North Carolina, said with reference to this point that if the article meant what some people thought it did, it would involve the title to half the land of the state and would be of greater importance to North Carolina than the Declaration of Independence.[101] James Holland, also from North Carolina, added that any such interpretation of the treaty would "certainly be resisted by force."[102]

This acrimonious criticism of the treaty was unavoidably harmful to the cause of Federalism in North Carolina. It had been known that Jay's mission was a Federalist project. Hamilton's vigorous support of Jay and the treaty accentuated the obloquy.[103]

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[99] Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, p. 67.

[100] Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, pp. 26-26.

[101] House of Representatives, April 29, 1796, *Annals of Congress*, V, 1281.

[102] House of Representatives, April 30, 1796, *Annals of Congress*, V, 1291.

[103] The reasons Hamilton gave for supporting the treaty were, essentially, that it brought some amelioration of British practices, that other provisions, such as the evacuation by the British of the northwest posts and the arbitration of several pending disputes, were highly beneficial to the United States, and it would be better to leave some injuries unrequited than to plunge into a war under the unfavorable circumstances then existing. Hamilton to Washington, July 9, 1795, Hamilton, *Works*, V, 138-181.

Both North Carolina's Senators, Bloodworth and Martin, opposed ratification of the treaty.[104] Grove was the only member of the state's delegation to the House of Representatives that voted for the execution of the treaty,[105] and even he had voted with all the others from his state in favor of the controversial resolution requesting President Washington to lay before the House the papers relating to the negotiations.[106]

The leading Federalists in North Carolina, such as Johnston and Davie, were disgusted at the tendency of many of their political opponents to include in their stringent criticism the national government as well as the provisions of the treaty. Johnston reproached those persons whose chief happiness seemed to arise from seeing "everyone distressed and disconcerted with the state of public affairs."[107] To a similar end Davie employed some of his most exquisite invective. To Iredell he wrote that the "astounding activity" of the Republicans had created the "most delicate" crisis since the organization of the federal government, and he added that "the treatment of Mr. Jay is a satire upon humanity; no calculation on the baseness of Human Nature would have produced so shameless a degree of ingratitude."[108]

The state of limited hostilities between the United States and France at the end of the 1790's brought Alexander Hamilton to the last summit of power in American affairs and presented the North Carolina Federalists their last bright hope for a long period of political predominance in their state. The situation appeared to be as favorable from the point of view of their party welfare as if it had been built to their own order and specifications.

The North Carolinians' general antipathy toward France which developed during this period is a monument to the abysmal failure of the government under the Tricolor in its diplomatic relations with the new American republic. The American Revolution and its aftermath left in the state a huge reservoir of ill will toward Great Britain. This feeling was freshened by the new disputes which Jay tried to settle and by the unsatisfactory terms of the treaty he negotiated. The converse of this was the emphatic

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[104] *Annals of Congress*, IV, 862.
[105] House of Representatives, April 30, 1796, *Annals of Congress*, V, 1291.
[106] *Annals of Congress*, V. 759.
[107] Johnston to Iredell, August 15, 1795, McRee, *Iredell*, II, 453.
[108] Sept. 4, 1795, W. R. Davie Papers, 1778-1817, in North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

pro-French sentiment, which prior to the excesses of the French Revolution permeated practically every element of population in the state not excluding the Federalist leaders themselves. Two years after the Jay treaty became the law of the land the people of North Carolina were literally fighting mad, not at Britain but at Britain's most formidable enemy. America's ally in the struggle for independence had so quickly come to be recognized as a threat to her very life as a sovereign nation.

French depredations against American shipping and other indignities against the American people fell with particular weight upon North Carolina. French privateers heaped special insults upon the ports, ships, and men of the state.[109] Nor did it escape notice that Charles C. Pinckney, from the neighboring state of South Carolina, was rudely rebuffed by the French when he, as an American minister, sought to open amicable negotiations with them. The people were further perturbed when reports circulated that the French privateering vessels off the coast were being manned by Negroes and mulattoes.[110] Hamilton's solemn assertion that "there is no choice left but between resistance and infamy"[111] was paralleled in North Carolina by those who declared that rather than see their country submit to the ignominious French treatment they would fight as long as they were "able to draw a sword or present a musket."[112]

Since the coming of Genêt in 1793 the Republicans had tried to make political capital of their pro-French stand. Many of the Federalists had held the French in high esteem, but their party's support of the Jay treaty led the nation to consider them pro-British. Now as the nation rose to do battle with the French, the Republicans lost ground.

In the North Carolina elections of 1798 the victory of the Federalists was substantial—even though the spirit of animosity toward France had not yet reached its zenith. Davie was elected governor. The Federalists carried six of the state's ten congressional districts. Republicans as well known as Willie Jones and Timothy Bloodworth were rejected at the polls.[113] The Feder-

[109] Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, pp. 83-85.
[110] Grove to Steele, June 7, 1799, Wagstaff, *Papers of John Steele*, I, 169.
[111] In his essay "The Stand," March 10, 1798, Hamilton, *Works*, VI, 264.
[112] James Read to Davie, Nov. 18, 1798, W. R. Davie Papers, 1778-1817, in North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
[113] Dodd, *The Life of Nathaniel Macon*, p. 129.

alists gained a majority in both houses of the General Assembly, though the majority in the lower house was small and tenuous.[114] A Republican, Jesse Franklin, was elected to the United States Senate because the incumbent, Alexander Martin, had voted for the Alien and Sedition Acts,[115] which were very unpopular in North Carolina.[116]

Governor Davie, whose mettle had been proved during the Revolutionary War, was appointed brigadier general in the provisional army that was being prepared for a war with France. Washington accepted command of the army with the understanding that he was not to leave Mount Vernon until the day should arrive for him to lead the army into combat. The chief responsibility for getting an army into shape was conferred upon Hamilton, who was designated inspector-general and was given the rank of major general.

There can be no doubt that all three of these great men, notwithstanding their sincere devotion to the country, used their new authority in a manner to consolidate the strength of the Federalist party. It would probably be impossible to ascertain the extent to which this action was motivated by mere partisan considerations and the extent to which it is attributable to their genuine belief that the obstructionist tactics of some of the Republicans were subversive and dangerous to the nation.

In North Carolina as elsewhere in the country some of the Republicans denounced the government's policy of firmness toward France. Jefferson did all he could to oppose any real preparations for war.[117] Calling the Republicans the "peace party" and the Federalists "war hawks,"[118] he avowed the former would "oppose all external preparations."[119] Congressman Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, in 1797, before the gravest aspects of the situation had arisen, offered a resolution forbidding American warships to operate outside American waters.[120]

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[114] Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, p. 30.
[115] Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, p. 33.
[116] Hamilton's support of these acts stands as one of his greatest political mistakes.
[117] See especially his letter to Madison, June 22, 1797; Liscomb, *Writings of Jefferson*, IX, 407-408.
[118] He used the term "war hawks" in letters to Madison, April 26, 1798, and June 21, 1798, Liscomb, *Writings of Jefferson*, X 33 and 51 respectively.
[119] Jefferson to Peter Carr, April 12, 1798, Liscomb, *Writings of Jefferson*, X, 30.
[120] *Annals of Congress*, VII, 366.

Washington wrote to Davie confidentially telling him that in choosing the officers around whom the North Carolina portion of the army should be built he should see to it that "all violent opposers of the Government, and French Partisans should be avoided; or they will disseminate the poison of their principles in the Army, and split, what ought to be a band of brothers, into parties."[121] Washington had no personal political ambitions at this late period of life, and he was opposed to political parties; yet he was so alarmed at the stand taken by the leading Republicans that it became easy for the other military leaders to utilize his mighty prestige to add recruits to the Federalist party while building the army.

James McHenry, the Secretary of War, asked Davie to select from North Carolina ten or twelve captains, twenty-four lieutenants, and twenty-four ensigns. These, he said, should be men "whose attachment to the Government is unequivocal" and who had never shown "a decided inclination toward France, or French principles."[122]

Davie wrote to his Federalist friends in various parts of the state requesting them to nominate men for the commissions. In one letter, for instance, he said he wanted a captain from Lincoln County, a lieutenant from Burke, a lieutenant from Wilkes, an ensign from Rutherford, and an ensign from Buncombe."[123] Some of his correspondents were unconscionably slow in replying, but the tenor of the letters passing both ways shows that minute and deliberate consideration was given to the political ideas and affiliations of every candidate considered.[124] Other qualities such as courage, character, and ability were also emphasized.

Could any party have conceived a plan better calculated to perpetuate its power? There was a Federalist administration at the nation's capital; the military leaders, Hamilton and McHenry, were zealous party men, and the commander, Washington, was assaulting the ideas of their Republican enemies; and key Federalist governors and others were selecting officers who they

[121] Letter Dated Oct. 24, 1798; John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, vol. XXXVI, p. 516.

[122] McHenry to Davie, Sept. 12, 1798, W. R. Davie Papers, 1778-1817, in North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[123] To Maj. Genl. Smith, et al, Sept. 27, 1798, W. R. Davie Papers, 1778-1817, in North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. This letter is unsigned, but is obviously Davie's letter.

[124] Most of the letters of this nature are to be found in the Governor's Papers, State Series, vol. XXII, in the North Carolina State Department of History and Archives, Raleigh.

hoped would, in the future, be key Federalist men in their respective counties. With such a combination of power and potentialities, could the party ever de defeated? Ah, how fallible are man's most carefully laid plans; and how delusive, at times, our fairest prospects of happiness!

The French government notified President Adams that their country did not wish war with the United States and was willing to negotiate a settlement of pending disputes. Adams had never expected a land war,[125] and he came to perceive grave perils in the creation of an army that was largely under the leadership of his deadly political rival, Alexander Hamilton.[126] Early in 1799 he decided to try for peace according to the French suggestion,[127] and Governor Davie was chosen as one of the three peace envoys.[128]

The peace movement demoralized the army[129] and brought general consternation to the Federalists. McHenry could see only "rocks and quicksand" ahead for the party "and the Administration in the attitude of a sinking ship."[130] This was by no means the only reason for the Republican victory in the national election of 1800, but it made a significant contribution toward that denouement.

Adams' decision to open peace negotiations threw the North Carolina Federalists into a panic—more especially since their leader, Davie, was removed from the scene.[131] The successful outcome of the negotiations surely promoted the welfare of the nation and enhanced the historical reputation of the negotiators and the President who sent them. But the cause of the Federalists in North Carolina, as in the nation, was never to be retrieved.

In the gloom of defeat the Federalists attempted to make use of the public press as a sheet anchor to avoid complete inundation until a fairer day might dawn. Hamilton and his associates in New York established the *Evening Post* in the spring of 1801, "the blackest season the Federalists of New York had yet

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[125] Adams to McHenry, Oct. 22, 1798, Charles Francis Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams, VIII.* (Boston, 1853), 613.
[126] Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 387.
[127] *American State Papers; Foreign Relations*, II (Washington, 1832), 239.
[128] The governor's historic commission is retained in the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
[129] George Gibbs, ed., *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams*, II (New York, 1846), 236.
[130] McHenry to Hamilton, Nov. 10, 1799, Hamilton MSS, Library of Congress, vol. LX.
[131] Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, p. 36.

known."[132] In the following year Davie and his friends founded the Raleigh *Minerva* to propagate Federalist views,[133] and in 1803 the South Carolina Federalists established the *Charleston Courier* as a "vigorous party newspaper."[134]

The leading Federalists throughout the land came to the dreary conclusion that the Republican victory, unless soon reversed, would bring general disaster to the nation. They thought Jefferson's election meant far more than a political defeat for themselves and their party. From the depths of their hearts they were convinced that a continuation of the Republicans in power would lead to an overthrow of society and to bloody excesses such as France knew in the darkest days of her Revolution.

"A higher tone of Jacobinism" was the phrase used to describe the spirit of the session of the General Assembly at Raleigh as early as November, 1800.[135] Hamilton was deadly serious when he wrote to his friend Gouverneur Morris that the Constitution, for which he said he had sacrificed so much and labored so diligently, was proving to be only "a frail and worthless fabric."[136] He believed the nation faced a calamity in "no very remote period."[137] His life, during the brief remainder of his earthly existence, was marked by this sad conviction. The aged Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina informed John Adams that he had long been convinced that "our planet [is] a mere bedlam," and that the "ravings of our . . . times" confirmed the belief. "Look round our whirling globe, my friend, where you will," he advised, "east, west, north, or south, where is the spot in which there are not many thousands of these mad lunatics?"[138] By 1802 the once powerful William R. Davie had come to believe that the nation's future was so dark that it would never again "*see one clear day;* and the highest graduation of our happiness will be marked by the observation, "there are flying clouds,' "[139]

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[132] Allan Nevins, *The Evening Post; A Century of Journalism* (New York, 1922), p. 9.
[133] Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, p. 38.
[134] John Harold Wolfe, "Jeffersonian Democracy in South Carolina," *James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*, vol. 24, no. 1, p. 182.
[135] William Polk to John Steele, Nov. 28, 1800, Wagstaff, *Papers of John Steele*, I, 190.
[136] Letter dated Feb. 27, 1802, Hamilton, *Works*, X, 425.
[137] Robert Troup to Rufus King, April 9, 1802, Charles R. King, ed., *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, IV, (New York, 1897), 104.
[138] Gadsden to Adams, March 11, 1801, Adams, *Works*, IX, 579.
[139] Davie to Steele, Jan. 7, 1802, Hamilton. "William Richardson Davie: A Memoir followed by His letters . . . ," *James Sprunt Historical Monograph*, no. VII, p. 50.

OPERATION RECONSTRUCTION: A REPORT ON SOUTHERN UNIONIST PLANTERS

FRANK WYSOR KLINGBERG

The battlefields of the Civil War have served as training grounds not only for our own military men but also for foreign observers. The war strategy of Lee and Jackson, the counter-strategy of McClellan, Meade, or Grant were, perhaps, as well understood in Tokyo and Berlin as in Washington or London. But it remains for the historian to study in similar detail the tactics of winning the peace: of the southern civilian under invasion, occupation, and reconstruction. In terms of men and women, rather than exclusively of policy, the records of the Southern Claims Commission reveal some of the reasons for the failure to rebuild, within the southern states, a just and unembittered peace.

The Lincoln-Johnson plan of Reconstruction was, as Professor James G. Randall has pointed out, "forthright and practical. It included overthrow of the army and government that warred against the United States, abolition of slavery (though some of Lincoln's statements seemed to imply a concession here), pardon for the past, loyalty for the future, reunion, amnesty for Confederates, return of confiscated property, and home rule for the South."[1] This plan was clearly founded on the theory, with much fact to support it, that public opinion in the South was divided into three groups; the vocal minority who had spearheaded the whole secession movement; the bewildered majority who opposed but finally joined in the war; and another minority who, for a variety of reasons, resisted war as a solution throughout the days of the Confederacy. Presidential reconstruction would, then, consolidate the latent Unionism and utilize proved Unionists in reuniting the South with the nation. For, as Lincoln wrote as early as November, 1862, "To send a parcel of Northern men here as Representatives, elected, as would be understood, (and perhaps really so,) at the point of the bayonet, would be disgraceful and outrageous; and were I a member of Congress here, I would vote against admitting any such men to a seat."[2]

[1] James G. Randall, "Lincoln's Peace and Wilson's," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, XLII (1943), 226.

[2] A. Lincoln to the Hon. George F. Shepley, military governor of Louisiana, Washington, November 27, 1862, reproduced in J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, 1937), op. p. 700.

The fact that such potential leadership did exist within the states lately in insurrection is abundantly documented by the evidence accumulated by the Southern Claims Commission in the 1870's.[3] The Hon. J. Madison Wells, who had served as governor of Louisiana from November, 1865, until the Federal military occupation under Sheridan in April, 1867, is a conspicuous example of a Unionist in office. Wells had made no secret of his Union sympathies during the war and, after a careful examination of his record, the Claims Commissioners concluded: "There is no doubt of his loyal adherence to the govt. of the United States throughout the war."[4] Nor was his Unionism of the passive type. An old-line Whig and later a Douglas man, he had voted against secession candidates for the state convention in 1860. For a year he had succeeded in killing any appropriations in his parish for military purposes. "After all peaceable means resorted to . . . were exhausted," Wells told the Commissioners, "I then resorted to violence. I fought them wherever I could. Whenever they destroyed my property I would attempt to catch their wagons and wagon trains and kill their men." A fugitive from the Confederate authorities because of his "annoyance to them in the movement of their troops," he organized resistance in the pine woods.[5] To consolidate the dissenting portions of his community he had circulated the word that he was going to raise the Union flag in the town of Alexandria.[6] When his son, a Confederate conscript, deserted and joined the jayhawkers, Wells was accused of supplying these guerillas "with the sinews of war."[7] So effective were his efforts that he was forced to leave the country, and a purse was made up by his Unionist friends to assist him to escape.[8]

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[3] The full title of this commission was Commissioners of Claims under the act of Congress of March 3, 1871, but it was more familiarly known as the Southern Claims Commission, the Commissioners of Claims, or the Claims Commissioners, titles which are used in this paper.

[4] Summary Report of the Commissioners of Claims in the case of J. Madison Wells, Rapides, Louisiana, Southern Claims Commission claim No. 19675 [claimed $450,658.80, allowed $4,080.00 in 1880] included in the records of the Court of Claims, Congressional Number 435, Justice Department, National Archives. Hereafter the claims will be identified by their Commission number as follows: S.C.C. No. 19675.

[5] Testimony of J. Madison Wells, in Washington, March 24, 1880, in S.C.C. No. 19675.

[6] Testimony of Dr. John P. Davidson, in the case of J. Madison Wells, Rapides, Louisiana, S.C.C. No. 19675. Davidson said, "some of his friends feeling very certain that if Wells attempted a feature of that kind he would be killed, sent him word . . . that it would be at the peril of his life if he attempted it."

[7] Testimony of Dr. A. Cockerille, physician and planter, taken in Louisiana by Enos Richmond, special agent for the commission, and submitted on February 20, 1880. In S.C.C. No. 19675.

[8] Testimony of Nelson Taylor, keeper of a livery stable and U. S. Mail contractor, Rapides Parish, Louisiana. Taylor himself had contributed to the purse along with M. R. Ariel, John Bogan, Jr., Thomas McNeil, and H. T. Burgess. In S.C.C. No. 19675.

With the arrival of the Union army, he returned home to offer his services and in December, 1863, went to Washington where he conferred with Lincoln and with Chase.[9] Wells's administration as governor (1865 to 1867) was a struggle for the re-assertion of the rights of southerners, as they were a part of the realities of reunion. Especially to the point in showing the possibilities of the Lincoln-Johnson plan of reconstruction is the fact that he, an active Unionist, was elected with the support of Confederate veterans who, under President Johnson's proclamation of amnesty, voted in Louisiana in 1865.[10] Wells's comment to the Commissioners on the Radical Republican policy which removed him from office may be given here for its eloquent brevity. "We had some difficulty about the levee," he testified on May 26, 1875. "I thought that as Governor of the State I had the right to appoint the levee Commission. General Sheridan appointed three Gentlemen himself & we differed and he removed me. . . . After his removal of me Congress gave the power to the Commanding General to remove Governors."[11]

The career of Governor Wells is but one example from that brief period following the war, before the vindictives gained control of Congress, when genuine statesmanship might have restored the Union politically and psychologically as well as physically. Important recent studies show that the majority of men, South and North, were satisfied that the questions of slavery and the right of secession had been settled.[12] Many of them had opposed war as a solution in 1861, had waited long for the peace, and now, war-weary, were anxious only to return to the plow and the mill. Immediate and effective reunion was blocked, however, by Lincoln's death which strengthened the Radical party with its program designed to punish and reform the South. At its worst this program was vindictive and corrupt. At its best

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[9] Summary Report of the Commissioners of Claims in S.C.C. No. 19675.

[10] For the details of this election see Roger W. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana: a Social History of White Farmers and Laborers During Slavery and After* (University, Louisiana, 1939), pp. 210-212.

[11] Wells was presumably referring to the supplemental reconstruction act of March 23, 1867, which divided the South into five military districts and placed the federal commanders in charge of all political activities.

[12] Recent studies which reveal the extent of this attitude in the South are Frank L. Owsley, "Defeatism in the Confederacy," *North Carolina Historical Review*, III (1926), 446-456; Lillian Adele Kibler, *Benjamin F. Perry, South Carolina Unionist* (Durham, 1946); Charles W. Ramsdell, *Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy* (Baton Rouge, 1944); and Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Plain People of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge, 1943). The political efforts for unity and the Radical counter-tactics which sabotaged them are discussed in Howard K. Beale, *The Critical Year, a Study of Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (New York, 1930), and James G. Randall, *Lincoln and the South* (Baton Rouge, 1946).

it was difficult if not impossible to carry out in a hostile environment. Thus for the historian there is posed the complex problem of discovering to what extent reconstruction created the "solid South" as a political unit while reducing the area to what has been called a colonial status.[13]

In the case of such Unionists as Governor Wells, the doctrine of constructive treason held that they were equally guilty, with the most confirmed secessionist, of rebellion against the government. Each man had to prove his loyalty before the Southern Claims Commission, not by a single act, but by his resistance to Confederate taxes, bond issues, and conscription measures. By 1871, when the Claims Commission began their investigations, the Unionist had been thrice tested. First, he had been subject to social pressure and to the severe penalties of Confederate security measures. Secondly, with the arrival of the Union armies, his property, in common with that of the most confirmed Confederate, usually fell prey to the troops. Finally his leadership in the community and any property he had managed to retain were usually liquidated during the Reconstruction period prior to 1871. Because the planter Unionist has received less attention, in some respects than the "Loyalist" groups in the border states and the Appalachian highlands, he is featured in this study.

The history of the claims themselves is part of the story of assurance followed by repudiation. They grew out of federal provisions during the war designed to seek out Unionists to assist the federal armies as they advanced into the Confederacy, and sometimes to assist in setting up temporary governments in occupied areas. In 1862, for instance, the Quartermaster General ordered that quartermaster goods be purchased from the southern countryside. Certificates of the kind and qualities of such supplies were ordered to be issued, "payable at once, if known to be the property of loyal men, [or] . . . payable after the suppression of the rebellion on proof that the owner has not given

[13] B. B. Kendrick, "The Colonial Status of the South," in *The Journal of Southern History*, VIII (1942), 3-22. A commentary on the period by a modern political figure in the South appears in Ellis Gibbs Arnall, *The Shore Dimly Seen* (Philadelphia, 1946), p. 98. Arnall writes: "Reconstruction brought to the South a good many cranks, who wanted to provide every rural Negro with forty acres and a mule; it would have been a good thing, indeed, if this had been done and the Negroes set on their feet as self-sustaining units in Southern economy; it might have been done if it had not threatened both to cost money and to interfere with the systematic looting of the section."

aid or comfort to the enemies of the United States after the date of receipt.[14] In actual practice certificates were more commonly issued than cash. Sometimes these vouchers followed the prescribed printed forms, sometimes receipt of goods was acknowledged on fragmentary scraps of paper, more often no receipt at all was given.

As the war dragged on, vindictiveness grew. On July 4, 1864, two days after passing the severe Wade-Davis bill, Congress acted to repudiate these obligations to southern Unionists by nullifying any claim presented by any citizen of a state "lately in insurrection."[15] Not until seven years later, on March 3, 1871, when congressional reconstruction had spent some of its fury, were these claims acknowledged. On that date a Congress which included for the first time representatives from all of the southern states provided for a commission to review and test the claims. The three Commissioners, appointed by Grant in 1871, held to the Radical ideology that continued residence in the South was evidence of disloyalty to be disproved only by the most positive proof of active Unionism.[16] The review itself, an exhaustive process, was not completed for all cases until 1880.[17] Thus, as one attorney charged in 1873, "for some nine long years the Govt . . . practically repudiated its promises to the Union Planters on the Red River who had given up their all to feed the distressed Army under Genl. Banks after his retreat from Pleasant Hills."[18]

The questioning of the claimants and their witnesses was recorded by short-hand reporters who preserved the idiom of each participant. Entered as evidence are such valuable historical data as copies of wills, deeds, and maps to establish title to lands; excerpts from plantation accounts; receipts and letters to show supplies on hand; and numerous sworn affidavits regarding the opinions and activities of the individuals concerned. Indeed,

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[14] *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1899), series II, vol. II, p. 806.

[15] *Statutes at Large*, XIII, 381-382.

[16] Asa Owen Aldis, of Vermont, was president of the Commission and took an active part in all of its proceedings. The other two members had both served in Congress: Orange Ferriss, of New York, in the House during the 40th and 41st Congresses, and James B. Howell, of Iowa, in the Senate during the 41st Congress.

[17] For the details of the Commission's procedure, see Frank Wysor Klingberg, "The Southern Claims Commission: a Postwar Agency in Operation," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXII (1945), 195-214; and "The Case of the Minors: A Unionist Family within the Confederacy," in *The Journal of Southern History*, XIII (1947), 27-45.

[18] Rodrick McKee to the Third Auditor, Treasury Department, Washington, April 5, 1873, in the case of William Baily, Rapides, Louisiana, S.C.C. No. 980 [claimed $104,492.40, allowed $45,161.72 in 1874], General Accounting Office files. McKee's full letter outlines the series of repudiations which befell Bailey's claims as he tried to collect the money promised when the goods were taken.

if the full documental story contained in the 22,298 claims were reproduced in print, it would probably be as extensive, and perhaps as important, as the 130-volume *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.*

Who were the prominent southerners who would or could submit to such a test of their loyalty to the Union throughout the war? The case of J. Madison Wells has already been mentioned. Similar claims came from all sections of the South and represented all classes of Society. Family folklore in the South, with its accounts of a dissenting uncle, or cousin, confirms the fact that, even in the face of what was considered extreme provocation from the North, disagreement over secession not only split sections of the Confederacy but cut down the middle of some of the region's proudest families.

Mrs. Anna Fitzhugh, appearing to support her claim for wood taken from the family estate of Ravenswood, spoke sadly of her last conversation before the war with Robert E. Lee, a nephew by marriage. On the day, a Sunday before he left for Richmond to take command of the Virginia forces, Lee called for her at Ravenswood to take her to church. They discussed secession and, according to Mrs. Fitzhugh, Lee was " . . . as much distressed about it personally as I was. I don't think that he had made up his mind what he would do."[19] Regarding her own opinions, she told the Commissioners, "I felt sympathy for my own people . . . for they were my friends. . . [but] from the beginning to the end I never felt a moments hesitation or change. . . . As large as this country was, I thought it better to have it under one government than under two. . . . I didn't dream matters would come to the point they did. I thought our people had too much sense to go to war about such a matter." Mrs. Fitzhugh remained at Ravenswood, within the Union lines, throughout the war. Colonel John S. Mosby was an interesting witness to her reputation as a Unionist. In a later hearing of her case before

[19] Testimony of Mrs. Anna Fitzhugh before the Commission, Alexandria, Virginia, January 3, 1873, in S.C.C. No. 14013 [claimed $375,000, disallowed in 1875], General Accounting Office files. Mrs. Fitzhugh's loyalty to the Union was well established, but the claim was disallowed since the Commissioners found that she occupied Ravenswood only as a "tenant for life" by the terms of the will of her husband, William Fitzhugh. The wood taken from the estate was, therefore, considered to belong to Mary Custis Lee, the wife of General Robert E. Lee, to whom the estate would revert on Mrs. Fitzhugh's death. Since Mrs. Lee was clearly disloyal she was not, according to the rules of the Commission, entitled to any compensation. In this case, as in many others, the decision of the Commission was later tested in the Court of Claims. For the details of this procedure in the Fitzhugh case see Court of Claims. Cong. No. 20, Justice Department, National Archives.

the Court of Claims, he testified that he, with two of his men, had slept one night among the pines on the estate, but had decided not to seek breakfast at Mrs. Fitzhugh's house because, he said, "I understood she was on the Union side . . . a great many of my men were from Fairfax County, and I heard it from them."[20]

Several relatives of another prominent Virginian, John A. Seddon, the Confederate Secretary of War, also appeared before the Commission with their claims. His cousin, Hugh Morson, who had been an Assistant Surgeon in the United States Navy for ten years prior to the war, described the breach between the cousins over the right of secession which had not healed ten years later. "I was more intimate with him than a brother before the war," Dr. Morson told the Commissioners in 1872. But he added, "I have not seen him since 1861, when we parted after an intimate talk. . . . Letters pass through my wife when anything comes to the family."[21] Filed as evidence in Morson's claim is a handwritten letter from Seddon, regretting his cousin's persistent Unionist activities within the Confederacy.

As to the Unionism of the Misses Fannie and Mary Scott, closely related both to Seddon and to General Winfield Scott, a former Confederate provost marshal at Fredericksburg, Virginia, told the Commissioners: "If they had been men they would have been arrested and sent to Richmond, and nothing saved them as it was but their relationship to the Confederate Secretary of War."[22] Fannie Scott, who was seventeen when the war broke out, explained her convictions in the matter. "I belonged to an old line Whig house," she said, "and therefore believed secession was wrong."[23] The large losses suffered by these ladies, when some five Union regiments occupied their land over a period of eight months, are verified by a dozen letters from Union officers. A note from General Winfield S. Hancock recalled their "charity and kindness with the sick and

[20] Testimony of John S. Mosby, February, 1889, in Court of Claims, Cong. No. 20, Justice Department, National Archives. Mosby identified himself as the leader of the famous Mosby's Raiders. At the time of his appearance before the court he was a lawyer in San Francisco.

[21] Testimony of Hugh Morson before the Commission, Washington, October 30, 1872, in S.C.C. No. 11613 [claimed $13,461.50, allowed $7,067.00 in 1872], General Accounting Office files.

[22] Quoted in Summary Report of the Commission in the case of Fannie S. and Mary A. Scott, S.C.C. No. 3655 (claimed $22,650.00, allowed $3,790.00 in 1880), General Accounting Office files.

[23] Testimony of Fannie Scott before the Commission, January 30, 1872, in S.C.C. No. 3655, General Accounting Office files.

wounded,"[24] while Colonel George B. Halstead deplored the damage done to "the beautiful oak grove near your residence," where his tent had been pitched.[25]

In this connection, it is interesting to discover in the claims how frequently the women of the South expressed their interest in politics. Usually they reflected the sentiments of a husband or a father. But sometimes, as in the case of Mrs. Caroline Haden, of Dallas County, Alabama, political conviction produced domestic difficulties. Dr. William C. Cleveland, who had known her all her life, described Mrs. Haden as "decidedly" a Unionist, while he and Mr. Haden were "decidedly the other way. . . . I have heard Mr. Haden often say that a woman of her sentiments belonged and had much better be on the other side of the lines."[26] Another witness, who called himself a "strong southern man," concluded his statement with the comment, "Everybody said that Mrs. Haden was a Union woman. Her own husband said she was a Union woman."[27]

The Unionism of Mrs. Stephanie Chotard, of Natchez, grew out of the fact that she had been raised in the home of her aunt, Mrs. Robert J. Walker, while Walker was serving as Secretary of the Treasury under Polk.[28] Mrs. Martha E. Fitz, of Issequena County, Mississippi, was the ward of Andrew Jackson in her youth, and, she said, ". . . from him imbibed an undying devotion to the Federal government" which persisted although the war had reduced her ". . . from affluence to poverty."[29] From Tennessee came the claims of Mrs. James K. Polk, a president's widow, and Mrs. Aaron V. Brown, the wife of Buchanan's Postmaster General, and sister of the Confederate General, Gideon J. Pillow. Mrs. Polk's claim was disallowed for lack of sufficient evidence on the taking of the property, but that of Mrs. Brown, a Democrat, was allowed.[30]

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[24] Letter of General Winfield S. Hancock to Miss Fannie Scott, St. Paul, Minnesota, January 30, 1872, in S.C.C. No. 3655, General Accounting Office files.

[25] Letter of Colonel George B. Halstead to Miss Fannie Scott, Newark, New Jersey, July 31, 1871, in S.C.C. No. 3655, General Accounting Office files.

[26] Testimony of William C. Cleveland, minister and practicing physician, in the case of Caroline Haden, S.C.C. No. 17603 (claimed $18,684.00, allowed $5,650.00 in 1877), General Accounting Office files.

[27] Testimony of Nicholas Smith before Special Commissioner George Patrick, Selma, Alabama, March 4, 1874, in S.C.C. No. 17603, General Accounting Office files.

[28] Summary Report of the Commission in the case of Mrs. Stephanie Chotard, Natchez, Mississippi, S.C.C. No. 7125 [claimed $51,172.00, allowed $13,800.00 in 1875], General Accounting Office files.

[29] Summary Report of the Commission in the case of Mrs. Martha E. Fitz, Issequena County, Mississippi, S.C.C. No. 10510 [claimed $10,000.00, allowed $7,125.00 in 1874], General Accounting Office files.

Mrs. Brown's son, J. E. Sanders, who had served in the Confederate army on General Pillow's staff, described his mother's sentiments and her conduct: "She thought slavery was a moral wrong . . . and in consequence of this feeling of hers on the question of slavery and the further fact that her husband had been honored by the United States government with high position, she was opposed to the dismemberment of the Union. She often spoke of the inconsistency of the people of the South shouting for liberty and freedom while they themselves held four millions of human beings in severe servitude." General Pillow, on hearing that Mrs. Brown was receiving federal officers, told Sanders that she had "compromised" herself. " . . . this manner of speaking of my mother stung me more than I can tell," Sanders testified. "No other man could have spoken of her in this manner . . . without paying the penalty thereof."[31]

Commodore Edward Middleton, of South Carolina, owner with his brother of the Hobonny plantation, served with the United States Navy throughout the war, " . . . though thereby he became estranged from his brother and his family." The commodore's patriotism was sorely tried for, while he was serving his country on the U. S. S. *St. Mary,* in the Pacific, the federals under Sherman burned his mansion house and all plantation buildings, and carried off large supplies of rice, corn, peas, cattle, sheep, hogs, potatoes, and mules to the troops at Poctaligo.[32] Further, the strict rulings against payment of claims to southerners, even in so obvious a case of loyalty to the Union, precluded any compensation for Middleton's losses until, in 1873, he received $12,240.00 through the Southern Claims Commission's investigation.

Arthur Middleton Blake, representing another first family of South Carolina, refused to list his losses with the detail required

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[30] *Consolidated Index of Claims reported by the Commissioners of Claims to the House of Representatives from 1871 to 1800* (Washington, 1892), pp. 34, 189. For a memorandum outlining the reasons for disallowing Mrs. Polk's claim for $2,000 see Third General Report of Commissioners of Claims, *House Miscellaneous Documents,* 43rd Congress, 1st session, vol. III, no. 251, pp. 1-7.

[31] Testimony of J. E. Sanders before Special Agent W. M. Fitzgerald, December 1879, in the case of Mrs. Aaron Brown, S.C.C. No. 1613 [claimed $26,880.00, allowed $1,869.50 in 1880], General Accounting Office files. In addition to the evidence given by her son, the investigation of Mrs. Brown's loyalty to the Union included a 25-page report from Special Agent Enos Richmond; 91 pages of testimony taken from 8 witnesses by Special Commissioner Trimble; 15 pages taken from 2 witnesses by Special Commissioner Charles F. Babcock; 44 pages taken by Special Agent W. M. Fitzgerald; and 8 pages taken before the Commission in Washington. This list is cited as typical, rather than unusual procedure in the examination of a large claim.

[32] Summary Report of the Commission in the case of Edward Middleton, South Carolina, S.C.C. No. 10351 [claimed $14,703.00, allowed $12,240.00 in 1872], General Accounting Office files.

by the Commission, but presented his claim in an indignant sentence:

> To the deprivation of the services & labor due to him of 401 slaves, and to buildings, furniture, objects of virtue and taste, books, pictures, linen, wines, and various buildings, mills, cotton gins, threshed rice & crops not harvested destroyed or used by the Federal Army $400,000.

Benjamin H. Rutledge, Blake's attorney, explained that the slaves had been designated not "with the view of claiming payment for them as property, but by way of inducement to show the position of wealth and affluence of the said claimant before the late civil war in contrast with the absolute ruin to which he was reduced thereby." From this loss, Rutledge insisted, " . . . the claimant's loyalty and allegiance [in evidence], to the cause of the Government and the Union, should have protected both him and his property."[33]

Throughout the records run the stories of such tremendous losses of property as the result of the arrival of the Union army. For each item claimed the Commissioners conducted extensive inquiries to determine the exact quantity furnished and a "fair" price, while all items which could not be called quartermaster or commissary supplies necessary for regular requirements were carefully excluded. A typical comment disallows payment for 600 pounds of sugar, one barrel of molasses, one barrel of flour, two barrels of corn meal, and 200 pounds of lard because evidence showed that they were taken " . . . by the soldiers 'in buckets and tins' in a lawless manner & must be put to the account of depredation."[34]

The confusion in the minds of the claimants, as a result of these careful distinctions, seems never to have been quite dispelled. Moreover the difficulty of proving the exact amounts taken is obvious, in view of the carelessness in giving proper

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[33] Summary Report of the Commission and Brief of Benjamin H. Rutledge, attorney for the claimant in the case of Arthur Middleton Blake, Charleston, South Carolina, S.C.C. No. 4222 [claimed $400,000.00, disallowed in 1873], File Room, House of Representatives. The Commissioners explained their disallowance as follows: ". . . the main objects of compensation are so clearly beyond our jurisdiction that, with the consent of the Counsel, we . . . disallow the whole claim upon the ground that it is not within our jurisdiction & respectfully refer it to Congress for their consideration."

[34] Summary Report of the Commission in the case of Samuel O. Scruggs, of Louisiana, S.C.C. No. 18534 (claimed $10,000.00, allowed $7,450.00 in 1875), General Accounting Office files. Scruggs had written anti-session articles to Louisiana newspapers, had contributed money and supplies for Union barbecues, and, with the arrival of General Banks, had cared for the Federal wounded at the hospital and in his home.

receipts, the chaotic conditions which accompanied military movements, and the passage of time. In 1874, long after she had filed her claim, Mrs. Susan V. Whitehead, of Greene County, North Carolina, found and triumphantly forwarded to her attorneys a tattered paper, which had been pinned to an old account book. It reads:

Property taken by 12th New York Calv'y from my plantation in Green Co.—last March 1865
22 mules
Overseers fine saddle horse
all the waggons, cartes, harness belonging to the waggons & carts
all the bacon but one or two peices, some 18 or 20,000 lbs
well cured for sale
4 barrels Lard
3 barrels pork
all of 800 barrels Corn
25000 lbs fodder
all Hickes cloathes
Bigg Aaron carried off to drive the 6-horse wagon
Antony too
My God all gone I am ruined.[35]

In the letter which accompanied this account, Mrs. Whitehead wrote:

. . . I wept when I saw it. it layed bare my heart when it was written. The poor confederate paper, on which I wrote, the time rusty pin which bound it, the hurried hand that penciled, barely legiable [*sic*] figures & items, state of feelings described at margin, turned my thoughts backwards—far over the current of past years—showing me my honest accumulations scattered,—gone—overcome. I kissed the small scrip inanemate [*sic*] reminder of former Prosperity. If it will be of any use—use it.[36]

The effect of depredation on such pro-Union sentiments as had survived within the Confederacy can easily be imagined. Milton Shirk, president of a "literary institution" in Shreveport, Louis-

[35] Filed with the claim of Mrs. Susan V. Whitehead, Greene County, North Carolina, S.C.C. No. 844 (claimed $10,000.00, allowed $7,838.00 in 1875), General Accounting Office files.
[36] Letter of Mrs. Whitehead to Hosmer and company, dated Marleboro, North Carolina, September 24, 1784, in S.C.C. No. 844, General Accounting Office files. Reuben Atkinson, 41, a former Whitehead slave who had lived with the family all his life gave an especially vivid account of the arrival of Sherman's army on a moonlight night in March, 1865. Mrs. Whitehead had inherited the plantation of 1,800 acres and 100 slaves from her father who was an "old line Whig."

iana, described how, having waited long for the Union army to liberate him, he freely gave over the keys to the college when it arrived, so that the buildings might serve as a hospital. But the college was not occupied. Instead, it was burned. "I confess," Shirk testified, "that when my property was destroyed, I felt ugly. . . . I considered that I had been in favor of the union throughout. I got some union men released who had been captured. It is difficult," he added, "to discriminate between a feeling that would prevail when a man's premises were all on fire, & set on fire by his friends."[37]

The Commissioners occasionally deplored the losses thus sustained by honest Unionists, but they allowed no consideration to alter their prescribed procedure of refusing to recommend payment for such losses. For instance, in the claim of William L. Sharkey, one of the best known Unionists in the South, they disallowed 2 dozen knives, 2 dozen Napkins and 2 Table cloths, 2 Chafing dishes, 2 English Tea Kettles, 4 stew pans, waffle irons & tea kettle, 6 Goblets, and sundry other articles, even though they had disappeared as a direct result of the fact that Sharkey had given over the lower floor of his home as headquarters for General McPherson.[38] Prior to the war Sharkey had served for many years as Chief Justice for Mississippi; he had, during his lifetime, refused two cabinet posts; he was a member of the Baltimore convention of 1860; and after the war he had served as a provisional governor of Mississippi under Johnson. During the war he was imprisoned for treason to the Confederacy. According to E. P. Jacobson, U. S. Attorney for the Southern District of Mississippi, "Jefferson Davis not only hated him because of his sentiments but feared his great influence, but for which Judge Sharkey's life would have become one more offering on the altar of the Union.[39] The Commissioners themselves, in allow-

[37] Testimony of Milton Shirk, Shreveport, Louisiana, taken in Washington, October 25, 1872, S.C.C. No. 8308 (Claimed $126,602.00, allowed $5,205.00 in 1872), General Accounting Office files. Modern implications of the problem of reconstruction, as yet unsolved, are illustrated by similar reports from occupied areas today. William Henry Chamberlain tells of a conversation with a highly educated German who had been a confirmed anti-Nazi. Bewildered by the parallels between Gestapo methods and arbitrary occupation, he echoed Shirk's sentiments when he said, bitterly, "I was against the Nazis as long as they were in power. But I am a Nazi now, as from 1946, after your 'democratic' occupation." See William Henry Chamberlain, "The Denazification Fiasco," in *The Wall Street Journal*, September 5, 1946, editorial page.

[38] E. P. Jacobson to Asa O. Aldis, president of the Claims Commission, dated Jackson, Mississippi, November 16, 1872, in the case of William L. Sharkey, S.C.C. No. 2635 (claimed $3,655.00, allowed $1,920.00 in 1872), General Accounting Office files.

[39] Summary Report of the Commission in S.C.C. No. 2635, General Accounting Office files. The first floor of Judge Sharkey's home was used by General James B. McPherson during the first seige of Jackson, Mississippi. As a result, Sharkey said, "My wife told me that all the Dining articles were [taken]—a part loaned to Gen. McP. & never returned & the remainder taken by the Genl's servants." See Sharkey's signed statement, dated June 20, 1871.

ing $1920.00 of the $3644.00 claimed, noted that Sharkey was " . . . so well known as a public character that we need but very briefly refer to the Evidence. . . . He was throughout the war a steadfast Union man & so known & reputed by all. . . ."[40]

The heavy losses suffered by the planter Unionists when the federal army arrived are quickly revealed in the Summary Reports of the Commissioners, who briefed each case in making their recommendation to Congress, which body had reserved the right of specific appropriation. A leaf from this Summary Report in the case of William Bailey may here be included as illustrative. Bailey, an old-line Whig who had known Clay personally, was a native of Virginia. He had lived on the Red River since 1850, and owned a plantation of 1500 acres. Regarding his Unionism the Commissioners wrote, "After the most thorough and searching inquiry we find Mr. Bailey to have been a constant consistent Union man during the whole war."[41] Without entering further into this phase of the investigation, which continued over a period of three years, the report is here cited as it concerned the property involved:

No. of Item	NATURE OF CLAIM	AMOUNT CLAIMED	AMOUNT ALLOWED
1	44800 lbs corn—8000 bushels @ $1.50	$ 12,000.	$10,000.
2	30,000 lbs fodder—15 Tons @ $33	495.	300.
3	105000 lbs Hay—52½ tons @ $33	1,732.50	1,050.
4	74 mules @ $175	13,125.00	9,375.
5	10 cords wood @ $5	50.00	30.
6	410000 lbs corn—7321 24/50 Bush @ $1.50	10,982.18	9,152.
7	20000 lbs fodder—10 Tons @ $33	330.	200.
8	5040 lbs Corn—90 bush @ $1.50	135.	112.50
9	300 head Beef cattle @ $40	12,000.	5,900.
10	150 head sheep @ $6	900.	450.
11	110 hogs @ $8	880.	550.
12	17000 lbs cured Bacon @ 12½ cts	2,125.	1,700.
13	1000 bus. sweet potatoes @ 60 cts	600.	600.
14	12 Bbl Molasses [sic] . . . 540 gals @ 75 cts	405.	324.
15	8 Hhds sugar . . . 9600 lbs @ $12½	1,200.	960.
16	20 yoke large Oxen yoke chains &c	2,400.	——
17	21 Horses—Large—Blooded @ $175	3,675.	——

[40] Summary Report of the Commission in S.C.C. No. 2653, General Accounting Office files.

[41] Summary Report of the Commission in the case of William Bailey, Rapides, Louisiana, S.C.C. No. 980 [claimed $104,492.40, allowed $45,161.00 in 1875], General Accounting Office files. The merits of the case were debated in Congress, and payment was thus further delayed. For the discussions of this case in both the House and the Senate see the *Congressional Record*, 42 Congress, 1st Session, pp. 4181-4184; 5141-5152.

18	2 carts & harness @ $120	240.	100.
19	7 plantation wagons & harness @ $150	1,050.	350.
20	30 sets plow gear @ $15	450.	——
21	25 Bushels salt @ $2	50.	25.
22	15 miles pl[an]ks & rail fence for wood	15,068.40	2,850.
23	10000 lbs corn 178 32/56 bush. @ $1.50	284.32	233.22
24	1000 lbs fodder—½ ton @ $33....$16.50	——	——
25	4410 Bush. Corn	6,615.	——
26	Use of engine mill &c. 36 days & nights	1,800.	——
27	2 Boilers engine Mill &c sold by Q[uarte]r M[aster]	5,000.	——
28	100 Bales cotton for bedding &c	10,000.	——
29	300 cords wood from Brick yard	900.	900.
	[42]	$104,492.40	$45,161.72

The explanation of awards which accompanied this schedule shows how the Commissioners arrived at the amounts recommended for allowance. Hundreds of pages of testimony concerning the condition of the plantation prior to the visit of Union troops and the circumstances surrounding the taking of the goods are summarized as follows:

For the first 15 & for the 23d & 24th items of his account the claimant produces vouchers or offers certificates.The property was all taken at the time of Gen. Banks second expedition up the Red river. 18 or 20 yoke of large oxen were taken (item 16) but they may be and probably are included in the 300 head item 9. The horses, item 17, are not satisfactorily proved. That they were taken is probable. It is certain from the testimony of Gen. Bailey's agent, Capt. Wittenberg, that ten were taken & he recovered them because they were taken without authority & again taken & as in the first instance apparently without authority. The taking for the use of the army is not proved nor is it clearly impossible.

Carts and plantation wagons (items 18 & 19) are not like horses mules & other similar property the legitimate objects of plunder by the thieves & "Bummers" who always follow large armies, & they were taken probably for use in building the dam across the red river. We make such allowance in value as we think just & reasonable. Items 20.26.27 & 28 are not "stores and supplies"—the cotton not having been used for hospital purposes. Items 21 & 22 were proved. The 15 miles of fencing was used for firewood. The damage to Gen. Bailey may have been all he charges but the value of the fencing as fuel for the army, can not exceed the sum allowed & our allowance in all cases must

[42] Summary Report of the Commission in S.C.C. No. 980, General Accounting Office files.

be governed by such value—Item 25 is not allowed—The claimant has vouchers or receipts for over 15000 bushels & the parties giving them have intended & probably did intend they should cover all the corn taken. Item 29 was proved & its value as charged ($900) allowed.

In fixing prices we have been governed as far as we were able by the prices paid by Commissaries & Quartermaster at or near the time & places, and otherwise by the prices current at New Orleans.[43]

In the light of such procedures for testing each claim, it seems obvious that any man who, having suffered the consequences of opposing the Confederacy and having survived Union occupation would, by the time he had satisfied the Commissioners and paid his attorneys, receive small satisfaction from his token award.

In no case, of course, was any allowance made without full proof of loyalty to the Union. And when payment was made it was often so much reduced, such heavy expense had been incurred in proving the claim, and so many years had passed since the loss of the property, that it could hardly be called an "award." If it had been made, as promised, at the close of the war, the money could, as William Bailey wrote, have furnished "immediate relief" for the restocking of the plantation, "putting in new crops and thus providing for the support of my Family, including many of my former slaves who are waiting to get employment at wages."[44] By the 1870's it was often too late to be of much use. Indeed, the picture of economic distress caused by military action, loss of capital in stock and property, constitutes a significant part of the records.

The Commissioners made special note of the report of their special agent, R. B. Avery, who described the valiant efforts of Gray Smith of Mississippi to re-establish himself during this period. Smith had owned a plantation of which 1,000 acres were in cultivation prior to the war. At its close he was in debt to the amount of $32,000 but, " . . . like an honest man, determined to pay it without recourse to fraudulent conveyance of lands, or going through bankruptcy." Sending his wife and

[43] Summary Report of the Commission in the case of William Bailey, Rapides, Louisiana, S.C.C. No. 980 [claimed $104,492.40, allowed $45,161.00 in 1874], General Accounting Office files.

[44] William Bailey to Edward M. Stanton, Secretary of War, November 24, 1864, in the William Bailey case, S.C.C. No. 980. Action on the payment had been deferred by a special military court on April 4, 1863 and by the United States Court in New Orleans in June, 1864. In 1866 Stanton ruled that Bailey could not be paid because of the current construction of the limiting act of July 4, 1864. The case was finally allowed after extended review not only by the Commission but by Congress.

daughter to live with friends in Memphis, he remained with his son on the plantation. There they worked themselves on the plantation and cooked their own meals. "Coffee they did not use. In this way they lived for seven years, and the family were not united until the old debts were canceled, by payment in full with interest, except one debt due a bank, and upon which the interest was remitted."[45] Immediately following the war, Smith had made out a claim for $66,000.00 to cover his losses in "mules, horses, hogs, cattle, and other things." But, in his own words, "I had no money, and I was in bad health, and I could not go to Washington, and so have had this reduced to $10,000 to enable me to prove it here."[46] During the war years he had raised about 700 acres in corn but, he added ruefully, the Union cavalry "were feeding on me every time they came to Holly Springs, and they made 72 raids there."[47] In 1878 the Commissioners recommended payment of $7,000 of the $10,000 he had claimed.

All of the 22,298 claimants who applied to the Commission were, of course, not found to be loyal, but it does seem clear that there was much active Unionist sentiment throughout the South.[48] Such a state of affairs was, indeed, an assumption by the northern government during the war. The dual-status theory drew fine distinctions between an individual and his state. Even the bitter confiscation acts provided that a "rebel" in the South have only sixty days to redeem his confiscated property, while a "loyal" man was allowed two years.[49] It is true that, with the events at Fort Sumter and with Lincoln's call for troops, the majority of southerners who had opposed the war accepted it as inevitable. But it is likewise true that many men of Union

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[45] Statement of Special Agent R. B. Avery, dated Lamar, Mississippi, December 1, 1877, in the case of Gray W. Smith, S.C.C. No. 5686 [claimed $10,000.00, allowed $7,000.00 in 1878], General Accounting Office files.

[46] Claimants who asked in excess of $10,000 were required to appear in Washington with their witnesses, and testify before the three Commissioners there. All claims from $5,000 to $10,000 were examined for the government "on the spot" in the communities of their origin, by the special agents. Local special commissioners took the sworn evidence for the smaller cases, following eighty detailed questions prepared for their use by the Commissioners. This evidence was then forwarded to Washington for review and decision.

[47] Testimony of Gray Smith, Holly Springs, Mississippi, taken at Lamar, Mississippi, December 1, 1877, by Special Agent R. B. Avery, in the case of Gray Smith, S.C.C. No. 4686 [claimed $10,000.00, allowed $7,000.00 in 1878], General Accounting Office files.

[48] A total of 5,250 cases was barred for non-prosecution and, of the remaining 16,991, only about forty-one per cent, or 7,092, were allowed following the rigorous examination of the Republican Commissioners. See Frank W. Klingberg, "The Southern Claims Commission: A Postwar Agency in Operation," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* XXXII (1945), 208-209.

[49] See James G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln* (New York, 1926), especially the chapter entitled "Restoration of Captured and Confiscated Property," (pp. 316-341) for an enlargement of these distinctions.

sentiments throughout the Confederacy, while holding to their principles, adopted a policy of only passive resistance.

Madame Eugenia Bertinetti, of Mississippi, said of her situation during the war, "I was there between two fires continually. . . . I remained at home quietly & tried to protect what was left to me." When she refused to sell her cotton to the Confederate authorities, the 2,000 bales were all burned. When called upon to send her Negroes to assist in making fortifications or forts for the southern army, she encouraged them to take to the woods, or "at least I would say to them that this order had been given, & they might use their own discretion about it, and they would all disappear, & they never found any of them."[50] Even passive resistance often brought down upon the individual the censure of his community. In the case of the Rev. John T. Clark, an Episcopal minister of Halifax County, Virginia, his well known Whig sentiments, his vote for a Union candidate to the Constitutional Convention in Virginia in 1861, and his refusal to vote for the ordinance of secession made him a suspect. Clark was a native Virginian who had inherited "a large fortune, & many slaves but he summed up the censure of his community with the comment: "I was denounced at the time as an Abolitionist, a Southern man with Northern feelings, a Dirt eater, a Submissionist; & my friends were very uneasy & thought I had ruined my character, & it was for a good while under a cloud."[51]

In the early days of peace, as on the eve of war, the cohesive and the divisive forces within the Union often appear to have been in precarious balance. The industrialization of both ends of the Appalachians, a fact today, had been the expectancy of Calhoun during the years of his advocacy of a protective tariff and began in earnest in the post-bellum period. The struggle between plantation and farm in the South continued after the war as before. This conflict not only split Virginia but was active in every state. In the Mississippi Valley statistics on land holdings in the late 1850's showed a trend toward private

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[50] Testimony of Eugenia Bertinetti, Washington, November 24, 1873, in her own claim, S.C.C. No. 154 [claimed $22,325.00, allowed $11,860.00 in 1873], General Accounting Office files. Mrs. Bertinetti's claim had been endorsed for payment by Lincoln on January 25, 1864, and by Andrew Johnson on June 8, 1866, but payment was withheld by the policy of refusing payment to southerners.

[51] Statement of the Rev. John T. Clark to Special Commissioner M. F. Pleasants, February 10, 1873, in his own case, S.C.C. No. 13330 [claimed $8,532.00, allowed $5,255.00 in 1873], General Accounting Office files.

ownership of smaller acreages in the South which had more in common with the agrarian west than with the plantation.[52] And, as Charles W. Ramsdell maintained, it seems probable that improved farm machinery, transportation developments, and increased immigration were, by 1860, setting the natural and impassable limits of the slave system.[53]

Unionist leadership in the South, aided by these forces and vigorously supported by Washington, might have effected both reunion and the re-emergence of the two party system. The man of passive resistance was, perhaps, more representative of the real possibilities for this type of leadership in 1865 than the active and vigorous loyalist. His Unionism was less dramatic but more widespread. Tragically, for such men the congressional measures of the late sixties made no allowance, in spite of their own protests. In the view of the Radicals, every person, "without regard to his personal wishes, sentiments, feelings, without regard to his personal conduct, who resided within the territorial limits held by the forces in armed hostility" was, in the public sense, ". . . an enemy of the United States: just as much so in the public sense . . . as if he had been commander of the confederate forces."[54]

What was the effect of such an attitude on Unionists of the stamp of J. Madison Wells, of Edward Middleton, of Judge William Sharkey, and of William Bailey? The terms of surrender and the first outline of the Lincoln-Johnson program had promised that the wounds of conflict would heal, leaving few scars. In Georgia, where pre-war Unionism had been powerful, the fate of the reviving Unionist party was described by Benjamin H. Hill, who told a Congressional committee in 1871: "we old whigs said, Well, you see all the evils of secession that we prophesied have come true; Now we suppose the people will believe us . . . in the meantime Congress came in, lumped the old Union democrats and whigs together with the secessionists, and said that they would punish us all alike" He summarized his post-mortem with a prophetic comment: "Congress by that act prevented us from

[52] Two studies of trends in land ownership, based on statistics, are Frank L. and Harriet C. Owsley, "The Economic Basis of Society in the late Ante-Bellum South," in *The Journal of Southern History* VI (1940), 24-45 and, by the same authors, "The Economic Structure of Rural Tennessee, 1850-1860," in *The Journal of Southern History*, VIII (1943), 161-182.

[53] Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI (1929), 151-171.

[54] George F. Edmunds in *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd session, part III, February 28, 1871, p. 1792.

saying to the secession democrats that all they said was untrue; that the northern people had no desire to oppress them, because the acts of Congress proved that they were right."[55]

Without entering further into a discussion of proper policy, of correct interpretation of the Constitution, or of military strategy, we may return to the story of the Unionist planter as it is revealed in the records of the Commission. Here is clinical data on the response of the individual to Confederate measures conscripting men and property, on the shift of the war-time economy of the South from cotton to corn, on the effect on southern communities of measures from the North designed either to punish or to placate. If the Unionist planters disagreed with the course of their state they were, for the most part, unwilling to renounce it in adversity. And although they were often rejected by their southern families and friends only to be despoiled and victimized by their liberators from the North, they remained loyal to the cause of the Union and the people of the Confederacy.

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[55] Statement of Benjamin H. Hill, later a Senator from Georgia, in Atlanta, October 30, 1871, in "The Ku Klux Conspiracy," *House Miscellaneous Documents* (1535), 42nd Congress, 2nd session, pp. 762-763.

THE ROBERT J. MILLER LETTERS, 1813-1831

Edited by D. L. CORBITT

The Revolutionary War, the writings of Thomas Paine, and the French Revolution exerted a great influence on religious life in North Carolina. Following the war, a wave of skepticism swept the state. Some thought there was no virtue. The population was small and scattered, and there were few ministers.

By 1800, however, Francis Asbury, Joseph Caldwell, Elder Stearns, and others were preaching at every opportunity. Camp meetings began to spread. People became interested in the Great Revival which was enveloping the state. These meetings were attracting people of different denominations. In a meeting held in Iredell County in March, 1803, there were fourteen Presbyterian, three Methodist, two Baptist, one Episcopal, one Dutch Calvinist, and two German Lutheran ministers. Religious activities began to increase in all sections of the state.[1]

The Episcopal Church as an organization had collapsed during the Revolution. Because its clergymen had an unsympathetic attitude towards the Revolution, and because of its connection with the church of England it was slow in its efforts toward reorganization. At the close of the Revolution there was no American Bishop and the Bishop of London refused to consecrate one.[2] There was no other way to perpetuate the organization. There were a few active ministers in North Carolina, who made efforts toward reorganization in the 1790's, but nothing definite and lasting was accomplished before 1817.

Rev. Charles Pettigrew tried to organize the church in 1790. On June 5 of that year, Pettigrew, James L. Wilson, and two laymen met in convention[3] in Tarboro, and approved the general ecclesiastical constitution adopted in Philadelphia in 1789. In this convention conditions in North Carolina were represented as "truly deplorable" because there was a great need for clergymen and because the opposing sectarians were "using every possible exertion to seduce its [the Episcopal] members to their different communions." A second convention[4] was held in Tarboro, No-

[1] S. A. Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, II, 168 ff.
[2] R. D. W. Connor, *History of North Carolina*, I, 390.
[3] *Sketches of Church History in North Carolina, Addresses and Papers by Clergymen and Laymen of the Dioceses of North and East Carolina.* p. 417. (Hereafter cited as *Sketches of Church History.*)
[4] *Sketches of Church History*, p. 420.

vember 12, 1790, at which time delegates were appointed to the general convention to be held in New York in September, 1793. No representative from North Carolina, however, attended the New York convention.[5] In November, 1793, another attempt was made to organize the church, and three clergymen and three laymen met in Tarboro for that purpose.[6] The only thing accomplished was the selection of a standing committee. In May, 1794, four clergymen and four laymen again met in Tarboro,[7] framed a constitution, and elected Charles Pettigrew bishop of the Episcopate of North Carolina. Robert J. Miller, then a Lutheran minister, attended this meeting. Pettigrew soon set out to attend the general convention and to be consecrated bishop but was interrupted by an epidemic in Norfolk, Va., returned to North Carolina, and died shortly afterwards. Between 1794 and 1816 practically nothing more was done. In the latter year Adam Empie returned to Wilmington. He and Bethel Judd of Fayetteville were most active toward the restoration of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina which was accomplished in 1817.

The letters reproduced here were written by Adam Empie, Bishop John Stark Ravenscroft, George W. Freeman, William M. Green, and William D. Cairns to Robert Johnston Miller.[9] They relate entirely to the efforts to revive the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina and to the work of that church in the western part of the state the years following the election of Bishop Ravenscroft in 1823. These letters were presented to the North Carolina Historical Commission (now the North Carolina Department of Archives and History) in 1916 by W. W. Scott of Lenoir, N. C.

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[5] *Sketches of Church History*, p. 422.
[6] *Sketches of Church History*, p. 423.
[7] *Sketches of Church History*, p. 426.
[8] Empie lived in Wilmington, 1811-1813; resided in New York, 1813-1815; and returned to Wilmington in 1816.
[9] Robert J. Miller Papers, 1799-1831, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. Robert Johnston Miller was born near Dundee, Scotland, July 11, 1758; was reared in the Episcopal Church; came to America in 1774; was a soldier of the Revolution; after the Revolution settled in Franklin County, N. C.; in 1785 became a Methodist minister, but withdrew from the Conference upon the separation of the Methodist from the Church of England; in 1786 moved to Lincoln County; since there was no Episcopal Church in the state accepted ordination in the Lutheran Church, reserving his Episcopal beliefs; took an active part in the efforts to revive the Episcopal Church in 1793 and 1794; was secretary of the Lutheran Synod, 1803 and 1804, and president, 1812; took an active part in the revival of the Episcopal Church, 1817, and was ordained a priest of that church in 1821; served in Lincoln, Iredell, and Burke counties; died May 13, 1834. *Sketches of Church History*, pp. 369-411; G. D. Bernheim and George H. Cox, *The History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod and Ministerium of North Carolina*, pp. 155, 156, 164.

The editor has endeavored to give an exact reproduction of the letters without comment regarding errors in spelling, punctuation, and grammar except where the meaning is not clear.

Wilmington N. C. Novr. 22nd. 1813

Revd Sir

I have been in this State two years & I have endeavored by enquiry & by travelling about to ascertain what number of Episcopal Clergy this State contains If a sufficient number could be found it is greatly to be wished that the Chh could be organized, placed under the superintendance of a *spiritual Head* & accede to the ecclesiastical Union that obtains in the other Sections of the U. States.[10]

As I have lately understood that you are an Episcopalian & that you live somewhere in Burke[11] Co. I take this means of learning whether my information be correct Be good enough at any event to let me know whether you belong to the Episcopal order[12] And if so whether you are in Priest's or only in Deacon's Orders– as well as the number of your Congregation the place of your residence & the prospects of your Chh Inform me also if you know of any Episcopal Clergyman or Congregation in your part of the State & be assured that to hear from you freely & often will always give much pleasure to

Yr Brother in Christ

A. Empie[13]

Revd. Mr Miller

Wilmington N. C. March 19th, 1814

Revd. & Dr. Sir

Your letter, which came to hand a few days ago, has given me much pleasure not because it brings me very welcome intelligence of an ecclesiastical nature, for from what you say the Chh. seems to be at almost its lowest point of declension, but because it speaks a language congenial to my heart, & breathes a spirit of piety of orthodoxy & religious zeal which I had almost despaired & which I greatly rejoice to find in this dark section of the Union Your desire & solicitude, to

[10] The Protestant Episcopal Church had been organized and bishops elected and consecrated in Connecticut, 1784, Pennsylvania, 1787, New York, 1787, Virginia, 1790, Maryland, 1792, South Carolina, 1795, Massachusetts, 1797, New Jersey, 1815, and Ohio, 1819. Charles C. Tiffany, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, p. 575.

[11] Miller's residence, Mary's Grove, was then in a section of Burke County which later became a part of Caldwell County, about two miles from Lenoir, N. C. *Sketches of Church History*, p. 388.

[12] Although an ordained Lutheran minister, he retained his Episcopal beliefs and was the only minister of that faith in that section. *Sketches of Church History*, pp. 269, 270, 274.

[13] Adam Empie was born in Schenectady, N. Y., Sept. 5, 1785; graduated from Union College in 1807; was ordained a Protestant Episcopal clergyman in 1809; was assistant rector at (Hempstead) Long Island, N. Y., 1809-1811; was rector at Wilmington, N. C., 1811-1814; served as chaplain and professor at West Point, N. Y., 1814-1816; was rector at Wilmington, 1816-1827; was president of William and Mary College, 1827-1836; was rector of St. James Church, Richmond, Va., 1836-1853; and died at Wilmington, N. C., March 6, 1860. He married Ann Eliza Wright, daughter of Joshua Wright of Wilmington. J. H. Brown (ed.), *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II, 661.

see the Episcop. Ch^h. rise again from its ruins, are by me most cordially reciprocated & I hope & pray that the period of her resurrection is not far distant

But I regret that I cant flatter myself with the immediate prospect of effecting a change Ever since my return from the back parts of this state last fall I have been in such a wretched state of health that I have determined upon leaving this state & returning to my native climate New York.[14] Perhaps however I may return to the Southward after the expiration of two three or four years And should nothing be done before that time I would again renew my exertions.

At present I know of but two Clergymen besides yourself Mr Hatch[15] of Edenton & Mr G. Strebeck[16] of Newbern At the same time I wrote to you I addressed letters also to Mr Micklejohn[17] in Granville Co. Mr Burgess[18] in Halifax Co. & Mr Gurrally[19] of Murfreesburgh; but as I have rec^d no ans^r. from either of them, they either do not live there or else there are no such men in existence or else they do not think it worth their while to ans^r When you write me again I wish you would inform me, if you can, where Messrs. Blunt[20] Gurrally Wilson[21] & Micklejohn now reside Tho I leave the state I am interested for the Ch^h. & will do any thing to promote its interests

The subject of Missionaries suggests to me more observations than I can crowd into this letter Your views however coincide with mine & since I have been here I have more than once urged my Northern friends to send a couple into this State. I shall with redoubled energy renew my suit as soon as convenient

If, on episcopal grounds, a union could be effected between our Ch^h. & the Lutheran, I should, under existing circumstances, deem it a most important & happy coalition Such connections have at the Northward taken place in many instances & it rejoices me to hear you say that the Lutheran clergy would give such a proposition a favorable hearing

For your offer of your journals I thank you If you ever have them conveyed to Rawleigh & left at Mr Gales[22] by the 8th of April I shall

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[14] He went to West Point, N. Y., where he was chaplain and professor, 1814-1816.

[15] Frederick W. Hatch was formerly of Maryland. He taught in the Edenton Academy, 1811-1812, and was rector of St. Pauls Church until 1815 when he returned to Maryland. *Sketches of Church History*, p. 256.

[16] George Strebeck was rector of Christ's church in New Bern and principal of the New Bern Academy. *Sketches of Church History*, p. 256, 257.

[17] George Micklejohn, a colonial minister, had served at St. Matthews in Hillsboro and St. Johns in Williamsboro. He had been captured with the Tories at Moore's Creek Bridge and parolled to Perquimans County. He lived in Granville County until he removed to Mecklenburg County, Virginia. *Sketches of Church History*, pp. 85, 211, 265.

[18] Thomas Burgess was a pioneer Episcopal minister whose field was the Parish of Edgecombe. For years he was rector of the Episcopal Church in Halifax. W. C. Allen, *History of Halifax County*, p. 229.

[19] Joseph Gurley was active in the efforts to organize the church in the 1790's. He lived in Hertford County. *Sketches of Church History*, pp. 190, 416, 429, 433.

[20] Nathaniel Blount served in Edgecombe and Pitt counties in 1793-1794. *Sketches of Church History*, p. 416.

[21] James T. Wilson served in Edgecombe and Martin counties in 1793-1794. *Sketches of Church History*, p. 416.

[22] Joseph Gales was editor and publisher of *The Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette*.

deem it a favor On the 8th. God willing I pass thro R.[23] on my way to New York You will gratify me much if you will write to me at West Point, State of N. York where I expect to be stationed And if you will let me know in what points of discipline doctrine & Ch[h]. gov[t]. the Lutherans in this state differ from the Episcop. & on what terms they would accede to the Constitution of our Ch[h]. you will farther greatly oblige

Your sincere friend & brother
A. Empie

Wilmington Jan[y] 26. 1818

Rev[d] Sir

My friend John Winslow[24] Esq of Fayetteville, informs me that he has forwarded to you a copy of the minutes of our convention & one of our Missionary Circulars.– I am rejoiced to hear that this State contains yet some remains of the good old Episcopal Church and am encouraged to hope that Zion here will soon raise up her drooping head. The Lord of the harvest grant it in his own good time.

Our next convention[25] will be held in Fayetteville, on the second thursday after Easter (e,e,) the 2nd. of April. I hope you will deem it expedient to use your influence to obtain contributions for the Missionary fund & to organize the Church in each of the Congregations, where you officiate; that each of them may send a delegate to our next convention; at which, I hope, you yourself will attend.– To be represented in, and in union with the Convention is very desirable on account of the Privileges attending it.– Those who are represented will have the advantage of regular visits from the Bishop[26] of Virginia, who has taken the superintendance of the church in this State; the advantage of our missionaries, who would officiate among them,– the advantage of the superintending care of the Church, to watch over their interests, to consult their welfare and to supply them when destitute, as well as to secure them against such impositions as they lately sustained in Salisbury.– If we but duly exert ourselves, by the blessing of GOD, we may soon have a flourishing Church and a Bishop of our own.– The Lord grant this for his Mercy's sake; and the Lord direct and bless you and all of us in all things relating to our Zion.

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[23] Raleigh, N. C.

[24] John Winslow was active in organizing the Episcopal church. He was senior warden in St. John's Church, Fayetteville, N. C.

[25] This convention met according to schedule. Bethel Judd was re-elected president and Adam Empie was elected secretary.

[26] Bishop R. C. Moore had consented to perform the Episcopal duties in the state, but was unable to attend the convention. *Journal of the First and Second Conventions of the Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina, 1817 and 1818*, p. 71.

A Bible Society[27] has lately been formed here, & we hope soon to organise a Prayer book society, the constitutions of both which I shall send you. I should be happy to hear that you had followed our example.– If we can aid you either with Bibles or Prayer books, tell us how, & we will gladly do it; and if you will form societies auxiliary to us or contribute otherwise to our Societies, we shall be happy to lend you our assistance to the utmost of our power; tho' you may perhaps find it more expedient to unite with some Bible or Prayer book societies, more immediately in your neighbourhood.–

I shall be happy Sir to hear from you on this subject & I beg you or any one that does write to me to inform whether there are any of the above Societies in your town or Section of the Country– Whence you generally procure your books, thro' what channel it is most convenient for them to come, Whether Bibles and Prayer books are much wanted in your part of the State, and whether the Bible & Prayer book Societies nearest to you be in this State S° Carolina or Virginia.

I am most respectfully

Yr Brother in Christ

A. Empie

Rev^d. R. J. Miller

I have just rec^d your very acceptable favor of Decr. 31st. for which I sincerely thank you And I assure you that my heart responds a sincere Amen to all your pious wishes & prayers I have no time at present to give a circumstantial answer to your question about your Ordination Nor could I well untill I knew more about the circumstances Rest assured however that if you was formerly a member of our Convention you will not be deemed disqualified now No Sir– we shall be delighted to shake you by the hand & I pray God nothing may prevent me from having that pleasure at the ensuing Convention As you possess much knowledge in relation to the past history & present state of the Church your absence at that time I should most sincerely de-

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[27] Bible societies were organized over the state beginning in 1813. The following notice appeared in the *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette*, November 19, 1813: "Communicated. The friends of Religion of Christ—The Friends of mankind in the State of N. Carolina—are invited without distinction of denomination to attend a meeting at the State House in Raleigh, on Monday the 29 inst at 6 o'clock in the evening for the purpose of forming a Bible Society—a Society for the gratuitious distribution of the Sacred Scriptures. A Constitution will be prepared and then laid before the meeting for their adoption and organization."

From this organization other societies were organized throughout the state, and by 1823 the following societies had been formed: Asheville Bible Society, Camden Bible Society, Concord Bible Society, Fayetteville Bible Society, Franklin County Bible Society, Granville County Bible Society, Gates County Bible Society, Greensboro Bible Society, Halifax County Bible Society, Hertford County Bible Society, Iredell County Bible Society, Lincolnton Bible Society, Morganton Bible Society, Newbern Bible Society, Orange County Bible Society, Pittsboro Bible Society, Randolph County Bible Society, Smithfield Bible Society, Salisbury Bible Society, University Bible Society, Wilmington Bible Society, Warrenton Bible Society, and Wilkesboro Bible Society.

In 1822 Rev. Empie was corresponding secretary of the Wilmington Bible Society. Colin McIver, *The North-Carolina Register and United States Calendar for the Year of our Lord 1823*, pp. 103-104.

plore May the Lord preserve & bless you & grant us to meet each other then

A. Empie

Wilmington (N. C.) Octr. 24th 1820

Rev^{d} & Dear Sir

In a work lately published, written by Bishop White[28] of Philadelphia & entitled Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Ch^{h}. in the U. States of America I see some *slight notices* of the history of the Prot. Ep. Ch. in this state But on this subject we remain still perfectly in the dark & I know of no person so well calculated to remove this obscurity as yourself since you alone survive of the Clergy who in 1794 recommended the Rev^{v}. Ch^{s}. Pettigrew for episcopal consecration The object therefore of this my address is to request you for the sake of that Ch^{h}. which you love & that holy cause in which you are engaged & that God whom you seem to commit to writing circumstantially all that you know about the history of the Pr. Ep. Ch^{h}. in this state & to communicate this to Bishop White or to myself or to the public through the medium of some public religious paper or at all events to dispose of it in such a way that the public may hereafter have the advantage of it

You, no doubt, know better than I could point out the various subjects which such an account ought to contain but of all other things I am most anxious to become acquainted with the state of religion & of the Ch^{h}. before during and after the revolution– the number names & character of the clergy during those periods– the names & situations of the several Churches together with the number of parishioners in each or at least the probable number– the various steps that were taken after the revolution to organize the Church promote its prosperity & improve the state of religion

Have any episcopal offices ever been performed in this state either before during or after the revolution Did not the Clergy generally keep parish registers & have not some of them left records behind which might be useful to the ecclasiastical historian– Was any connection ever exist or was any ever proposed between the Lutherans & Episcopalians of this state– if so what was the nature of it & where did it take place

These things & all others that might tend to throw light upon the history of religion & of the Ch^{h}. in this state I should be happy to learn & if you could by little & little as you have leisure furnish them

[28] William White was born in Philadelphia, April 4, 1748; graduated from City College, 1765; studied divinity under Drs. Peters and Duche; went to England for orders; was ordained deacon, 1770, and priest, 1772; took the oath of allegiance to the United States, 1776; was active in efforts to restore his church; was consecrated Bishop of Pennsylvania, 1784; published *Lectures on the Catechism,* and *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church;* and died on July 17, 1836. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography,* III, 470.

as above stated or communicate them to me you would confer a very important benefit upon the Ch^h. & the public & especially upon

yr friend & brother in Christ
A. Empie

Revd R. J. Miller

Wilmington (N. C.) Jany 8th 1821

Rev^d. & Dear Sir

I thank you most sincerely for yours of the 8th. ult. & the information it contains I shall deem it a great favor if you will continue your communications whenever you find leisure to make them There is no danger of wearying me out The more minute & circumstantial they are the better

I see you draw from written or printed sources Do inform me what those sources are & if you are in the possession of documents that nobody else has, please inform me what they are whether you will part with them & for how much & if you cannot consent to do this leave them so that they may be procured after your death

I myself have no idea, at least, at present, of writing the history of the Ch^h. in this state nor is there any prospect that the intelligence you communicate will speedily see the light For Bishop White has finished his work & I know of no person who is at present either writing or collecting materials I am however anxious that such information as you possess should not die with you & I wrote to you therefore for the purpose of having that information treasured up either in manuscript or in print & would advise you to publish it yourself & would offer you my assistance were it not that I am well assured we should not be able to sell copies enough to defray the expence of printing & I myself do not feel in circumstances at present to have it printed at my own expence As life therefore is uncertain & the information important the sooner it is in black & white the better

Have you rec^d. the journal of our last Convention & cannot you attend our next Convention[29] at Raleigh

I am still laboring under a malady in my eyes am scarcely able to read or write at all & must therefore bid you god speed & conclude by recommending you to God & to the word of his grace

With much respect & esteem
Yours &c
A. Empie

Rev^d. R. J. Miller

[29] This convention was held in the Supreme Court room in Raleigh, April 28-May 2, 1821.

Wilmington (N. C.) Feby 28th 1821

Revd & Dear Sir

I thank you most sincerely for the information you have been kind enough to communicate on the subject of the Chh. & likewise for that which relates more particularly to yourself I rejoice to find that you still retain your attachment to our Chh. & that you are so desirous of promoting her interests I pray God to make you instrumental of much good to Zion

Our Missionary the Revd. Mr. Wright[30] passed hastily through your neighborhood last fall but did not stay long enough to do much good God willing he will again visit that quarter next summer & if you both are spared he will not leave it until he has had an interview with you We expect too at our next Convention to admit two more to the order of Deacons both of whom will be employed as Missionaries in this state Taking them into connection with the candidates that still remain we have a tolerable prospect of supplying the wants of the Chh. May the Lord of the harvest bless the present & raise up abundance of future laborers

On that delicate & interesting subject on which you have kindly given me a few hints I shall be happy to hear farther from you when circumstances permit at the same time I highly approve the prudence & the piety that make you anxious to do the greatest good at the lease possible expence.

Could you not by writing to Joseph Abernathy induce him to send on at some convenient opportunity the records which he carried with him For they can be of no possible service to him

My letter is short but my affliction of the eyes must plead my apology Do let me hear from you frequently & believe me to be most sincerely

Yr brother in Ch.

A. Empie

Revd. R. J. Miller

Hillsborough May 4th 1821

Revd. & Dear Sir

I have come to this place on a visit of two or three days & though my eyes will not permit me to say much I cannot refrain dropping you a

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[30] Thomas Wright was born in New York, but moved to Wilmington to engage in business. He soon became interested in the ministry and was ordained a deacon in 1820. Most of his early years were given to Calvary Church and the Wadesboro community. In 1826 he moved to Salisbury as rector of St. John's Church. In 1832 he moved to La Grange and later to Memphis, Tennessee, where he died in 1853. *Sketches of Church History*, p. 398; *Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Convention . . . 1828*, p. 16; Robert B. Owens, *History of St. John's Church Salisbury*, pp. 12, 14.

few lines After you left us Judge Cameron[31] Rev[d]. M[r]. Bedell & myself were appointed a Committee of delegation to attend the Lutheran Synod & God willing we expect all to attend The circumstances of your being among them is one highly favorable* to our contemplated union As Episcopalians many if not all of us would have scrupled to receive the communion from hands not Episcopally ordained but now as you continue still to minister as one of them the elements may be consecrated by yourself & this is a measure which for the sake of peace accomodation & unity we hope our Lutheran brethren will most readily adopt We pray that both sides may manifest a most conciliatory spirit that has nothing in view but the salvation of souls the prosperity of religion & the glory of God As for our part we are determined to yield every thing we can in consistency with our consciences our ordination vows the established rules of our Church & the consequent duties that we owe to the Laiety to which we belong

Do send to me as soon as possible by mail a Lutheran catechism & any thing else which can be sent by mail & which contains any portion of the formulas or the standards or an explanation of the standard doctrines of the Lutheran Church If it can be done in this way send me even a Lutheran prayer book & I will pay you for all when if the Lord pleases I see you at the Synod

And let me request you my Rev[d]. Brother not to pay for the postage of what you send to me Though I have not a super-abundance thank heaven I have a competency & shall be happy to hear from you as often as you can make it convenient to write May the Lord long preserve you & make you eminently useful to the interests of our Zion

Very respectfully
Your much obliged friend & brother in Ch[h]
A. Empie

*See middle of first page) I cannot help here again remarking that I discover in this the finger of God The Lord seems to remove every obstacle out of the way & thus encourages us to proceed in our work & gives us intimations of its happy termination
Rev[d]. R. J. Miller

P.S. In what part of Guilford[32] will the Synod meet? at Greensborough?

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[31] Duncan Cameron of Hillsboro, Rev. George T. Bedell, rector of St. John's Church, Fayetteville, and secretary of the convention, and Rev. Adam Empie, rector of St. James's Church, Wilmington, were appointed a committee to attend the Lutheran Synod. This committee was authorized "to consider of and agree upon such terms of union, as may tend to the mutual advantage and welfare of both Churches, not inconsistant with the Constitution and Canona of this Church." *Sketches of Church History*, pp. 400, 401, 407; *Journal of the Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention of the Protestant Church in the State of North Carolina . . .*, p. 19.

[32] This synod was held June 17, 1821, at Lau's Church Guilford County, N. C.

Christs Ch^h. Rowan
13th. Septr. 1823

Rev^d and Dear
Sir & Bro^r

Your Favour of the 13th. Augt. I received on the 6th inst on my arrival in Salisbury– I am much obliged to you for the information given me, and regrett exceedingly that from the difficulty of Communication, I should be deprived of the pleasure of your Company, and also be abridged in the Visits I had intended, to all the Congregations under your Care–

M^r. Wright joined me on Thursday Morning at M^r. Halls– after I had dispaired of seeing either of you– and we have officiated on that day– today– and purpose the same tomorrow in this Congregation– From thence I shall visit S^t. Michaels[33] having had the means of giving them notice for Tuesday– But as there is no information, of the Congregations in the County of Lincoln being apprised of my Visit, and it would Consequently be labour lost, or nearly so to visit them– I have concluded with the concurrence of M^r. Wrights opinion in favour of the Measure, to proceed direct to Wadesborough– and thence by Raleigh, home—looking to some future opportunity, by Divine Permission, to meet you Face to Face and be refreshed with your Company–

I sympathise very sincerely with the laborious station you have to fill– knowing by Experience both the labour and the anxiety which it occasions– But it is in the Service of a Master, who has wherewithall to reward his serv^ts Your Time of Life too demands Repose, and it is much in my desire and Intentions to contribute to it, while at the same time I have in view the welfare of the Churches– In the present distress, no other mode presents itself, than that of obtaining Lay Readers, in the different Congregations– a Resource long known to the Church, and oftentimes much favoured– This removes much of the anxiety which preys on the Mind of the Pastor– while the Flock is out of his view– it keeps them to the Liturgy, and prevents their running into strange Pastures, for still stranger food. And thus provides an antidote to that Indifference, which invariably follows mixed Services– The want of suitable persons however, to fill this office, is the chief difficulty, but where ever they can be had, I am desirous to employ them. Will you therefore be good enough to point out to me such persons, in your different Congregations, as would suitably fill this office– and advise me of their Consent, that I may forward to you the requisite authority for them to act–

M^r. Wright accords with me in these views and we have prevailed on M^r. Barber[34] to fill the place, in Christs Church,[35] on the vacant Sundays which his other avocations will permit–

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[33] St. Micheal's Church, Iredell County. Robert J. Miller was rector.
[34] William Barber was authorized by Bishop Ravenscroft to officiate as lay reader. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention . . . 1824*, p. 10.
[35] Christ Church, Salisbury, N. C.

I do not expect to be fixed in Raleigh before December– tho I may be there during the sitting of the Legislature– My present address is Boydton– Mecklenburg County Va where it will give me pleasure to hear from you. Tho my present visit has not been as extensively useful as I wished– I trust it will not be without its Influence on the prosperity of our Zion– and it will furnish me with the Means of makeing my future appointments with more precision, having furnished me with a more correct Idea of places and Distances–

The Friends of the Church in Salisbury have declared themselves, and organised, a Station which I consider of great Importance, if we could find a suitable person to take Charge–

I Pray God to keep you in health and Peace– to Bless your Labours, and Reward your Self Denial and Devotedness to his Cause with a Crown of Glory– and entreating your Prayers for Myself and the Church over which the Providence of allmighty God hath sett me I remain your affecte. Friend & Pastor

Jno S. Ravensc[roft][36]

Whatever your Experience may suggest as profitable for general or particular good, in the administration of the affairs is expected, and will be thankfully received–

Raleigh 26th. Decr. 1823–

Revd and Dear
Sir and Brother

Your Favour of the 29th Oct^{r}, I received from Mr. Green[37] a few days past, on my way to this place, and heartily thank you, for your kind Solicitude, in behalf of myself, and the Charge over which I am called to preside– May your Prayers, and those of many others, be heard and answered, to the Glory of God, in the Welfare of his Church and People–

I regrett exceedingly, the Casualty, which prevented my seeing you, during my visit to the West, both on your account, and my own– as I counted on much information and advice from your long Experience and intimate acquaintance with the People of that Section of the

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[36] John Stark Ravenscroft was born in Prince George County, Va., in 1772. While he was quite young his parents took him to England and settled in Scotland. His father died soon afterward. On receiving an education he later returned to Virginia to look after his property; studied at William and Mary; joined the Methodist Church, but becoming interested in the ministry joined the Episcopal Church in 1815; was ordained in 1817 and became rector of St. James's Church in Mecklenburg County, Va.; was elected bishop of North Carolina, 1823; and died March 5, 1830. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 52.

[37] William Mercer Green was born in Wilmington, N. C., May 2, 1798; graduated from the University of North Carolina, 1818; studied theology under Bishop Moore; was ordained a deacon 1821 and priest 1822; was rector of St. John's Church, Williamsboro, 1821-1825; served as rector of St. Matthews's Church, Hillsboro, which he had founded, 1825-1837; was chaplain and professor of rhetoric and logic in the University of North Carolina, 1837-1849; was bishop of the Diocese of Mississippi, 1851-1887; and was one of the founders of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee. J. H. Brown (ed.), *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 391.

Diocese– This, however, I trust yet to enjoy, thro' the spareing Mercy of God– not only at our ensuing Convention, but at Marys Grove.[38]

I am truly thankful, that it has pleased God, to work any good Impression by my Means, in the congregation of Christ Church,[39] and at Salisbury– May he carry on his own work.

While confined by Sickness at Wadesborough, I did every thing in my Power, to get these two places supplied with a resident, Pastor– and succeeded so far, as to obtain Mr. Wrights consent to undertake . . . [illegible] makeing suitable provi[sions] . . . [torn] to the Lay Readers recommended by you, for the Different Congregations– with a Blank one for Smyrna,[40] should you be able to procure a suitable person to fill the office– I also enclose some Directions in the exercise of their Duty, which you will be kind enough to read to them–

Some pains and address, I doubt not, will be required, to prevail with the people, to accept of this kind of Edification– very erroneous ideas being instilled into their Minds, on the subject of Preaching. Even with many Episcopalians, the delusion had succeeded so far, that they are rather inclined to wander into strange Pastures, tho' bare and lean– than to feed on the rich Repasts provided for them in our Standard Divines– To counteract this, I know, will be a work of Time– But it is our Duty to instruct them, and try to keep them within our own Enclosures– Permit me to say, that much will depend on your personal Influence, and if not done in your Time, will hardly be done at all– May God spare you, and strengthen you for this work–

I will mention for Information that when I acted as Lay Reader I took the trouble to copy the Sermons I read– conceeding so far to the Prejudices of the people– and with a very happy Effect; and could you prevail with yours, to do the same– it would no doubt render them doubly useful, and lessen the difficulty you will have in getting the People to attend . . . [torn] within a Month . . . [torn] the order, and the . . . [torn] in New York at 30 . . . [torn] on which there will . . . book, for charges. . . . [torn] procureing them for . . . [torn]

I have seen . . . [torn] your proposition– . . . [torn] foot.

It will give me . . . [torn] you, and to write . . . [torn] Zion– very great . . . [torn] down, and they that . . . [torn] is sure– and, we trust, the sett . . . [torn] Watchmen however, must be . . . [torn] "Linen and woolen" . . . [torn] Ministrations, . . . [torn]

With Prayer for you . . . [torn] Temporal and . . . [torn]

[Jnº S. Ravenscroft]

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[38] Mary's Grove was Miller's residence.
[39] Christ Church, Raleigh, N. C.
[40] Smyrna Church, Lincoln County. Robert J. Miller was rector.

Raleigh 23d Augt. 1824

Revd and Dear Sir

According to my promise at Convention– I now apprise you in Time of my course of Visits in the Western Section of the Diocese– My own knowledge of the Country however, will only allow me to fix them as far as Salisbury– afterwards, you must arrange the times and places, within the Limits I have fixed–

I have written to Salisbury that I shall be there on the Third Sunday in October– and as I give the previous week to the neighbourhood of Christs Church Rowan, shall be able to leave Salisbury on the 18th. or 19th. for your Residence. I have notified Bror. Wright that I shall be in Wadesborough on the First Sunday in November– you have therefore from the Third Sunday in October to the First in November to dispose of among your Congregations– giveing me reasonable Time to travel from place to place, and arranging it so as to forward me on my route to Wadesborough–

Should there be any Candidates for Confirmation, you will please to give notice of the opportunity– and take a List of the Names, for your own Register– and that I may be Certified, thro' you that they are properly prepared–

Rumour no doubt has reached you, with its usual exagerations of the Case of our Bror. Hooper–[41] It has ended however for the present, in his requesting permission to withdraw from all Ministerial Duty for a Season, to give his Mind time to recover its balance, and regain Composure– This I have assented to, not only as the best measure, but as absolutely necessary to his Health both of Body and Mind–

From the Principles laid down in my convention Sermon[42] and approved of by that Body– he found that he was not an Episcopalian– and as Clergy and Laity were called upon to act upon our known principles, he felt it his Duty to apprise me, that he could not bear his part in the rivival of the Church, in its distinctive Character– and therefore purposed to resign his Charge unless something from me in reply to that Letter should produce a Change– The issue of the Correspondence I have mentioned above– The prejudices of early Education, and the warmth of his personal Feelings, are yet too strong for

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[41] William Hooper was born in Hillsboro, N. C., August 31, 1792, the son of William and Helen (Hogg) Hooper; graduated from the University of North Carolina, 1809; received an A.M. Degree, 1811; was tutor, 1810-1817, and professor of ancient languages in the University, 1817-1822; studied at Princeton Theological Seminary one session; was ordained deacon 1819 and priest 1822; was rector St. John's Church, Fayetteville, N. C., 1822-1824; was professor in the University, 1825-1837; became an adherent of the Baptist denomination, 1831; was professor of theology in Furman Institute, near Winnsboro, S. C., 1834-1840; was professor of Romance languages in South Carolina College, Columbia, S. C., 1840-1846; was president of Wake Forest College, 1846-1849; was teacher of a boys school, Littleton, N. C., 1849-1851; was pastor of the Baptist Church, New Bern, 1852-1854; was president of Chowan Collegiate Institute, Murfreesboro, N. C., 1855-1861; was teacher in the Female Seminary, Fayetteville, N. C., 1861-1865; was assistant principal of Wilson Collegiate Seminary for Young Ladies, 1866-1875; married Fannie P. Jones, daughter of Edmund Jones, solicitor general of North Carolina; and died at Chapel Hill, N. C., Aug. 19, 1876. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 141-142.

[42] This was his first convention sermon which he delivered in 1824. It was entitled "A Sermon on the Church." John Stark Ravenscroft, *Works*, I, pp. 38, 95.

Reason and Scripture– Nor am I sanguine as to the result of the consideration he may give the subject in his Retirement. He is greatly to be pitied– and has the sincere Commiseration of all his Brethren– He has been dealt with in the gentlest manner for which he expresses himself very grateful.

You have thus the outline of the only Circumstance of any Moment in the affairs of the Church, which has lately occurred– and will be able to correct the Misrepresentations of it, which are very plentiful all around– if they have reached you– I hope you have health enough to enjoy all the Blessings a gracious God sees fit to bestow upon you, and are looking forward with Christian Faith and Hope to that promised period– when Age and decay shall be exchanged for Immortal Youth and Eternal Glory–

Your affectte. Friend & Pastor
Jno S. Ravenscroft

Raleigh 7th. Septr. 1824

Revd and Dear Bror

Since writing you on the 23d of last month– I have seen the Revd. Mr. Green who thinks I have not allowed myself sufficient Time for the Congregations west and south of Salisbury– I therefore forward this to advise you that I have altered my appointment for Wadesboro– to the 2d Sunday in Novr which will give you an additional week to dispose of among the Congregations in Lincoln– That is to say the appointments in my Letter of the 23d Augt. will stand as there fixed to the 3d Sunday in Octr at Salisbury, after that, at your disposal in Burke and Lincoln untill the 2d Sunday in Novr. when I am to be in Wadesborough–

With Salutations of Mercy and Peace I am your affecte. Friend and Pastor

Jno S. Ravenscroft

Revd. Mr. Miller

Charlotte 8th. Novr. 1824

Revd and Dear Sir

I have arranged with the Printer for the publication of the address at the price of three dollars– which is a dollar per quire; and Mr. Abernathy has promised to be in tomorrow, to take them out, and attend to the Distribution of those for Whitehaven– He has also promised to send those for the two other Congregations to Alfred Burton, to whom I shall write requesting him to forward them to Smyrna, and from thence to Mrs. Perkins's– for St. Peters, to be distributed– Whether this will be done I know not, and I confess I have my doubts, even of so much exertion in the Cause, but it is all I can do– I enclose you one,

as it may assist in bringing forward the same plan in your own neighbourhood–

I preached at Whitehaven on Thursday and Confirmed Seven persons– Mrs. Byers one– Mrs. Graham was there, but did not come forward–

I preached here yesterday on the Invitation of Dr. McCrie[43] but with rather a costive consent as I thought from Mr. Caldwell–[44] who after I had closed came up into the Pulpit– and requested the patience of the People for a short Discourse– This I sat and heard, but refrained from all mixture with them– They are very Jealous– but they appear to have it all their own way–

I was attacked on Friday night with a pretty severe Bowel complaint the consequence of cold from that inclement Sunday– It is however better, and I shall proceed on my way on Wednesday– I lodge at Dr. Hendersons,[45] who is much perplexed with the severe indisposition of his youngest boy, the House also is public– and I shall have to give up my Room to the first Lawyer that comes–

Robt. Burton[46] I learn was not at Statesville, neither will he be here, the Judge however will send the Sermon I hope.

You will not receive this untill you come to Whitehaven, you will however I trust be decided with all the Congregations– for I fancy if they have any hope that you will Continue to serve them, they will make no Effort–

Remember me affectionately to Mrs. Miller and all your Family and believe me, very truly yr. Friend & Brother in our Common Lord

Jno S. Ravenscroft

P.S. I shall expect to hear from you, at length between and Xmass–

Raleigh 26th. Novr. 1824

Revd and Dear Sir

I reached home day before yesterday haveing to take Fayette in my way in consequence of Mr. Hoopers proceedings– which I stated to you in my Letter from Wadesboro.

Thro' the good Providence of God, the intention to Divide the Congregation and dismember the Church by a new Schism, has failed– the Congregation remains united and Mr. Hooper is displaced from the Ministry, of which you are required to give notice after Divine

[43] Probably Dr. James McRee, a Presbyterian minister, who was interested in and president of the board of trustees of Western College, C. L. Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840*, pp. 650-670, 683-690; Colin McIver, *The North Carolina Register, and United States Calendar, for Year of our Lord 1823*, p. 97.

[44] Samuel Craig Caldwell was a son of David Caldwell. He taught school and was pastor of Sugar Creek Church. He also preached for the Presbyterian congregation in Charlotte. H. A. White, *Southern Presbyterian Leaders*, pp. 204, 242, 243; J. B. Alexander. *The History of Mecklenburg County*, 1740-1900, p. 69, 254.

[45] The editor has been unable to identify this man. There were several Doctor Hendersons in and near Charlotte. See D. A. Thompkins, *History of Mecklenburg County and the City of Charlotte from 1740 to 1903*, I, 80 ff. Marriage Bonds of Mecklenburg County in State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[46] Probably Robert H. Burton who was a lay-reader at Whitehaven, Lincoln County.

Service where you officiate– according to the annexed Form, which is provided to secure Uniformity in all the Churches–

Mr. Wright went with me to Fayetteville– and I hope has by this Time received the Call from Salisbury and Christ Church– if so that important Post will be occupied by a loyal officer–

I met with Robt. Burton in Charlotte and had a good deal of Conversation with him, in company with Mr. Abernathy– Upon the whole it was favourable to our views, and his Cooperation may be counted on at Whitehaven. If you receive this before you sett out for Lincoln, it will inform you that you will meet the addresses and a Letter from me waiting your arrival– and the people I hope prepared to exert themselves– You may tell them, that I shall pay every attention to have their wants supplied– and encourage them to go on in prepareing their respective places of Worship, that when a Clergyman is obtained he may have a place to officiate in

I have not yet seen Major Forney–[47] haveing been close at my Table writing and answering Letters, and shall hardly get thro' today– This must excuse my being so brief– Remember me to Mrs. Miller and your Children, and to all the Brethren– and Believe me very truly your affectionate Friend & Pastor

Jno S. Ravenscroft

P. S. I shall expect to hear from you on your return from Lincoln, at large—

Notice

The Congregation is requested to take notice that Mr. William Hooper, heretofore a Presbyter of this Church, haveing refused to conform to the articles and Liturgy of the Church, and haveing withdrawn from the Church, is displaced from the Ministerial office, according to the Provisions of the 7th Canon of 1820– by the Sentence of the Bishop with the advice of the standing Committee—

Raleigh 10th. Jany 1825

Revd and Dear Bror.

I have waited with great impatience to hear from you on the Determination of the Congregations in Lincoln— but hitherto in vain— This Impatience is sharpened by my learning on Friday last, that no call has yet been forwarded from Rowan to Mr. Wright—

I have of this date written to the respective Congregations to know the Reason— and as I addressed a Letter to you from Wadesboro: requesting your aid in prepareing the Call and expiditeing the Business—— I again made application that I may be informed of the true state of things, both in Rowan and Lincoln

In the applications made to me by young Clergymen for employment, it is impossible to act, where I am kept in the dark— and I have one or two at this moment, waiting better information on my part.

[47] Probably Daniel M. Forney who was a lay-reader at Whitehaven, Lincoln County.

Will you by return of Post relieve my anxiety as far as may be in your Power— as also— that it has not been sickness but absence that has kept you silent— Yet the Post travels in all directions, and I could as well have received a Line from S. Carolina as from Burke or Lincoln—

I am barely out of Bed with a severe cold which has followed me up for a month— I trust that you and yours enjoy good Health and with my Prayers for continuance of that and every Blessing to your Domicil I am

Your affect. Friend and Pastor

Jno. S. Ravenscroft

Revd Robt. J. Miller

Wilmington (N. C.) March 8, 1825

Revd. & Dea[r Sir]

Soon after our last Convention I recd. a copy of the Minutes of the Synod of the Ev. Luth. Ch in State of New York in which I observe a communication from the Revv. G. Shober[48] containing statements that appear to me incorrect & injurious to our Chh. You have I presume seen these minutes & the object of this letter is to request that you will bring or send on to me here or at our next Convention all the documents you have or can procure in reference to this subject to disprove the erroneous statements above aluded to Have you any document to *prove* that you came as a *deputy* from the Luther. Ch. *appointed* by them? Who sanctioned your deputation? Did you not bring us a letter from them appointing you & containing some *propositions* in *consequence* of which were sent deputies to meet them. Did not *they* make the *first* motion in this matter

I hope Revd. & Dear[r Sir] that your health is good & that you and yours are growing in grace as you grow in years

Respectfully & affectionately

Your friend & brother

A. Empie

Revd. R. J. Miller

Raleigh 25th. Mar. 1825

Revd. and Dear Sir

I have once more, thro' the goodness of God; got about- and was able to preach last Sunday, once— the first time since 2d Jany—

I have spent a good deal of thought on the Condition of the Churches in Lincoln, under the information of your letter of the 18th. Feby—

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[48] Gottlieb Schober was a member of the Moravian Church; was ordained at Organ Church, October 21, 1810; labored in Stokes County, N. C.; and was a member of the Lutheran committee to work toward a joint meeting with the Episcopal Church. G. D. Bernheim, *History of the German Settlement and the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, p. 461; G. D. Bernheim and George H. Cox, *The History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod and Ministerium of North Carolina*, p. 164.

but I do not see what is to be done for them. A clergyman of any description I have not to send— and if I had— I could not think of sending him there, on an uncertainty— or rather, to work for nothing and find himself, when I have vacant congregations, who are willing to give a reasonable support— If therefore they continue thus minded, the hope must be abandoned, at least for the present— People who will not help themselves, in so serious a Concern as Religion— cannot expect others to help them—

I shall however write to Mr. R. Burton on the subject, and by the same Mail that carries this— tho' what Interest to appeal to, that has not been already tried I know not— His professional Engagements prevent his being personally active in sounding and rouseing the People— but I can not help thinking, that if such Men as himself and Major Forney— were to shew themselves really in earnest, and engaged seriously for the cause; Many, not now thought of, would lend a hand— but the great Evil is, a Luke warmness, to the cause, even where they profess a preference for the Church— Untill this is remedied— things will continue as they are— May God preserve them from getting worse–

The Disscussion occasioned by my Bible Society Sermon has been favourable to the Cause of the Church so far– The Presbyterians have taken it up– as trenching upon their foundation– This I am prepared for– part of the Controversy is now in the press– and I shall endeavour to have my part out as soon after convention as possible– What the Event may be I cannot predict– I only know this– that I have the question, now between us, perfectly in my favour– and in such a shape as to meet the apprehension of every plain mind– People must be roused from the Delusion, that all professions of Christian Faith are equally safe for Salvation– Nothing else can start them to think, and stir them, from that apathy, into which they are sunk, on this vital Interest.

I hope your health is such, and that of your family, that you will be able to begin your Spring Duties with vigour– and that thro' Gods blessing, the buds of Grace, will keep pace with the Natural buds, around St. Andrews[49] Let me recommend to you, not to have more than two preaching places– occasional preaching at distant places of worship seldom prospers– With a fixed Congregation, a man may learn their condition, so as to suit his public services to their wants– Moreover, one fixed Congregation, adds more to our strength, than 20 floating neighbourhoods–

Remember me affectionately to Mrs. Miller and your Family, God bless you and them– also to Colo. Bairds family, when you can– Shall we see you at Convention? I hope so– I shall leave this place, God willing, on the 11th. of April, for Newbern, on my way to Washington where we meet on the 21t My Wife is only in tolerable health, she desires to be remembered to you.

Your affecte. Friend & Pastor
Jno S. Ravenscroft

Wilmington (N. C.) May 31 1825

Revd. & Dear Sir

I was in hopes of having seen you at our Convention or of receiving from you at that time the documents I mentioned It however even now is not too late & I think that it is but right & what might be expected that we should take notice of such things as tend to reflect dishonor upon the Church or upon ourselves I have accordingly written to Mr. Quitman[50] of New York briefly & plainly stating the whole case without insinuating any thing disrespectable to Mr. Shober but charitably presuming that he did not intend to injure us or misrepresent the truth My statement however merely concerns our Conventional act As far as you are personally implicated & indeed as far as you can corroborate my statement, with all due respect for the Bishops opinion, I must be permitted to say that I think it your *duty* not to keep silence In my opinion you ought to write to the President or Secretary of that Synod to which Mr. Shobers communication was made & state without passion *in the calmest manner* those things only which you can *prove* either by testimony or by documents As you will gain nothing but lose much by speaking of Mr. Shober as he is & as you believe him to be let charity put the best possible construction upon his words & his deeds So upon the supposition that he has forgotten or been misinformed or judges or expresses himself inaccurately & profess to write for the purpose of giving more correct information, preventing erroneous impressions & defending your own character & that of your Church Say nothing that can irritate either Mr. Shober or his brethren abroad any further than the facts & truths you are obliged to state in self defence but let your pen be guided by the kind forgiving & charitable spirit of the gospel

May the Lord direct & bless you

A. Empie

Revd. R. J. Miller

Raleigh 8th. Septr. 1825

Revd and Dear Sir

Your Favour of the 26th. August caught me, (which is not common) in arrears to your former Letter– but in Truth I have so much on my hands at present indeed thro' the whole Summer, that I sometimes wonder I am not further behind– a better Reason for the delay however was– that I was waiting for some certain information as to the obtaining a Missionary for the west– and I can now say– that I have

[49] St. Andrew's Church, Burke County.

[50] Frederick Henry Quitman was born in Westphalia, Aug. 7, 1760; was educated at the University of Halle; received Lutheran orders in 1781; became pastor at Curaco in the Carribean Sea; came to New York, 1795; was pastor at Schoharie, N. Y., for two years; was pastor at St. Peter's on the road between Phinebeck and Red Hook; was president of the New York Synod; was a compiler of hymn books; published several works; and died June 26, 1842. J. H. Brown (ed.), *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XI, 419.

the Rev^{d}. M^{r}. Brainards[51] Letter, adviseing me, that he will leave Vermont about this time, and be with us, as speedily as he can travel– My object was to have had him in time to have spent the Summer Months to the west, and the Winter and Spring in the Lower Country, where our prospects are very flattering–

I am grieved at the Report you give, of the State of Christs Church Rowan– and the more so– as I had hoped that M^{r}. Wrights Services, were prepareing the way for a united Effort to settle him among them, during the ensuing winter– and I will yet hope, that a favourable issue will ensue at my next visit this fall–

We must expect every Effort to be made by the Presbyterians to hold their ground– They feel that the Blow is a mortal one– and they are contending *pro aris et focis*–[52] Their advantage moreover is great in the ignorance of the People– but this should stir us up to exertions to enlighten them–

I am sorry, but not surprised at the report you give of Lincoln– It is very hard to overcome a wrong direction given to the views and Conduct of the People in Religious Concerns– I shall however write to day to Robert Burton, on the subject of the expected Missionary, and so as to draw from him an Expression of his views of the state of the Neighbourhood. By that I shall be in a great degree guided in extending my Visit into Lincoln–

I have endeavoured to send you, my answer to Mitchell &^{c}. but postage is now so high on pamphlets that we have to look for private conveyances not many of which present themselves– Even our Journals are thereby delayed–

What do you think of opening the next Convention[53] at Hillsborough– the right is yours– and I much wish you would undertake it– as from your age, Observation and Experience of the various results, of opposite views of Religious Truth, you might give "the Conclusion of the whole matter" as a most valuable Legacy to the Church. Please to think it over, asking Counsel from above, and remember that you have plenty of Time to prepare it– I speak with the utmost seriousness when I say– that great things might grow out of it and the last, very public, act, of your ministerial Life, be the most extensively useful–

Give my Love to M^{rs}. M. and your Family, and to the Brethren– yours in Christian Love and Hope

Jno S. Ravenscroft

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[51] Rev. Coralus C. Brainerd was ordained Oct. 16, 1825. He was rector of the congregations at Warrenton and Williamsboro; was junior principal of the Female Academy; and died in Warrenton, Oct. 27, 1826. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church . . .* 1826, p. 10; *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette*, Nov. 3, 1826.

[52] For altars and firesides.

[53] The convention was held at St. Matthew's Church, Hillsboro, May 18-22, 1826.

Raleigh 22d Octr. 1825

Rev^{d} and Dear Sir

I did myself the Pleasure sometime past to address a Letter to you in reply to a communication from you previously received– which I hope has come to hand– Haveing now arranged by trip to the west– I send this to inform you of my Motions– in the Hope of either seeing or hearing from you when in Salisbury–

I have had a communication from M^{r}. Robert Burton, on the subject of the Congregations in Lincoln– which confirms the unfavourable prospect given in your Letter– and renders it a needless labour to visit them unless I had more Time at my disposal– I have also had intimations that the State of the congregation in Rowan is not favourable– I shall therefore Confine my Labours this Fall to to that quarter in the Hope to bring the two congregations of Christ's Church and S^{t}. Lukes[54]– to some definite arrangement on the Subject of a fixed Pastor– I propose being at Christs Ch^{h}. on the Second Sunday in November– and have sent the necessary information to M^{r}. Hall– I have also written to M^{r}. Wright to meet me, and should rejoice to see your Face and obtain your Influence in retaining the sound part of that Congregation– Let me Hope, that neither your age or Infirmities or the state of the weather will prevent your meeting us– and this the rather– because it will be the only opportunity to see you before Convention, from which, I wish to be able to go out with you–

In the rest of the Diocese our prospects are good, and our progress visible– I have lately Consecrated one of the old Churches– S^{t}. Johns Williamsboro'– and ordained, one Deacon[55] and one Priest– The Calls upon my attention and Services in the middle and Eastern Sections of the state, are alone sufficient for all I am equal to– and there is the strength of the church– My Labour has been incessant since I was able to travel last spring–and thro' the Mercy of God my health is firmer than it has been for many years–

There is a great deal more to say to you, than I can find to put upon Paper– and therefore I am the more desirous to see you– I shall go from Christs Church to Anson, and return to Salisbury– giving them Time to consider and act definitely– I am in daily Hopes of the arrival of a Missionary– but as he will come late I shall employ him in the lower Country thro' the Winter and to the west in the Summer season–

I hope you have taken into full Consideration my proposition respecting the Convention Sermon– that you will feel it a Duty– and that God will spare and assist you to give that Testimony to his cause– For I most seriously think that such a view of the Subject as your long Experience entitles you to take, and such a delineation of the Effects of Indifference and Liberality on the Subject of Religion, as

[54] These two churches had been served by the same pastor.

[55] James H. Otey was ordained a deacon and Carolus C. Brainerd was ordained a priest, Oct. 16, 1825. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of Protestant Episcopal Church . . . 1826*, p. 10.

your observation enables you to give, will be a valuable Legacy to your younger Brethren, to your Friends to your Family– and to the cause of God– Stir yourself up then to the Effort, and in the Strength of a Single Eye and of the help of God, speak as one who hath found Grace to be faithful and wishes to leave a Legacy to the Church of God–

Remember me in the kindest manner to Mrs. Miller your Children Colo. Bairds family and all Friends

Believing me your affectione. Friend and Pastor

Jno S. Ravenscroft

Raleigh 25th. Febry 1826

Revd and Dear Sir

Much and very laborious occupation has prevented me hitherto from dropping you a few lines as I intimated when in Rowan– I have not however lost sight of my Duty to enquire after your Welfare and that of your family– or of the purpose I am desirous you should fullfill in opening the next Convention at Hillsborough the 18th. of May– The Duty devolves on you in rotation– and as it will probably sit the next year still farther to the Eastward, we could hardly expect your attendance at such a distance, at your advanced age, was it to please God to continue you among us–

My object however, as I intimated to you, looks further than the mere routine of Duty– As the oldest Man and Clergyman among us– and haveing witnessed more of the Changes and Chances which have befallen the Church than any other– and haveing had experience of the Effect of different Systems of Conduct, on her Interests– We could derive great Benefit from the Result, as witnessed by yourself– and the whole Body be edified and Strengthened in cleaving to the true Foundation of the Hope given to Man thro' the Revelation of Jesus Christ. Even to the Dessenters themselves, it would present a warning of great Effect, when comeing from one so well known and esteemed– and in so solemn a Manner–

I would not however be understood as at all dictating to you– but only throw this out as a hint which you may be able to improve–

I hope the Winter has not treated you harshly– and that as the weather is beginning to break away into something like the Spring, you will in some degree renew your youth– and look forward to the Month of May, as giveing you one more opportunity to meet your Brethren– and enjoy the Comfort and Consolation of mutual Fellowship in a common Cause and a common Hope– It will give me great pleasure to see you Face to Face– as I am sure it will all your Brethren–

I have been laborously engaged in prepareing a Reply to Dr. Rice[56] of Virginia– which in spite of me has swelled into a volume of nearly 200 pages– It is in the press however– and if ready by Convention which I hope, will send you one–

I beg to be kindly remembered to Mrs. Miller and your Family– and to Colo. Reads family– and sincerely hope, that your health and Strength will be sufficient for all that your Master requires of Service at your hands– and that when you have finished your Course here, you will begin a higher and nearer Service in his immediate presence never to end or be interrupted–

Your affectede. Friend & Pastor

Jno S. Ravenscroft

Revd. Mr. Miller–

Raleigh 7th. August 1826

Revd and Dear Bror.

Many apologies are due for my seeming inattention to you– but in very truth, there is nothing either of forgetfulness or dissregard in the long interval since I received your Letter by Mr. Fleming– During the Convention I was [s]o occupied that it was litterally impossible to find more time than sufficed for rest, and hardly that– Since my return home, my occupation has been incessant, and with the very hot dry weather, brought me to such a state of Debility, that I had to decline public Duty and endeavour to rally my strength– Within this few days I perceive that I strengthen– but my Circuits come on again, and if traveling does not agree with me, I shall be sadly disappointed– I have certainly thought of you however every day– and heard with great pleasure that you had so far recovered the Effects of your Fall, as to be able to return home– We were all not a little disappointed at your absence but truly concerned at the painful Cause– and I felt it the more, from the Fear that your leg might be so much hurt as to occasion as much suffering as you endured in 1823– I regretted your absence also on your own account as it would have been very pleasant to meet your Brethren– to see of what kind our young Ministers are– and to be the Eye Witness of the Interest which our influential Laity

[56] Dr. John Holt Rice, a Presbyterian minister, alleged that the Episcopal Church was popish and even anti-christian. Bishop Ravenscroft said ". . . much exertion has been put forth (by Rice) to give false impression of their (Episcopalians) influence on the civil religious liberties of the county." Rice's statements were published in the *Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine.* Ravenscroft replied in an article entitled, "The Doctrines of the Church Vindicated from the Misrepresentations of Dr. John Rice . . ." This article of 209 pages was published in *The Works of the Right Reverand John Stark Ravenscroft, . . .* (New York: Protestant Episcopal Press, 1830, 2 vols.) I, 215 ff.

John Holt Rice was born in 1777; studied at Liberty Hall Academy and New London Academy; in 1796 was appointed tutor in Hampden-Sidney College; studied medicine but gave up the idea of becoming a doctor; later decided to become a preacher; in 1803 began to preach and became pastor of Cob Creek Church, Charlotte County, Virginia; in 1815 began to publish in Richmond *The Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine;* in 1824 became professor of theology at Hamden-Sidney; and died Sept. 3, 1831. H. A. White *Southern Presbyterian Leaders,* pp. 212-220.

take in the advancement of the Church– May God preserve you yet to see all this, in some Convention at Salisbury–

Certainly great things are done, and doing for us– but I fear we are not as sensible of him that worketh them, as we ought to be– we look too much to the arm of Flesh– I find the Eyes of all North and South, are on this Diocese– and I pray God, that no false step, or Forgetfulness of our Living Head, may require him to humble us–

I long greatly to make one more visit to the West, but for my Life cannot see when it will be, But for the Gen[l]. Convention I would have done it this fall– I wish to make one more trial in Lincoln tho my Hope is small– No Missionaries are to be procured, there is such demand for fixed Services– We must therefore leave it to the Lord of the Harvest and double our diligence, while we are able to work.

I hope you have received the Pamphlet I sent to you by the way of Salisbury– and have let your Neighbours see it– some of them may be able to profit by it– It is makeing much noise in Virginia–

You have also received the Journals I trust before this– and will thereby be informed as to our prospects generally– I hope M[rs]. Miller continues able to nurse you and to contribute to your Comfort in all things– that your children are well and prosperous and your crop fruitful– Great Scarceity not to say Famine, threatens all this Middle Country. Thousands will not make bread to eat– May we see the rod and him who appoints it– The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Love of God and the Fellowship of the Spirit, be with you and yours–

Jn[o] S. Ravenscroft

Raleigh 22[d] Jany 1827

Rev[d]. and Dear Sir

Your acceptable favour of the 17[th]. Oct[r]. has remained thus long unanswered because of my absence in Philadelphia from whence I did not return until the 12 Dec[r]. and since then by the pressure of many kinds of business upon me, and by some, tho' not serious indisposition. The passed year has been one of great concern to this Diocese in the loss of two of our young and most active labourers with neither of whom, I believe, you were acquainted– It has however been otherwise favourable to the church, and I humbly trust, that he who hath seen fit to remove, will also provide, Labourers for his vineyard– M[r]. Pierson[57] and M[r]. Brainerd, were both very acceptable men, and it will not be easy to supply the wishes of their people with similar men– The proceedings of the Gen[l]. Convention were not of any very marked character– yet the advantage of intercourse and interchange of opinion, among the members, is very profitable to the general Interests, and compensates for the labour and expense of the Journey–

[57] Joseph Pierson was rector of St. Peter's Church, Washington, N. C. This church was reported as a new congregation in the convention journal of 1824. Pierson died in Washington, D. C., after an illness of 48 days. He was 28 years old. *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette*, Oct. 6, 1826.

Your information of the state of the Church in the West, does not surprise me– and tho' I have not given them up, I have ceased to be sanguine as to any revival of the Cause with the Divine permission however, I purpose seeing them in the course of this Spring– to make one more effort to rally the scattered flock– and start them afresh– But of the Time I cannot now speak with certainty–

I am happy that the accident you met with has had no bad effect on your general health– and I trust you are still able to do something for the Master– at S[t]. Andrews and Johns River[58]– If we can keep the Flax smoaking until another generation arises as it will have more information and of course fewer prejudices, our success may be greater– at present the ignorance of the people is too great and too general, either to estimate aright, the claims and character of the church– or to see thro the artifices of the Sectaries, who certainly speculate largely on this ground– and it is with an Eye to this very point– that I have endeavoured to draw the Presbyterians out, on their Foundation– and to shew that they have none, that a sincere and informed Christian would trust to– I am sorry however to say that the books are all disposed of; the Edition was small– and tho' sold at a high price, was a loseing job, and to a considerable amount–

I am sorry to learn that your active little woman is so afflicted with her cough– I trust however, that she will not only be spared to you, but so spared as to be able to nurse you and keep you comfortable while you remain with us–

I have seen M[r]. Matthew Baird but once, since he has been in Town, but had a very little chat with him about the Church, M[r]. Forney I have not seen– but mean to do so– and talk largely with him– M[r]. Burton I have lost all hope of– God willing however, I will go to that neighbourhood once more– and bring them to the point– My greatest difficulty will be, in finding a Missionary– Clergymen are so scarce– and many of them are affraid to come to this Diocese– supposeing it to be unhealthy

I want three at this moment, and have places ready for them, with a good support for a single man, but have no good prospect of a supply– My trust however is upon him who watches over his Cause– and as he sees good, will move the wills– and stir up the desires of his people to put forth an Effort for the re[vival] of his church– and to him I commit you and all your concerns– requesting to be kindly remembered to your Wife and to such of your Family as are with you– and to Col[o]. Bairds family– My wife is well, but is at present in Virginia–

Your affect[e]. Friend and Pastor

Jn[o] S. Ravenscroft

[58] Located on the Catawba River. Robert J. Miller was rector.

Raleigh 26th. June 1827–

Revd. and Dear Sir

Feeling a strong desire to see you and your good woman once more, if the Lord will– and make up to your Flock the services which sickness and other engagements have interrupted to my great regrett– I shall make my Summer Tour this year in the west, and you may give notice for me at St. Andrews on the first Sunday in August for the usual Services– and for Confirmation and the Communion– I take Salisbury of course in my way– and have appointed Sunday the 29th. July for the consecration of Christs Church Rowan– where I shall be rejoiced to meet you if your health will possibly permit– Mr. Green is to be there, and perhaps another– but the Ceremony is always more interesting in proportion to the number of Clergymen–

I have so little encouragement from Lincoln, that I consider it a waste of my Time to go there– and especially without you– which I cannot expect now– Indeed the last letter I received from Robert Burton, seemed to close up that door– and the more so– as we have no Missionary to send among them– Should it please God however to give us a Missionary suited to the place I will not forget them– But in the mean time, I have too much on my hands for the time allotted me, to spend it, where there is so little prospect of advantage to the Church– My Health also, has given way under fatigue, Exposure and years– and tho' I am now gaining– yet I feel that a little matter would throw me back– This you know better than I do, by your own experience– Yet still, where Duty calls me I am willing to spend and be spent for the cause–

Our convention[59] was reasonably well attended, in Newbern, and the goodness of the Lord, is manifest in the increase he gives us thro'out the Diocese, yet it is mixed up with some Calamity in the Death and removal of Clergymen, whose places are hard to be supplied– Remember me kindly to your Family to Colo. Beards– & all friends–

Your affecte. Friend and Pastor

Jno S. Ravenscroft

Williamsboro No. Ca. 16th. June 1828

Revd. and Dear Sir

Circumstances having occurred which prevent my commenceing my Visits to the Western churches, a week earlier than my original purpose, as I wrote you I could do– if necessary for your convenience in joining me at Salisbury– I lose no time in informing you thereof, lest you should form your plans upon it, and be dissapointed– My attendance at Salisbury therefore is fixed for the 4th Sunday in July, being the 27th day of the month– It would however be cruel in me, to drag you so far from home, to meet a dissapointment, which may

[59] The convention was held in Christ's Church, New Bern, May 17-21, 1827.

take place– owing to the very precarious state of my wifes health– which has been severely attacked since I wrote to you, and in such wise, as to render it very uncertain, whether I can leave her–

If it shall please God– so to order this Event, that I can leave home with propriety– I shall pass from Christs Church to Beatys Ford in order to visit the Whilehaven[60] and Smyrna people, to sett Mr Wiley[61] in as a Missionary for a few months– and to try the virtue of the Catawba Springs upon my own health– from thence I shall pass thro Morganton, on my way to Buncombe– proposing to pass Sunday the 17th. Augt. in Morganton– where I much wish you would endeavour to be on the 16th., running the risk of dissapointment, for so short a distance–

Returning from Buncombe I hope to reach your house on the 28th. Augt. and spend the following Saturday and Sunday at St. Andrews, and a few days more with you, before I sett out on my Journey homewards–

This appointment you may make for me at St. Andrews reserving the knowledge that it may fail, to yourself, but being in readiness to account for it– should it happen–

It would please me greatly should it be so ordered that we could be together in Lincoln, but on the present uncertainty, I cannot expect you to encounter the fatigue, Mr. Wiley however will go on, whether I go or not, and it would be greatly useful to him, to have your Countenance and advice– I mean him also to help you, in your neighbourhood– and if you can find work for him, round about– don't let him be idle– He goes chiefly for Exercise and Health, and if I am prevented, will be in Lincoln nearly a month sooner– I shall send him first to Capt. Byers and Major Forney– and next to you–

I hope your health is as good as you have reason to expect it– that your Family is in Comfort, and that you are waiting for your change, in Patience and assurance– May the Lord multiply his comforts to your soul, and keep your Body from suffering more than you can cheerfully bear–

Your affect: Friend and Brother

Jno S. Ravenscroft

Revd. Robt. J. Miller

Salisbury 28th. July 1828

Revd. and Dear Sir

Not meeting you here, I send these few lines to apprise you, that I have been permitted to commence my Journey and have progressed

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[60] Whitehaven was in Lincoln County about 16 miles from Charlotte. Robert J. Miller preached there as a Methodist, Lutheran, and Episcopal minister. After a misunderstanding over the use of the building, the Lutherans built another church about two miles to the north and called it Whitehaven. Whitehaven as an Episcopal congregation ceased to exist after 1846. *Sketches of Church History*, pp. 266, 269, 270, 369-400.

[61] Philip B. Wiley was ordained a deacon in St. Paul's Church, Edenton, April 30, 1825. He was deacon of Christ's Church, Elizabeth City, 1825-1826. In 1827 he moved to Fayetteville as rector of St. John's Church. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention . . . 1826*, p. 16; *Journal of the Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Convention, . . . 1828*, p. 14.

this far– My Health presents no very marked improvement, but as it does not decline, I may hope the Exercise will be advantageous–

Mr. Wiley joined me here, and goes on with me from Christs Church to Lincoln, to which place I have sent notices to day I shall spend about a week at the Springs and preach for them, if they wish it, as will Mr. Wiley, if his health will permit. Should he conclude to act as Missionary I shall send him up to you, and write by him from Lincoln–

As it is possible I may be a day sooner or later in getting to Morganton than I mentioned (the 17th.) I have considered that it would be fatiguing you needlessly to meet me there on that day, as I requested, and as I shall only pass thro on my way to Buncombe– You need not put yourself to any trouble to get there–

Health is generally enjoyed in this place with the exception of the Children, among whom there is an Epidemic Cold– I go to Christs Church this week– and to Beatties Ford on Monday the 4th. Augt.

Mr. Wright desires to be remembered to in the kindest manner– he talks of going with us to Lincoln–

My Love to your Family

Yours in haste

Jno S. Ravenscroft

Catawba Springs 12th. Augt. 1828–

Revd. and Dear Sir

I wrote you from Salisbury informing you, that after a residence of about a week at this place, I should proceed Westward, on the remaining part of my Journey– and, that as my Motions would be regulated by the prospect of Benefit to my health– it might occasion so much uncertainty in them– that I was unwilling to give you the fatigue of a ride to Morganton, at the risk of not finding me there– I hope you have received the Letter, and as this ought to reach you in sufficient time to answer my purpose– I write to inform you further, that I understand by persons from Morganton, that notice is given for me to preach there next Sunday– This notice, as judging it to be made at your instance, I would certainly attend to, however much it might delay my purpose of reaching the Warm Springs as early as possible, but I further learn, that a Presbyterian Camp Meeting commences on Saturday next, near Morganton– and as that is a complete bar to all expectation of a Congregation, unless at the Camp ground– where I cannot consent even to be seen– I shall merely pass thro' Morganton, on my way Westward–

A similar interruption in my intended appointments for this neighbourhood, has been occasioned by a Methodist Camp Meeting within a mile of this place, which began last Friday, and is to conclude this morning– so that I have preached but once, on an appointment of Mrs. A– Burton, at Unity– and on Sunday at the Springs– to such of the

company as were kept from the Camp ground, by the witness of the weather–

The state of the Rev^{d}. M^{r}. Wileys health being such as to prevent his traveling on horseback, he has declined acting as a Missionary, in this region– and returned yesterday to Salisbury, in the Stage, on his way home– In truth, the prospect is so dark for the Church, not only here, but even in Salisbury– that it would have been Time and Toil, and money, expended in vain–

I leave this place tomorrow for Buncombe, and shall pass the Sunday in Asheville– where if there is opportunity I shall preach– From thence to the Warm Springs for a week or so– and thence to your house, where– God willing, I hope to be, on or before, the 29th. ins^{t}. and to find you, in good health–

I am much benefited by my Journey– by these Springs, and particularly by the warm bath– which makes me more intent upon reaching the natural warm Baths of French broad– I have directed my Letters to be sent to Lower Creek[62] P. Office– and will thank you to retain them for me– I am anxious to hear from my Wife, whose health, was too much impaired to permit her taking any part of the Journey with me, as was intended, Remember me kindly, to such of your Family as are with you– and believe me very sincerely–

Your affect: Friend and Pastor

Jno S. Ravenscroft

Rev^{d}. R. J. Miller

Williamsboro'. 26th. Septr. 1828

Rev^{d}. and Dear Bro^{r}.

In the short letter I wrote you from Milton, I promised to write you more at length on my reaching home– This I now comply with–

On reaching M^{r}. Bufords,[63] where my wife was– I found her less indisposed, than her letter (written a fortnight before) led me to apprehend– Her health is very seriously impaired, and the symptoms of no very favourable Character– tho' as they are not of an immediately dangerous description– there is the more hope, that by skilfull treatment, under the divine Blessing, she may be restored to health, at least to a more comfortable portion thereof– than has been her lot for the last 15 months– I expect her at home to day or tomorrow– it not being convenient for her to return with me– nor for me to remain with her, seeing the necessity was removed, and my own health required immediate attention–

At Milton I was attacked with Jaundice, which has already done away, my gains in point of bodily strength, by my sojourn among the

[62] This post office was in Burke County and Rev. Robert J. Miller was postmaster in 1830. *Table of the Post Offices in the United States, Arranged by State and Counties as they were October 1, 1830*, . . . p. 139.

[63] Probably John Buford of Mecklenburg County, Virginia.

mountains– I am again as weak, as at any period since the commencement of my disorder, last Christmas– Whether it may prove a clearing up of the disease, or an indication of the deep root it has taken– God alone knows– in whose hands I contentedly leave it, using such means for relief and cure, as medical skill directs.

But be the event what it may– I fear there is an interdict, upon my carrying into effect, my plans for the Winter, which, instead of visiting the Churches– must be occupied in attending to my Wifes health and my own

I hope yourself and your family continue to enjoy the health and Comfort I left you possessed of– and that a graceous God, will be pleased to continue to you and them, all things really good for you– and that what he pleases to send, you will be enabled by Divine Grace– to consider the best things– This is the sum of my Philosophy– and I pray God to encrease it in me, more and more–

I have very favourable news from Tennessee as regards the progress of the Church– Having none of the Prejudices, of a political cast, to contend with– Our Principles are more dispassionately considered– and of Course produce more Effect– Nothing of moment has occurred in the Diocese, and there is one application for one of our vacant Churches–

May the Evening of your days pass peaceful and happy, in the Enjoyment of the Hope that maketh not ashamed– With my Love to your Family and M^{rs}. Beards, I am

Your affect: Friend and Pastor

Jno S. Ravenscroft

P. S. Let me hear from you

(General)

Williamsboro 16th. Octr. 1828

Rev^{d}. and Dear Sir–

It has been suggested to me, that it will be peculiarly appropriate– for the Episcopal Congregations in this Diocese, to observe with due solemnity the direction of the Church, for an annual Thanksgiving Service to Allmighty God, "for the Fruits of the Earth, and all the other Blessings of his Merciful Providence–" In this I most heartily concur, as I doubt not you also do–

It is indeed a year of most bountiful production, and calls for encreased Thankfulness, when viewed in connection with the distressing pressure upon the Pecuniary Concern of the Community– which must have been grievously aggravated by a failure of the present crop–

As there is no reasonable expectation that the Civil Authority will appoint a day for general observance– You will therefore give due notice to your Congregation, that the First Thursday in November

will be devoted to this Duty in all our Churches– In the performance of which I trust, the Blessing of God will be with you, and continued to you in all things–

Your affect: Pastor
Jn° S. Ravenscroft

Rev^d. M^r. Miller–

Raleigh Jan. 19. 1830

Rev. & dear Sir

Having come to Raleigh to pay as I believed and still somewhat fear my last visit of duty to our good Bishop, he has requested me to address the Brethren on the subject of the reorganization of our Missionary Society, which was proposed you will recollect to the convention which met in Salisbury– He has made his Will & devised to the Society certain property on condition that the Society shall be remodeled so as to make it more efficient than it has hitherto been– It is to be called "the Bible, Common Prayer Book Tract & Missionary Society of the Diocese of North Carolina"–[64] & the Bishop wishes that an auxiliary should be formed in every parish & an annual collection made for the general fund The annual subscription for membership will be $2. but donations will be received to any amount however small– Now if you can do any thing it will help along a good cause & show a willingness on the part of your little flock which will be highly gratifying to our good Father should he be spared to us– which may God of his mercy grant I sent you some time since by mail 1 doz. of the Bishop's Sermon, which you will recollect I obtained for publication– did you get them?– & how many have you sold?– they were 12½ cents each– if any of them have been sold, be so good as to remit to me the money before the meeting of our next convention in Wilmington–

I hope God has preserved your health & prospered you in your labors– I was gratified when we last met at the testimony you bore of his mercy to you– May that mercy be continued, so that when you shall be called hence you may be enabled to say with Paul– "I have fought a good fight– I have finished my course– I have kept the faith, & henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of rejoicing, which the Lord the righteous image will give me at that day"

Believe me affectionately your Bro: in Christ

W^m. D. Cairns[65]

[64] The name of the original society was "Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina." Colin McIver, *The North Carolina Register and United States Calendar for the Year of our Lord 1823*, p. 102. This change in organization brought about book and tract depositories at Raleigh, Fayetteville, and Edenton. Different parishes which resulted from missionary activities are Charlotte, Lincoln, Pittsboro, Morganton, Lenoir, Asheville, Kinston, Scotland Neck, Goldsboro, and others. *Sketches of Church History*, pp. 313, 314.

[65] Wm. D. Cairns, formerly of Virginia, was rector of St. James's Church, Wilmington, N. C.

P. S. The Bishop sends his remembrance to you– He is a little better this Eve– but still in great danger of his old disease– Mr. Freeman[66] has removed to Raleigh– Mr Wiley[67] to Washington– Mr Jones[68] of Vir. to Fayetteville– & Mr Elliott[69] has left us– Mr Freeman desires to be particularly remembered to you– You will be pleased to hear that the New Church [70] in Raleigh is finished, & that it is rapidly increasing in members, & piety under Rev. Freeman's ministry– My charge in Wil.[71] also is in a very flourishing condition– Mr Goodman[72] of Newbern has added 26 to his communion since last convention– The church in Elizabeth City also is doing well– so you see we are not without Gods testimony for good unto us–

Wilmington March 16 1830

Rev. & dear Sir

Our beloved Bishop hath entered into his rest. He died in Raleigh early on the Morning of the 5th. inst. in the full possession of his intellectual faculties, & perfectly resigned to the Will of God. We have been bereaved indeed but our loss is his infinite gain– O how precious in this our state of trial is the promise of that blessed Lord who hath said that he would be with his church even unto the end of the World!– Verily the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it– And if we are faithful & believing our covenant God will ever be faithful unto us–

As you will probably, before receiving this see full obituary notices of our deceased Father in some of the papers, it will be unnecessary for me to say more and a call from town this morning will excuse me for sending you so short a letter– I am surprised that the Sec. of Con. did not send you your quota of the Journals– You will do well to write to him for them– He resides in Fayetteville– In the mean time I have sent you four– which I hope you will duly receive–

And now may God of his infinite mercy bless & prosper you in all your labours for the good of souls– and tho' he sees it right to try you by the removal of some of your earthly dependancies, in the death of valuable communing members– may he fill up the breach which his own hand hath made– & comfort your heart with the assurance that

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[66] George W. Freeman was born in Massachusetts in 1789; came to North Carolina in early manhood and taught school in Warren and Granville counties; while teaching school became interested in the church and became a lay-reader; was ordained a deacon Oct. 6, 1826, and priest May 20, 1827; served two years at St. Peter's Church, Washington, and churches in Beaufort County; was rector of Christ Church, Raleigh, 1829-1840; served two years in Tennessee and three years in New Jersey; in 1844 was chosen Missionary Bishop exercising jurisdiction in Arkansas, Indian Territory, and the Republic of Texas; and died in 1858. *Centennial Ceremonies held in Christ Church Parish, North Carolina, A.D., 1921 Including Historical Addresses*, pp. 14, 15.

[67] Philip B. Wiley was at Fayetteville. See above p. 512, note 61.

[68] William G. H. Jones was rector of St. John's Church, Fayetteville part of the year 1830. *Journal of the Proceedings of . . . Protestant Episcopal Church . . . 1830*, p. 11.

[69] Charles P. Elliott of South Carolina served Calvary Church, Wadesboro, 1827, and Christ Church, Raleigh, 1828. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Convention of Protestant Episcopal Church . . . 1827*, p. 16.

[70] Christ Church.

[71] Wilmington, N. C.

[72] J. R. Goodman, formerly of Pennsylvania, was ordained priest at St. Paul's Church, Edenton, April 16, 1828, and was rector at New Bern.

they have only preceded you into that world of glory for which *you* have been instrumental in preparing them–

Pray for *me* that I may be enabled to be faithful and believe me with sincere **regard.**

Your young brother in Christ

Wm. D. Cairns

Rev. Robt. J. Miller

P. S. You will learn from the Journal, that our next convention meets in *Wilmington*– not Washington, as you supposed– There is a mistake in the Journal, corrected however in the Secretary's notice– We shall meet on the 20th of May– Do try to be with us–

Raleigh 30 June 1830

Rev. & Dear Sir.

Mr. Hepburn,[73] Executor of the late Bishop Ravencroft's will, has deposited in my hands, a suit of clothes nearly new, belonging to the Bp's wardrobe, which he desires you to accept as a memento of our departed Father–

Mr. H. being unwilling to make any common disposition of the apparel mentioned, enquired of me whether there was any Clergyman of this Diocese, who would be likely to prize such a relick I mentioned yourself– having no doubt– that if you did not choose to wear the dress in question, you would be gratified to possess anything that once belonged to one whom you so much reverenced & esteemed.

The parcel is now in Hillsborough, in the hands of Walker Anderson[74] Esqr. who will forward it to you by the first opportunity– and to whom you may apply should an opportunity of sending to him offer itself sooner–

You have doubtless heard before this of our proceedings at the convention– The next convention is to be held on the 19th. of May 1831, in this place– at which time, it was recommended that we should go into the election of Bishop– Dr. DeLancy[75] of Philadelphia was the person talked of, and unless it should be previously made know that he will not accept, will in all probability be elected–

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[73] Ebenezer McHarg Hepburn, was one of the children reared by Bishop Ravenscroft. He also reared Alexander McHarg Hepburn.

[74] Walker Anderson was an active layman in St. Matthews' Church, Hillsboro. He served at different times as lay delegate, finance committeeman, standing committeeman, and delegate to the general convention. *Journal of the Proceedings of . . . the Protestant Episcopal Church . . . 1831*, p. 5, 10. *Journal of the Proceedings of . . . the Protestant Episcopal Church . . . 1832*, p. 3, 6, 24.

[75] William Heathcote De Lancey was born in Mamaroneck, N. Y., Oct. 8, 1797; graduated from Yale, 1817; two years later entered the Episcopal ministry after studying theology under Bishop Hobart of New York; served in New York; in 1822 became Bishop White's personal assistant; in 1827 declined rectorship of St. Thomas's Church, New York; in 1830 was elected provost of the University of Pennsylvania; in 1833 was elected rector of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia; in 1839 was elected bishop of the diocese of Western New York; and died in Genea, N. Y., April 5, 1865. J. H. Brown (ed.) *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, I, 342.

The Late Bishop's[76] works are to be published in *three* or *four* volumes & will be put to press in the course of the ensuing fall or winter–

We have sustained a great loss my Dear Sir, but I trust we shall soon be able to say of our departed Diocesan, that "though dead he yet speaketh"– He was indeed a wonderful man, and we can have no hope of having his loss entirely Supplied– but we have the promise of our great Head that his Church shall not be forsaken– and I have no doubt, that what now appears to be "not joyous but grievous," will be finally overruled, by the good Providence of Him who governs all things account to the secret councils of his own will, to the good of that "little flock," to which I firmly believe it is the "Father's good pleasure to give the kingdom–"

I should be pleased to hear from you, and to informed of the state of your health– I trust you will be permitted to attend the next Convention, where you will be heartily greeted by all the brethren– and by none more warmly than by

Your very Respectful and affectionate friend & Brother

Geo: W. Freeman

October 30th 1830

Hillsboro'

Rev & Dear Sir

The accompanying box contains I believe some Articles that once belonged to our late excellent Bishop. It was sent to me to be forwarded to you by the first safe opportunity. I know not what is in it, but suspect that it contains some Clothing which the Bp's Executor at the suggestion of a friend, wishes you to accept at his hands. The Bp did not forget you in his Will, but bequeathed to you as well as some of the rest of his Clergy some trifle as a token of his regard. I know not whether it is in the box or not.

I write in great haste, and have only time to add that I hope you will receive the package in Safety. It would give me pleasure to hear from you at all times.

Most affectionately

Yr Brother in Christ

W. M. Green

My health is much improved

Hillsboro' Jan 17th 1831

Rev & Dear Sir

Judging you by myself, I presume that you would be glad to hear what yr Brethren of the lower country are about, and I therefore seat myself to tax you with a letter. How much is it to be regretted that

[76] *The Works of the Right Reverand John Stark Ravenscroft, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of North Carolina. Containing his Sermons, Charges, and Controversial Tracts; to which is Prefixed a Memoir of his Life.* Was printed in 1830 by the Protestant Episcopal Press, New York.

our Clergy are so widely separated by distance from each other; and how many delightful opportunities are thus lost of drawing closer the cords of brotherly love. But it is a part of our "trial," and we must bear it patiently & cheerfully.

Yr kind answer to my little note was duly received; and I rejoiced to hear of yr continued health. May you yet be spared to do much good!– Do take care of yourself during this severe winter, in order that we may see you at our next Convention.[77] It will be an important period to the future interests of the Church, and I hope that all of our Clergy will be at their posts. The more I hear from different parts of the Diocese, the more need do I see for supplying the place of our late beloved Diocesan. But I much fear that we will not have grace enough to be of one mind at that time. It is truly difficult to pitch upon any one man who would be generally acceptable to the Diocese, and at the same be contented with the small salary that we offer. This however will be the duty of all us, to resolve that no private prejudice or prepossion in favour of, or against any man shall then influence us, that all we do may be with an eye single to the glory of God, and the good of his Church. I have lately been corresponding with some of the brethren, but so difficult is it to communicate profitably by letter that we are no nearer our aim than before. You have no doubt been informed that at our last Convention Dr DeLancey of Philadelphia was the unanimous choice of our Clergy. He was addressed on the subject a few months since, and positively declined having his name brought before the Diocese. Since then the names of Dr Empie, Dr Montgomery[78] of Philadelphia Dr Wainwright[79] of N. York, Mr Potter[80] of Boston, Mr Johns[81] of Baltimore, Mr Anthon[82] of N. York, and our good Brother Freeman, have been brought forward for consideration and their respective merits dis-

[77] This convention met in Christ Church, Raleigh, N. C.

[78] James Montgomery was born in Philadelphia, Nov. 25, 1787; was educated in a boys' school in Maryland, attended a grammar school in Princeton and graduated at Princeton University in 1805; studied law and was admitted to the bar; was ordained a priest, 1817; was rector of Grace Church, New York, 1818-1820; returned to Philadelphia in 1820 and shortly afterwards was elected rector of St. Stephens's; was trustee of General Theological Seminary; and died March 17, 1834. Hamilton Schuyler, *A History of St. Micheal's Church: In the Diocese of New Jersey from its Foundation in the Year of our Lord, 1803, to 1926.* pp. 160, 161.

[79] Jonathan Meyhew Wainwright was born in Liverpool, Feb. 24, 1792; was brought to America in 1803; graduated from Harvard, 1812; was instructor in Harvard 1815-1817; received orders 1816 and 1818; was rector of Christ Church, Hartford; was rector in Grace Church, New York, 1821; was rector of Trinity Church, Boston, 1834; was interested in church music; published sermons and other works; and died in New York, Sept. 21, 1854. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography,* I, 515.

[80] Alonzo Potter was born in Beckman (now La Grange) New York; graduated from Union College in 1818; studied theology under Dr. S. H. Turner; taught at Union College; was rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston, 1826-1831; returned to Union College; was elected bishop of Pennsylvania, 1845; and died July 4, 1865. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* III, 470.

[81] Henry Van Dyke Johns was born in New Castle, Del., Oct. 13, 1803; studied in Princeton University and Union College; organized the first parochial charge in Washington, D. C.; was rector at Baltimore and Frederick, Md.; and Cincinnati; later returned to Baltimore and died in 1859. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography,* V. 253.

[82] Probably Henry Anthon who was born in New York City on March 11, 1795; graduated from Columbia, 1813; prepared for the ministry under Bishop Hobart; was ordained deacon, 1815, and priest, 1819; served several churches in New York state; was popular in the South; was active in missionary work; and died January 5, 1861. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography,* IX, 441.

cussed. To the first named it is objected that his family is too large to be supported on our small Salary, and that he is not as popular with the laity as with the Clergy. For my own part I shall rejoice if we succeed in getting so good a man.– The 2nd is objected to (and justly I fear) on account of his hasty & imprudent temper. The 3d has been sounded by Br Cairns, and refuses to accept. The 4th has been very lately nominated, and therefore but little said of him. He is undoubtedly a young man of great promise, but he is so delightfully situated where he is that I have no expectations of his accepting the call. The 5th is my favorite next to Dr Empie. His name for talents & piety & prudence is well known thro out our church; but he is suspected somewhat of being what is called a low-church-man. For my own part I have no serious fears of him, and would gladly see him at the head of our Diocese. The 6th has also been very lately named, and I know not enough of him to express any opinion. As to Br Freeman, there are several of our influential lay men who are very desirous of his election. And for myself I would cheerfully vote for him if it were the desire of a majority of our Convention. He certainly possesses many of the requisites for a Bishop, and might well be trusted. I find however that three of our Clergy are opposed to him, and where our number is so small we must endeavour to be unanimous.

I have thus given you all the information that I can on this subject so interesting to us both. Should there be hereafter any probability of our fixing on one man I will appraise you of it. In the mean time we should make it a matter of earnest & frequent prayer, for the occasion is one of great moment, and the individual responsibility of all concerned should be duly felt & thought upon–

I was glad to hear that you received in safety the box which accompanied my last letter, and that the several articles fitted you so well. I expect that you will treasure them with all the zeal of a Roman Catholic for his "sainted relics." Our good Bishop bequeathed several little articles to his Clergy, as memorials of his fatherly affection

It would give me sincere pleasure to hear from you at all times, but especially at the present, when the benefits of your longer experience & riper judgment are so much needed by your younger brethren. On your way to Convention you will, of course, tarry with me, and thus give me the opportunity of repaying the hospitable entertainment that I once received at "Mary's Grove." With hearty prayers for yourself & family, believe me

your truly affectionate brother
W. M. Green

P. S. I thank you for your kind enquiries after my health, Through the mercy of God I am again restored to bodily soundness. Pray for me that I may lead a new life, and give myself unreservedly to God.

BOOK REVIEWS

The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877. By E. Merton Coulter. [*A History of the South.* By Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (eds.), in ten volumes.] (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, The Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas, 1947. Pp. 426. $5.00.)

The publication of Professor Coulter's volume marks an auspicious beginning of a project of great significance to historians and to others interested in the history of the South. The last quarter century has seen the writing of many excellent articles, monographs, and biographies in the field of Southern history. Now, with the aid of these historical "bricks," there is being built an integrated structure revealing the life of the South from Jamestown to the present. Professor Coulter has set a high standard for the nine volumes to follow.

The story of Reconstruction has been told and re-told so often that one may recognize the difficulty of making it more complete or of presenting a new approach. Indeed, Professor Coulter does follow a well worn path, for the most part, in recounting the details of political Reconstruction and in describing the reaction of southern whites to the measures of the Radical Congress. However, as is indicated in the author's preface, the emphasis is on the *South* during Reconstruction rather than on *Reconstruction* in the South. More than half of the chapters deal with the economic, social, and cultural life of the southern people during the twelve crucial years following Appomattox. It is here that the greatest contribution is made. Much useful information in the field of social history has been assembled, and the narrative is enlivened by the inclusion of contemporary quips, anecdotes, and verses taken from local newspapers, letters, and diaries. Some of these are apt to be remembered after the statistical tables on cotton production are forgotten.

Due emphasis is given to the southern attempts to attract northern and foreign capital and bring about a diversification of the southern economy. Most of the industry of the "New South," however, resulted from southern enterprise. And despite the cotton mills which sprang up in many communities, the South of Reconstruction days was still predominantly rural and agricultural. The greatest changes which were evident were the substitution of free labor for slave labor and the breaking up of many of the antebellum plantations into tenant farms.

Often "the bottom rail was on top"; some women as well as the men were forced to take to the hoe and the plow. "A Southerner declared in 1872 that he did 'not think that manual labor was looked upon as degrading in the South any more than it . . . was in Europe or in the North'" (p. 201). But where the old aristocracy was characterized by poverty it lost none of its pride.

The Old South had its cities as well as its plantations. These urban centers such as New Orleans, Charleston, and Richmond suffered the ravages of war but soon began to show signs of recovery. Indeed Richmond's population was almost fifty per cent larger in 1870 than in 1860. "Yankee" Atlanta, with its good railroad connections, forged ahead in a phenomenal manner. On the other hand, Memphis was almost wiped out by yellow fever in the 1870's. Professor Coulter includes much significant material on these and other southern cities.

Southerners of the Reconstruction period obviously did not spend all their time rebuilding ruined cities and run-down plantations or even damning the Yankees; "they continued to play, laugh, and waste their time on things not too ponderable." Circuses drew crowds, and horse races often constituted the principal drawing card at the agricultural fairs. Country folk found pleasure in getting together for picnics and barbecues. The more sophisticated revived the Mardi Gras, staged tournaments suggested by those in Walter Scott's novels, or visited the Virginia springs in the summer. Public hangings furnished a spectacle for whites and blacks alike.

To label Professor Coulter an "unreconstructed rebel" would be manifestly unfair, yet his writing does reveal him to be a Southerner with a capital "S." This may be regarded as both an asset and a liability. As a Southerner he understands southern people and their mores; when he speaks of corn pones and "hushpuppies" and of "feist" dogs he knows whereof he speaks. But his very understanding of and manifest sympathy with the southern whites of the Reconstruction period leads him to follow the traditional line in appraising political Reconstruction and to pass lightly over opposing points of view. Certainly there is nothing of the revisionist in his judgment that: "Radical Reconstruction was doomed to fail. With a crass, materialistic design, it was cloaked in a garb of high idealistic justice, but its rulers were

inexperienced, ignorant, and corrupt" (p. 162). Northern educators and missionaries who came south after 1865 he regards mainly as meddlers who did more harm than good. With respect to the former slave, Professor Coulter says: "Though the Negro was not free from crime and poverty, race prejudice, and uneven justice, he was vastly better off than the mass of his race in his native Africa, and there was a closer and friendlier feeling of his employer toward him than capitalistic Northerners showed their workmen" (p. 381). The sentiment therein expressed is at least faintly reminiscent of Thomas R. Dew.

William A. Mabry.

Randolph-Macon College,
Ashland, Virginia.

Confederate Blockade Running Through Bermuda, 1861-1865: Letters and Cargo Manifests. Edited by Frank E. Vandiver. (Austin: The University of Texas Press. 1947. Pp. 155. $3.00.)

Mr. Vandiver's book deals with one of the most important phases of Confederate history, because in the Civil War, as in the more recent ones, material went a long way in determining the final outcome. Since the South was an agricultural section, it was necessary to import many of these things necessary for waging successful war, while the lack of ships and the gradually tightening blockade added to the difficulties of keeping the Confederate armies equipped.

Realizing the necessity of securing supplies from abroad, the Confederate government sent to Europe Captain Caleb Huse and other agents to purchase them. These agents worked with Fraser, Trenholm and Company, Liverpool branch of the Charleston banking firm of John Fraser and Company. Huse and his associates had some difficulty in procuring the things needed by the Confederates, and they found it even more difficult to get ships to carry them across the ocean. The first vessel to carry war material to the Confederates was the *Bermuda,* which arrived in Savannah, September 28, 1861, and she was followed by the *Fingal* on November 12, 1861.

These and other ships made their way directly from England to Savannah and other southern ports, but it was soon discovered that large cargo ships were best to carry supplies across the Atlantic, while smaller and faster ones were more suitable for blockade running. Therefore the Confederates soon adopted the policy of using the larger vessels to carry goods from Europe to the West Indies, from which they could be carried on to their destination by the small and fast blockade runners. The problem of transferring the goods from the ocean-goers to the blockade-runners was no small one, for it required large-scale operations in the West Indies.

To facilitate this most essential task, the Confederate Army sent to the West Indies Major Smith Stansbury and other officers. They also engaged John Torry Bourne, a merchant of St. George's, Bermuda, as special agent to handle Confederate goods at that port. Stansbury and Bourne had to help find the ships and crews to carry the goods through the blockade. It was difficult to keep enough coal for the steamers, and docking facilities had to be made available. Often when goods arrived from Europe, there was no vessel to carry them to the Confederates; so warehouses had to be made available to handle the goods until the blockade-runners were ready. Carrying out these and other functions constituted for Stansbury and Bourne one of the most important and difficult jobs in the Confederate service.

Mr. Vandiver's book gives a great deal of information about the work of those two agents. Following an introductory explanation of the general problem, he has published four of Bourne's letter books. Most of the letters were addressed to business firms in the Confederacy, in England, in the West Indies, and even in the United States. Being a private businessman himself, Bourne dealt with such men and concerns, principally John Fraser and Company, and Fraser and Trenholm and Company. Bourne also carried on a considerable amount of correspondence with Major Huse but very little with other Confederate officials.

In addition to the Bourne letter books, Mr. Vandiver includes a letter book kept by Major Stansbury for the period from June, 1863, to November of the same year. While Bourne's letters were those of a private businessman, Stansbury's were more of an official nature, for he was constantly reporting to the Confed-

erate Chief of Ordinance, Colonel J. Gorgas, from whom he received his orders. In fact, most of Stansbury's letters are addressed to Colonel Gorgas, Major Huse, Bourne, and other Confederate officials. Stansbury was constantly instructing Huse, Bourne, and others to get things needed by the Confederates.

In addition to publishing the letter books, Mr. Vandiver has reprinted the cargo manifests of a number of ships which left the port of St. George's, Bermuda, between April 22, 1862, and April 8, 1865. These manifests contain the name and tonnage of the ship sailing, the name of the ship that originally brought the cargo to St. George's, the place from which the cargo came, and an itemized statement of the cargo itself. The vessels sailing from St. George's usually varied in size from 250 to 500 tons, but there were some much larger and a few smaller ones. All of the ships leaving St. George's were registered as being destined for some other West Indian port, and most of the cargoes originally came from England. In the main, the cargoes consisted of weapons, ammunition, raw materials, food, and "merchandise."

These cargo manifests are valuable in that they tell what kind of supplies came to the Confederates via Bermuda. Of course the lists are probably so incomplete that they give no idea of the total quantity. Furthermore, since they are only the cargoes that left St. George's, there is no information as to how many of them got through the Federal blockade. The letters are likewise incomplete and furnish no information as to the extent of the operations, but they throw considerable light on the many problems involved in blockade-running.

Mr. Vandiver made a definite contribution to Confederate history when he secured the letter books from William E. S. Zuill, who found them about twenty-six years ago in possession of Charles Skinner Bourne, a blind storekeeper and son of John Torry Bourne. The Bourne letters were recorded in tissue-leaved books by the water-copy method, and some were so faded as to be almost indecipherable, while in others the ink had eaten through the thin paper, leaving the pages in "rags." The Stansbury letters were in one thin foolscap-sized book but in much better condition. These letters combined with the cargo manifests, which were found in the Customs Office at St. George's,

constitute a definite contribution to the history of blockade-running, one of the most essential phases of the Confederate service.

William P. Roberts.

University of Georgia,
Athens, Georgia.

The Dixie Frontier, A Social History of the Southern Frontier from the First Transmontane Beginnings to the Civil War. By Everett Dick. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. Pp. xix, 374. $4.50.)

This volume vividly recreates the conditions of frontier society in the South through an accretion of significant detail rather than by broad generalizations. The Dixie frontier, as defined by the author, includes southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois where the southern upland stock settled as well as the region west of the Appalachian mountains. The author has given a very realistic, even earthy, flavor to his work by digging into numerous sources, including unpublished M.A. and Ph.D. theses. Although this study presents the frontiersman in his environment, particularly noting the influence of the canebrakes, it is essentially a two-dimensional picture, a work of description rather than of analysis. Nevertheless, its delineations of such vanished phases of American life as station life, the food, dress, amusements, the emotional religion of the southern pioneers, dressing skins, making lye soap, frontier justice, electioneering, primitive methods of transportation, and the militia system are meticulously accurate.

The frontiersmen who are presented in these pages are far from romantic figures. The women, with their brown, coarse hands, shapeless linsey-woolsey dresses and ignorance of the world, wielded the rifle as well as the hoe, spent lonely lives rearing broods of unkempt children, and working incessantly. The men were hard-favored and greedy for land and unscrupulous in acquiring it, cruel, particularly in dealing with Indians, shiftless, dirty, and relentlessly inquisitive. Their speech was picturesque, redolent of their life in the wilderness, containing such phrases as "playing possum," "I'm stumped," "will not do to tie to," "the latchstring hangs out," "log-rolling," "a buck" for a dollar, etc., which have survived in the American idiom. Contrary to the common conception, the frontiersman frequently

suffered from bad health, especially from diseases which have disappeared or greatly diminished in our own era—malaria, the milk sickness, rheumatism, and consumption. His remedies were violent, bleeding, calomel, emetics, blisters. *The Dixie Frontier* does not omit the slave and the early evolution of the plantation. In two final chapters the author sums up what he regards as frontier characteristics, such as individualism, hospitality, versatility, freedom from sentimentality, informality, boastfulness, contempt for tradition, and democratic spirit. The style is rough-hewn, constructed very much as the pioneer built his log cabin. It is an honest and reasonably critical work, which the social historian will welcome for its rich information concerning the mores and manners of the southern frontiersman.

Clement Eaton.

University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Ky.

Pioneers and Their Homes on Upper Kanawha. By Ruth Woods Dayton. (Charleston, West Virginia; West Virginia Publishing Company. 1947. Pp. 320. $5.00.)

This book will have considerable appeal to the West Virginia genealogist, antiquarian, and student of early American architecture. The author has utilized many records, newspapers, and monographs and she has presented her material in a readable, homey fashion. Especially attractive are the drawings of early homes along the upper Kanawha. Author Dayton has visited many of these and adds to the cold historical fact the warmth and enthusiasm engendered by such visits. The map of the Kanawha on the end papers is an excellent one and enhances the utility of the volume.

The reviewer is inclined to doubt that many of the "tales" repeated have reasonable validity, but the author is careful not to sanction such tales as fact. In many cases the material presented is a reshuffling of old stories, but in several cases the arrangement is of such nature that it enables one to make a new interpretation of old data. The expansion of settlement into transmontane Virginia during the pre-national period is a subject well worth investigation, and from the standpoint of history it

is to be regretted that this volume does not emphasize more the general trend of settlement. This reviewer does not believe that houses built in or near Charleston after 1800 can properly be called "pioneer homes." If such is the case, then many of the homes included are more properly "early West Virginia homes" than "pioneer homes." The relevance to the subject of such material as the building in 1913 of the first chemical plant in the valley (p. 133) is questionable. But the brief accounts of the Ruffners, Kenton, and Boone are well written and highly germane.

The author has succeeded in presenting an account of family relationships which should make this book a standard reference for "F. F. W. V.'s." The book is well written, and it is to be deplored that more "housewives" do not take time to write such understanding and readable accounts of the regions with which they are acquainted.

Bennett H. Wall.

University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Ky.

Judge Robert McAlpin Williamson, Texas' Three-Legged Willie. By Duncan W. Robinson. (Austin: Texas State Historical Associaton. 1948. Pp. 230. Illustrations. $5.00.)

This is an entertaining and instructive volume, for it presents a well balanced account of the career of a colorful character of Texas history. Robert McAlpin Williamson, a cousin of Mirabeau B. Lamar, was born in Georgia in 1804, and at the age of twenty-three he moved to Texas as a colonist under Stephen F. Austin. He served Texas with distinction as a lawyer, editor, soldier, judge, and legislator. Professor Robinson deals adequately with each of these phases of his subject's career. The author presents also for the reader's enjoyment the lighter side of Judge Williamson's life, for this versatile Texan was a great hunter, a popular singer and banjo player, and a superb storyteller. In fact, he was probably responsible for some of the "tall tales" about himself which Texans will always delight in telling.

Williamson lived eight years at San Felipe de Austin, capital of Austin's colony. Here he built up an important law practice, and three years after his arrival he became the district's first

prosecuting attorney. For a time he served as editor of the *Texas Gazette,* which Professor Robinson calls "the most important pre-revolutionary journal to be published in Texas." The volume under review is enlivened by some of the humorous stories which editor Williamson passed on to his readers. When Williamson assumed the duties of alcalde of San Felipe in 1834 he had already become distrustful of Mexican authorities. Disagreeing with his friend Austin, he was one of the earliest and most ardent advocates of resistance to what he regarded as Mexican misrule in Texas. In fact, he became the orator of the Texas Revolution. Professor Robinson thinks that Williamson's speech of July 4, 1835, was "one of the genuinely heroic utterances of the times."

Not the least of the services which Williamson rendered Texas was that as first major of the Texas rangers with the original responsibility of protecting the Texans from the Indians. A contemporary described Major Williamson as "an intrepid Indian fighter." In 1833 the Texas Congress elected him to the office of district judge, in which position he served also as an associate justice of the republic's supreme court. Later Williamson shared in the making of the laws, for he served as a member both of the Texas Congress and of the Texas state legislature.

Duncan Robinson has done an excellent job of biographical writing. He has made good use of the sources, both primary and secondary, and he has told his story well. The work is more than a biography of a famous Texan; it is a study of Texas and of Texans a century ago. The reader gets a vivid picture of conditions surrounding the pioneers in Austin's Texas colony and a refreshing story of the events leading up to the creation of the Texas Republic. The volume is well documented and the printing and binding are excellent.

Jefferson Davis Bragg.

Baylor University,
Waco, Texas.

The Hatfields and the McCoys. By Virgil Carrington Jones. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948. Pp. xii, 293. $3.75.)

This volume is a carefully documented account of the most famous feud among the mountaineers of the Southern Appalach-

ians. In 1873 Floyd Hatfield found and appropriated a long, lean, razorback sow and her litter. Randolph McCoy, Floyd's brother-in-law, claimed that the hog was his. Bitter words led to a mountain trial in which Preacher Anse, a Hatfield, acted as judge. The twelve jurors were equally divided between the Hatfields and the McCoys; but Selkirk McCoy, who had married a Hatfield, was traitor to his clan and voted against his cousin Randolph. There have been bigger trials, larger courts, and weightier crimes, but few verdicts which have initiated such disproportionately bloody results. The decision in favor of the Hatfields stirred latent hatreds and began a feud which eventually required the declaration of martial law, involved the militia of two states, and resulted in a legal battle fought to the United States Supreme Court. The leader of the Hatfields, on the West Virginia side of the Tug River, was "Devil Anse," who as Captain Anderson Hatfield of the Confederate Army had made a name for himself as a guerilla fighter and phenomenally accurate sharpshooter; Randolph McCoy was the leader of the Kentucky McCoys. Inciting incidents multiplied during the 'seventies and 'eighties: the seduction of Rose Anne McCoy by Johnse Hatfield, the stabbing of Ellison Hatfield at a drunken election meeting, and the kidnapping and shooting of the three McCoy boys who had murdered Ellison. Bitter hatred arose from a dastardly midnight ambush and burning of Randolph McCoy's home by the Hatfields. As Randolph and his family ran out of the blazing cabin, his daughter Allifair and his son Calvin were riddled with bullets and his wife clubbed. The next morning he returned to find his wife still unconscious, her bloody hair frozen to the ground. She recovered to outlive her husband, but that sight roused in him a thirst for revenge unquenched to the day of his death. After 1888 the fury of the vendettas diminished, though the legal battles between the governments of Kentucky and West Virginia over extradition and trial of captured feudists continued for many years.

Virgil C. Jones's work is interestingly written. Footnotes, appendices, photographs, court records and affidavits, and the reports of first-hand inquiry and investigation in the feud region show the care with which he attempts to brush away the accumulated legends and to untangle the contradictory and inaccurate

accounts of contemporary newspapers. In his use of sources and in his analysis of the probable course of events his judgment is good.

In the recital of many mountain shootings and labor troubles which, in the latter half of the book, Jones rather elaborately shows to be unconnected with the feud, the narrative becomes somewhat confused and less interesting. Occasionally he describes as factual, thoughts and actions of the characters which in a way savor more of fictionalized biography than of historical method. His style is uneven, ranging from colloquialism ("They slapped him in the hoosegow," p. 88) to elaborate metaphor ("Along the slopes trees fraternized in their nudity and swayed lonesomely in the clutches of the freezing breezes. . . . For better or worse, nature was caught with her curtains down," p. 93). Mr. Jones does better when he eschews purple passages.

William P. Cumming.

Davidson College,
Davidson, N. C.

Agricultural Literature and the Early Illinois Farmer. By Richard Bardolph. Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. xxix, nos. 1-2. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1948. Pp. 200. $2.00.)

In this monograph the author undertakes to show what agencies, prior to 1870, were active in the state of Illinois in promoting better farming and to what extent the farmers were exposed to those agencies. The more difficult task of assessing the impact of agricultural literature and agricultural exhibitions on actual farming methods the author, except in general terms, quite wisely leaves to the more daring future historian.

The writer states in his preface that an unusual amount of spade-work has gone into the preparation of this volume. Indeed, after reading the first chapter of forty-nine pages devoted to "Books and Farmer Education," one is prepared for a broad treatise on agricultural literature in the United States. The disproportion of background and body almost amounts to an artistic defect.

With scholarly thoroughness, attested by ample documentation, Dr. Bardolph has traced in detail the efforts of agricultural societies, newspapers, farm journals, and periodicals to enlist the

interests of the farmers of Illinois in adopting improved farming methods and techniques.

Prior to about 1850 the results were not impressive. The well-nigh universal prejudice against "book farming," lack of capital, and the fact that not many farmers were readers interposed formidable barriers to progress. After 1850, however, more progress was noticeable. Agricultural societies displayed more energy and the agricultural press under the leadership of the *Prairie Farmer* (established experimentally in 1840) and the *Illinois Farmer* (founded in 1856) adopted the policy of printing communications from "down-to-earth" farmers. Editors urged farmers to write about their experiences and problems, going so far as to promise to revise the essays for publication. Another favorable factor, according to Dr. Bardolph, was the subsidization of agricultural societies by the legislature in 1853. In response to this action, county agricultural societies began to multiply and to support the revived Illinois State Agricultural Society in the conduct of its annual fairs and in the publication of its *Transactions*.

Among the men prominent in staging the agricultural revival of the 'fifties were Dr. John A. Kennicott, M. L. Dunlap, John P. Reynolds, and Jonathan B. Turner.

In noting the contents of the agricultural journals, the author points up some interesting facts concerning prairie farming. For example (p. 113) he states that the pioneer farmers preferred the wooded land to the prairies on the assumption that land which did not produce trees would not produce crops. In addition, he uncovers the wide-spread fallacy that wheat turns to "cheat."

Besides exposing humbugs, the agricultural press devoted much space to such practical matters as fencing, diversification of crops, fertilizers, soil breaking, agricultural instruction in schools and colleges, and railroad and warehouse regulation. It is evident that by 1870 the farm papers of Illinois were meeting the needs of the farmers at many vital points. The writer concludes that of all the agencies for the instruction of farmers before 1870, the farm journals were the most influential.

The volume is provided with an extensive and valuable bibliography and a satisfactory index. Appendix A carries the titles

of all the agricultural journals published in Illinois to January, 1870, and Appendix B supplies a brief sketch of prominent American horticultural writers to 1870.

Rosser H. Taylor.

Western Carolina Teachers College,
Cullowhee, N. C.

A Free Church in a Free State—America's Unique Contribution. By Frank J. Klingberg. (Indianapolis: National Foundation Press. Pp. 66. $1.00.) Church and State. By Evarts B. Greene. (Indianapolis: National Foundation Press. Pp. 48. $1.00.)

These two small volumes are in the Fundamental Series on Religion sponsored by the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship. The recent discussions, arising out of court litigations, of the relations between church and state emphasize the timeliness of these brief statements; while the eminence of the writers serve to enhance the prestige of the series. Professor Klingberg's volume traces the influence of religion in American life and advances the point of view that the founding of America by men from self-governing churches had much to do with the growth of the spirit of freedom in the United States. The diversity of religious faiths in the early years of this country's history induced a measure of toleration and helped build the American way of life.

Professor Greene discusses the relationship between church and state since the seventeenth century and indicates some of the factors that have affected this relationship. While church disestablishment had been achieved long before the middle of the nineteenth century, a close and sympathetic relationship between church and state has persisted down to the present day. In the fields of military service, education, property and its taxation, and marriage both sides have been willing to make practical adjustments "without always pushing theories to their extreme logical conclusions."

Because of the brevity of these essays, one could not expect an exhaustive discussion of the subjects covered. Perhaps it would have been desirable, however, for Professor Klingberg to have said more about some other aspects of the church's influence; the spread of the spirit of intolerance by the early church leaders

and the denial of even the theory of equality and brotherhood by many who professed to adhere to the principles of Christianity. One would have welcomed, also, a discussion by Professor Greene of the subtle and indirect influences which organized religion exerts in the area of politics and government. Perhaps some of the succeeding volumes will treat these aspects of the role of the church in American history.

John Hope Franklin.

Howard University,
Washington, D. C.

A Bibliography of Louisiana Books and Pamphlets. Compiled by Donald E. Thompson. (University, Alabama; University of Alabama Press, 1947. Pp. 210. $1.75.)

This planographed, briefly annotated bibliography is a checklist of 3,339 items in the T. P. Thompson Collection in the University of Alabama Library. For research students the value of the collection will be greatly enlarged by this checklist with its index which includes more than a mere list of proper names. Though generally concerned with the literature, history, and social life of Louisiana, the collection contains items only indirectly connected with the state as, for example, some of the works of Lafcadio Hearn, Commodor Perry's account of his expedition to Japan, and Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*. A preface by W. Stanley Hoole calls attention to the value of the Thompson Collection and gives something of its history.

Nannie M. Tilley.

East Texas State Teachers College,
Commerce, Texas

HISTORICAL NEWS

Miss Christiana McFayden, an assistant professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has resigned to complete her work for the doctorate at the University of Chicago.

Dr. Elizabeth Cometti, as assistant professor of history at the Women's College of the University of North Carolina, has resigned to accept a position as an associate professor of history at Marshall College.

Mrs. Carolyn A. Daniel, as instructor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has resigned to complete her work for the doctorate at the University of North Carolina.

Miss Zoe Swecker, an instructor in history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has been awarded the Cleo Hearon fellowship at the University of Chicago for graduate work in history.

Miss Lenore O'Boyle of Greenwich, Connecticut, has been appointed an assistant professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. Miss O'Boyle has an A.B. degree from Bryn Mawr College, and an M.A. degree from Yale University and expects to receive a Ph.D. degree from Radcliffe College next February.

Mr. Robert G. Hocker of Havestown, Pa., has been appointed as assistant professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. Mr. Hocker is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, where he is a candidate for the Ph.D. degree next year. Mr. Hocker served four years in World War II as a captain in General Patton's Army.

Mr. Alexander H. McLeod of Lumberton, N. C., has been appointed an instructor in history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. Mr. McLeod is a graduate of the University of North Carolina, where he is a candidate for the Ph.D. degree next year.

The Social Science Forum of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina has been endowed as a memorial to Dean Harriet Elliot, and in the future it will be an annual event. At the first forum twenty-seven colleges and universities in six states were represented by some 400 delegates. Attendance at the seven sessions varied from 1,200 to 2,500 persons. The second forum will occur November 11, 12, 13, 1948, with "Freedom and Security" as the central theme. Among the leaders will be Vera Micheles Dean, research director of the Foreign Policy Association; Max Lerner, columnist of the New York *Star;* Broadus Mitchell of Rutgers University; C. O. Hardy, director, congressional Committee on the Economic Report to the President; Gardner Murphy, chairman of the psychology department, City College of New York; William Carleton, chairman of the social science division, University of Florida; and United States Senator John Sparkman of Alabama. Inquiries should be directed to the Chairman, Social Science Forum, Woman's College, Greensboro, N. C.

Mr. Wayland F. Jones, an instructor in history at the University of Richmond, has been appointed an instructor in history at Wake Forest College.

Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace of Meredith College has been promoted to professor of history and head of the Department of history. Dr. Wallace will appear on the program of the American Historical Association at its winter meeting and will discuss the paper of Dr. Ross J. S. Hoffman of Fordham University entitled "The Papal Policy in 1848."

Miss Helen Brandon, an assistant professor of social science at Atlantic Christian College, has resigned to spend the winter in Florida.

Ninety Bits of North Carolina Biography, by C. H. Hamlin, is now in its second printing. This publication is widely used in public schools of the state.

Mr. Cloyd W. Paskins, an associate professor of history and sociology at Elon College, did graduate work during the summer at the University of Saltillo, Ccahuila, Mexico.

Dr. H. E. Hirsch, chairman of the department of social sciences at Elon College, taught a series of courses on contemporary European and Russian history during the summer session at the University of Vermont.

Dr. Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College on August 6 delivered an address before the Alabama State Bar Association in Montgomery on the subject, "An Historian Looks at the Lawyer."

The North Carolina Society of County historians conducted a tour of southeastern Harnett County on June 20. The group attending the tour, which was under the conduct of Mr. Malcolm Fowler of Lillington, visited the homesite of Ebenezer Folsome, commander of the Cumberland Militia during the Revolution; Neill's Creek Baptist Church, organized about 1778; Barbee's Inn at Barclaysville, which George Barmcroft visited in 1852 and afterwards wrote of his experiences; Shaw's Halfway House, the home of the Dushee Shaw family who settled there in 1756; "Plenty Plains," the home of Farquhard Campbell of Revolutionary fame; Averasboro, a ghost town on the Cape Fear River; "Lebanon," the home of Mr. Eugene Smith, a direct descendant of "Ferry" John Smith who built the house before the War for Southern Independence, the home was used as a hospital during the battle of Averasboro in 1865; Chicora Cemetery, where are buried many of the soldiers who fell during the battle of Averasboro; Bluff Church (Presbyterian) established in 1758 through the efforts of Rev. James Campbell. A picnic lunch was served on the banks of the Cape Fear River. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, and Miss Nell Hines of the State Department of Archives and History and Mr. Charles M. Heck of Raleigh, were on the tour.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians also made a tour of Randolph County on July 18. The group visited the

site of the first courthouse, the site of old Trinity College—later moved to Durham and now Duke University; Cedar Falls, the site of the first cotton mill established in Randolph County, 1839; Franklinville and the famous Faith Rock over which Andrew Hunter reputedly plunged his horse "Big Doe" to escape David Fanning's men; Marlboro Friends meeting house, the site of early camp meetings and at one time known as Bell's meeting house; and Sandy Creek Baptist Church, founded in 1755 by Rev. Shubal Stearns. A picnic lunch was served in Randleman. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mr. W. S. Powell, Miss Nell Hines, and Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History went on the tour as did Mr. L. Polk Denmark and Mr. Charles M. Heck of Raleigh. Dr. J. C. Prichard, a retired Methodist minister and now the official host of Asheboro, served as guide and Mrs. Laura M. Worth made the local arrangements. Many other people from Randolph and adjoining counties also made the tour.

Members of the North Carolina Society of County Historians on August 8 made a tour of Anson County. Miss Mary Louise Medley of Wadesboro arranged and conducted the tour, which consisted of visits to the following places: the Captain Patrick Boggan house, the oldest house in Wadesboro; the office of Dr. Edmund Fontaine Ashe, built about 1838; the marker to Risden Tyler Bennett; the ancestral Hammon home; the home of Col. L. L. Polk, at Polkton, the first commissioner of agriculture in North Carolina; the remaining building of Carolina Female College at Ansonville, which was established in 1852 and abandoned in 1868; Mt. Vernon Methodist Church; the site of the first courthouse; and the Lilesville Baptist Church, which was established in 1777 and where Dr. Max Cook, pastor of the church, gave a talk. Mrs. Mary Bennett Little provided a picnic lunch in the grove of her home in Wadesboro. In addition to the local people attending the tour were Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, and Miss Nell Hines of the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh; Mr. L. Polk Denmark and Mr. Jeffrey F. Stanback, also of Raleigh; Mr. Malcolm Fowler, president of the society, and Mr. M. R. Turlington, Lillington; Mr. A. B. McArtan and Mr. A. V. Dawkins of Linden; Mr. J. H. Monger and Mr. Robert Monger of Sanford; Mr. James

G. W. MacClamroch and Mr. Raleigh C. Taylor of Greensboro; Mr. Isaac London and Mr. W. H. Covington of Rockingham; Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, Mr. Donald C. Griffin, and Mr. Steve Harris of Forest City; and Miss Sarah Locke Blythe of Charlotte.

Mr. Nelson H. Harris of Shaw University recently published an article entitled "Negro Higher and Professional Education in North Carolina," in *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. XVII, no. 3, summer,1948.

On September 3-6 Hendersonville held its first annual Apple Harvest Festival, and in connection therewith there was presented a historical pageant, "Pomona," written by Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton of Hendersonville, a member of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the Department, attended the pageant.

Books received include *A Plea for Federal Union, North Carolina, 1788*, a reprint of two pamphlets with an introduction by Hugh T. Lefler (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia, 1948); F. J. Sizemore, *The Building and the Builders of a City* (High Point, N. C., 1948); Leonard W. Labaree, *Conservatism In Early American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1948; Charles S. Sydnor, *Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948); W. Edwin Hemphill, *Gold Star Honor Roll of Virginians in the Second World War* (Charlottesville, Virginia: Virginia World War II Historical Commission, 1947); Dan S. Hardin, *History of Missionary Methodism, 1913-1948* (Forest City: The Forest City Courier, 1948); William Way, *The History of Grace Church, Charleston, South Carolina: The First Hundred Years* (Durham, N. C.: The Seaman Printery, 1948); Samuel Cole Williams, *Lieut. Henry Timberlake's Memoirs, 1756-1765* (Marietta, Georgia, Contenential Book Company, 1948); W. Edwin Hemphill, *Pursuits of War, The People of Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia, In the Second World War* (Charlottesville, Virginia: Albemarle County Historical Society, 1948);

Charles Crossfield Ware, *Roundtree Chronicles, 1827-1840* (Wilson, North Carolina: Christian Missionary Convention, 1947); *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, 1946-1947* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1948); Clarence Edwin Carter, *The Territorial Papers of the United States,* Volume XIII, *The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1803-1806* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1948); Pierce Butler, *The Unhurried Years: Memories of the Old Natchez Region* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948); Marion Tinliny and Godfred Davies, *The Western Country in 1793 Reports on Kentucky and Virginia* (San Marino, California, 1948).

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